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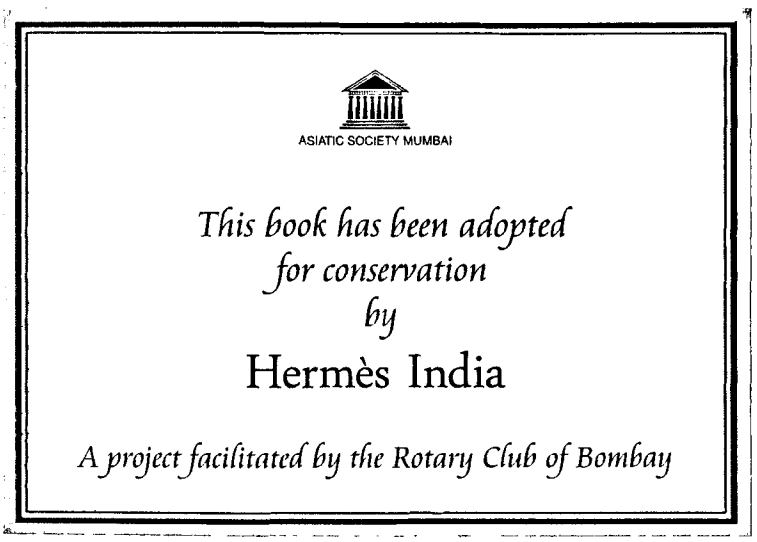

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HISTORY OF PAINTING

VOLUME II.

HISTORY

OF

PAINTING

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

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VOL. II.—THE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE

TRANSLATED BY CLARA BELL

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

On the 6th of February 1880, at Mentone, died Alfred Woltmann, the original editor of this book, which, so far as he was able to carry it out, remains a monument of his learning and industry, and of his capacity for combining historical insight with a lucid and appropriate method. It was his intention to make the work a complete History of Painting, and to write the whole of it himself—from the earliest Christian times to the present day—leaving only the earlier chapters on Antique Art to the colleague who has now undertaken to finish the work.

At the time of Woltmann's death he had prepared for the press the Sections on the Renascence in the North, the first chapter of the Section on the Renascence in Germany, and the History of Italian Art in the fifteenth century, as far as p. 380 (of the English); and his dying request to his friend Hubert Janitschek was, that he would finish that chapter. Janitschek devoted himself to the task, and not only edited the chapter on the Venetian school, but wrote that on the schools of Ferrara and Bologna, which, as Woltmann left very scanty notes, may be regarded as entirely the work of his friend. For the rest of the work I alone am responsible, and the title-page of this second volume has been altered accordingly.

I found scarcely any preliminary notes among my lamented friend's papers, beyond a few for Chapter VII. of Section IV., on Italian Miniatures. My share of the work, in fact, includes the history of German Art from Chapter II. of Section II., and the whole of the Italian schools from p. 420 onwards.

As, however, the preface to the English translation of the first volume so admirably edited by Professor Sydney Colvin gives a slightly different account of my co-operation, I think it desirable to repeat here what Woltmann said in his preface to the first volume: "Each of us is absolutely independent of the other in his own department." Though I have, of

course, done my utmost to carry out the work on the principles on which my colleague had begun it, endeavouring to follow his plan, and, as far as in me lay, his mode of treatment, the reader cannot fail to detect dissimilarities between the two portions of the work, though I believe they are for the most part superficial. In our views of art and historical methods I am not aware of any fundamental difference between Woltmann and myself. For that very reason I think it necessary to say a few words on the new tendencies in the study which may here and there have given rise to apparent discrepancies.

The connoisseur, the antiquarian, the historian, and the art-student have occasionally come into collision. We have heard the connoisseur call the antiquarian a "Dryasdust," and the antiquarian criticise the expert for relying too confidently on personal judgment. The historian who regards art merely as a branch of general culture, and complains of the absence of the scientific spirit in the specialist, is accused of practical inexperience; while each and all have remained, though not always unprejudiced, indifferent to the æsthetic development revealed by the History of Art. But it seems obvious that with the accumulation of material these various methods of studying the subject must tend to diverge; a division of labour has long been desirable. The more special study is brought to bear on art the better, and the more art is investigated from opposing points of view the more apparent will its independent value be. A general History of Painting must, above all things, embody the results of special inquiry, and co-ordinate them with broader principles; my most earnest endeavour in compiling this volume has been to overlook no important contribution to the subject that recent research can supply. At the same time, even in the most comprehensive sketch of the History of Painting, the writer's individuality cannot fail to betray itself; and it will be seen that, partly from natural proclivities, and partly from ample opportunity, I have devoted my attention chiefly to comparing the works of painters, and naturally I regard the results thus arrived at as of the first importance. This method of study, which has only been practicable since the discovery of photography and the extension of railways, has opened a field in which much remains to be done, and I am convinced that the first function to be exercised by a work of this kind is the accurate attribution of pictures to their painters. I venture to hope that most of my descriptions of pictures bear the stamp of a personal inspection,

that several chapters bear internal evidence of the fact that the opinions expressed in them are the fruit of special journeys and studies. It has, at the same time, been necessary to digest the works of other writers, and I have availed myself, as far as possible, of their latest opinions, even of some not yet laid before the public.

In reference especially to the period treated of in this volume—the Golden Age of painting in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy,—the comparative study of pictures has, within the last few years, yielded very important results. The writer who has done most for the advancement of such work in Italian Art is Signor Giovanni Morelli of Milan, who, under the pseudonym of Lermolieff, has published numerous essays in German art journals, as well as the volume [lately translated into English by Mrs. Louise Richter], *Italian Masters in German Galleries* (Munich, Dresden, and Berlin). This work attracted considerable attention [in Germany], and I made it my business to test the author's conclusions by my own; I can express my conviction that in a vast number of instances they may be entirely relied on. But Signor Morelli had the further kindness—for which I here tender him my thanks—to favour me with numerous private communications, of which I gratefully availed myself. At the same time I must expressly guard against the misconception that I share the opinion commonly imputed to Signor Morelli's friends, that his efforts have nullified the earlier labours of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. He himself constantly expresses concurrence in their views, though it is in the very nature of a polemical treatise, that the cases in which he differs from them should appear in the foreground, while the enormous majority of instances in which recent discoveries confirm their statements are not touched upon. Dr. L. Scheibler has recently been devoting his attention to the study of Flemish and German painting during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has, however, published very little but a paper, read at Bonn, on the Lower Rhine schools of the fifteenth century; I have, therefore, had recourse to his private advice and assistance, and cannot adequately express my acknowledgments of the disinterested liberality which he has shown, in placing his notes and splendid collection of photographs at my disposal. Most of the newest data in the chapters on the Flemish and German masters of the sixteenth century are derived from him, though I thought it desirable, even here, to verify his statements by personal

study of the original works. This has enabled me, to my great satisfaction, in almost every case, to confirm his opinions, and to solve a few puzzling doubts.

Nor am I indebted to these gentlemen only; several of my fellow-labourers in England, Germany, and Italy, have obliged me with information which I have embodied in the text and acknowledged in the notes, so I must here limit myself to the repetition of general and heartfelt thanks.

That every new opinion put forward in this book should find immediate acceptance is not to be expected; I can only hope that it may prove useful as a truthful reflection of the present state of our knowledge derived from a careful comparison of the works of the Old Masters, and contribute to throw light on various obscure points.

The reproach of uncertainty attaching to the conclusions derived from these comparative studies dwindles into nothingness when we consider what an enormous number of painters and of pictures have gained recognition among connoisseurs and experts since Waagen undertook his first labours in the field. That their numbers should yearly increase, while the numbers of unnamed pictures and of painters not identified should yearly diminish, is not too much to expect. Any one who can use his eyes must feel that it is no less possible to recognise and specify the characteristics of pictures than to distinguish those of language and dialect, or to classify the species of any natural kingdom. The eye, no doubt, must be carefully trained and abundantly exercised; and though hypothesis cannot be avoided in this branch of study, it must always be kept separate from ascertained facts, and mere guess-work must be ruthlessly quashed.

A further development of the History of Painting on a wider basis than I have here adopted is certainly desirable, but it would be far beyond the limits of the present work; indeed, such a mode of treatment will not be possible till the solidity of the materials has been fully tested.

KARL WOERMANN.

DÜSSELDORF, *September* 1882.

[It has been thought desirable to reduce this Second Volume of the History of Painting to about the same length as the First; in German it is longer. The necessary abridgment has been effected, for the most part, in the lives of the great painters whose biographies have been written separately by recognised authorities: Dürer, Holbein, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian, while the preface and some other portions have assumed to some extent the character of a *précis*, where omissions seemed undesirable. An alteration in the arrangement of the chapters has also been made; partly with a view to simplifying this abridgment.

In the appendices—which are arranged on the model of those in Volume I.—several references to German periodicals have been omitted; the reader who would care to verify them would, it may safely be assumed, read the book in the original German. Some exceptions have been made when the information seemed to be entirely new or unique. On the other hand, a few references to English authorities and art journals have been inserted. In the case of some painters whose works are rare in England, examples have occasionally been mentioned that were not named in the German, generally on the authority of Dr. Waagen, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Dr. J. P. Richter, or Signor Morelli; Law's *Historical Catalogue to Hampton Court* has also been consulted. Quotations of descriptions and epithets are borrowed from these writers, and everything not translated from the German original is enclosed between brackets. [ ]

To Dr. J. P. Richter I am indebted for very kind help. It is very much to be regretted that Professor Colvin's numerous and onerous duties have unfortunately prevented his superintending the production of this volume.]

CLARA BELL.

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BOOK III.

THE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE.

SECTION I.

FLEMISH AND FRENCH PAINTING.

INTRODUCTORY.

Meaning and application of the word RENASCENCE—Revived feeling for Nature—Rediscovery of the principles of Perspective—The Renascence in Flanders.

THE fifteenth century was a period of evolution, during which one order of things passed away and another came into existence. A new conception and a new birth followed closely on decadence and death. The culture of the Middle Ages had come into being among infant nations, and had needed fostering care; it was the Church that had been its nursing mother, guarding its morals and checking its follies; instructing the people in practical and spiritual matters as she deemed good, preserving the relics of antiquity, and claiming supreme authority in all things. But by degrees the young world had grown to maturity, and the guardianship it had but lately needed it now felt to be intolerable. It not merely cast off the authority and the great institutions of an earlier age, but it learned to regard the principles that had governed it as worthless.

This epoch of revolution is known as the age of the Renascence. The Italians recognised it as the *Rinascimento* even while under its influence, and we are justified in so far extending its significance as to cover the whole growth of culture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to include that period of the history of art which must first occupy our attention. The historian no longer attaches to the word Renascence the narrow and limited sense so long borne by the French form *Renaissance*, of a Revival of Antiquity. Vasari, in the *proemio* to his *Vite*, speaks of the *rinascità dell' arte*, the new birth of art, not of antiquity. It is to Italy in the first instance that we owe that direct return to antique types and models which had such important effects on taste, learning, and art; but in the world of German art also, even by the beginning of the fifteenth century, a spirit was stirring in marked antagonism to the principles, feeling, and forms of utterance that had characterised the Mediæval period. We must except Architecture, which moved in the old grooves till a much later date. This wider sense of the word Renascence has been well defined by Schnaase: "The word bears more than one application. In its first meaning it conveys the idea of that new birth of the art of the ancients, that revived interest in their works and

learning which did in fact mark this period, and was an essential feature of the movement. But, at the same time, there was a Renascence in a deeper sense: a new birth of Nature; a resuscitation and restoration of Nature to the human soul."

During the Middle Ages Man and Nature had grown apart; the Church regarded Nature as sinful and reprobate, and made it an object of religious horror. Authority prohibited investigation; tradition took the place of intelligence. During the earlier stages, moral bondage closed the mind against the apprehension of phenomena which were visible to the eye, and even when freedom began to assert its rights (after the thirteenth century), the study of Nature was still timid and ineffectual; but now the shroud was rent, and man stood face to face with her. Symptoms of this were evident in numerous inventions and discoveries, in the command of new forces and new drugs, and in the great progress in mechanics which marked the epoch. Still, the theoretical study of Nature did not keep pace with the utilisation of her resources; natural science for a long time lagged behind, the old authorities being still implicitly accepted; observation and the contemplative study of Nature far outstripped scientific research. Thus Art gained the power of apprehending objective truth and seeing things as they are, and she discovered that this was in fact her most important function—that rendering this truth was the one means of expression which was hers by prerogative. During the preceding age the fine arts had striven after truth, no doubt; but the truth they had aimed at was abstract, spiritual truth; physical truth was unknown to them. The new birth revealed to them the fact that one truth cannot subsist without the other.

So the first great stride forward in art was in the study of form, which throughout the Middle Ages had remained at a very primitive stage. The North German races—whom we shall first consider here—acquired their knowledge by observation only; they had no theoretical ideas of structure, no anatomical or scientific investigations to guide them; these originated in Italy, and at a much later date. Consequently we often detect a lack of certainty of drawing, especially in the less important and less independent painters; but in the great masters it is amazing to see what a comprehension of the figure, and what mastery of its structure they achieved by mere practice of the eye and hand.

The new departure was particularly favourable to the progress of painting. We may, for the present, set aside new processes and new methods of technique; a more important result of the study of Nature and of the impetus given to the mechanical arts was the rediscovery of the principles of Perspective, the indispensable groundwork of all graphic art. The knowledge of the Greeks in this branch of science had by degrees been lost in the general decadence, and in the Middle Ages the pictorial arts in any real sense were

unknown ; the feeble substitute was mere outline or silhouette filled in with colours. The Flemish and Italian painters were now simultaneously on the track of what they had lost. Nay, the earliest Flemish masters of the fifteenth century display a perfect knowledge of linear perspective, though their successors, more especially in Germany, were not all equally skilled in it. They realised the point of sight, and they not only constructed architectural perspective with perfect correctness, but they solved the difficulties of placing figures in perspective, and of drawing foreshortened limbs. Till perspective was thoroughly mastered the effects of light and shade, and consequently correct modelling, were not understood. Aerial perspective came hand in hand with linear perspective. In short, the image on the flat surface ceased to be a flat image ; the flatness was concealed, and the whole effect of form and colour was identical with that produced by the real object on the retina. Painting was once more a living art.

Thus painting may be said to be the youngest of the fine arts. And at the same time it may be regarded as the art *par excellence* of the renascent world. Much has been done in other branches, but from that time painting has led the van, and has produced all the most remarkable works of genius. The new attitude of man towards Nature found its most visible outcome in the development of this art, which has for its function, not merely the reproduction of individual objects, like the plastic arts, but the presentment of visible nature at large. It is the exclusive privilege of painting to assume the appearance of reality ; and for fulness of spiritual meaning painting alone can adequately represent emotional life in its subtlest manifestations.

The essence of the new art lay not merely in its renewed relations to Nature and the development of true pictorial feeling, but still more in its being an outlet for the individuality which thenceforward stamped all artistic creation. Intimately connected with man's new recognition of Nature was a revolution in his self-consciousness ; he no longer cowered before a superior power, but walked in the sense of his own strength, of his free will, and of his independent rights. The artist's personality is revealed in his work ; the individual is no longer lost in the larger entity of the Guild, as had till now been universal, excepting in Italy ; and as time went on the artist's works became more and more distinctly associated with his name.

Sacred subjects were still the painter's chief task, and were wrought out with genuine religious fervour and devotion ; but, in the place of a conventional and traditional treatment, we find the expression of personal feeling giving a fresh vitality to the old familiar themes.

This new artistic life began almost simultaneously in Italy and among the Germanic nations. The works which still bear witness to its vigour date from about 1420. We shall first study its course among the northern nations, for two reasons. In the first place, it was among the Flemish painters that the change

was most daring and sudden, most radical and most complete; the revulsion from the old order more conspicuous than elsewhere. In the second place, it was only in Italy that the development of the tendencies of the Renascence were fully worked out in every direction; so that, by proceeding from the painting of Flanders and Germany to that of Italy, we advance from a stage of art not yet quite past infancy to art fully grown and of the highest style.

CHAPTER I.

FLEMISH PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The character of the people—HUBERT AND JAN VAN EYCK—Their new use and application of oil-painting—The Ghent Altar-piece—Hubert's share in the work—Jan van Eyck's signed works—Five in England—His Madonnas—Lost works in Italy—THE SUCCESSORS OF THE VAN EYCKS—Anonymous painters of their school—The Madrid pictures—PETRUS CRISTUS—Hugo van der Goes—ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN—His Sons—THE DUTCH SCHOOL AND DIRK BOUTS—HANS MEMLINC—Wall paintings at Dijon—GERARD DAVID—Review of the school.

REALISM, combined with marked individuality and genuine pictorial feeling, first asserted itself in a quarter of the German empire which had always held a distinct position of its own. The inhabitants of the Netherlands that lie between the northern frontier of France and the North Sea are a Low German race, with a considerable infusion of Frankish and Romano-Celtic blood.

Politically the land belonged to various rulers, but a community of language, customs, and temper steadily strengthened into national feeling; the adhesion of the people to their various masters constantly grew weaker, and as the Dukes of Burgundy gradually extended their power over the Low Countries (after 1385), a Confederation grew up, prepared to defy France and Germany alike, and to assert its independence as a State. French was the language of the court, and French influence for a long time set its stamp on the culture, morals, poetry, and manners of the country. The native population were a strong and much-enduring race, used to hard work, and to struggling against the elements; eminently practical in their aims, tender-hearted withal, with a passion for freedom, and jovial-tempered to sensuality. They combined the determination and emotional depth of the Germans with something of the vivacity, sense of beauty, and love of finish of the French. The southern provinces took the lead in commerce, and the towns of Flanders were especially rich and flourishing. The wealth the citizens had earned by toil roused their love of enjoyment, and in course of time they were still further prompted to luxury and display by their ambition to vie with the splendours of a brilliant court.

All through the Middle Ages—so long, that is, as all art was subservient to architecture—the Netherlands had failed to become distinguished; the works produced there had no national individuality, some betraying German parentage, and some French. Still, in the fourteenth century we begin to

detect in the Flemish miniatures, which can hardly be distinguished from the French, a distinctly pictorial tendency. There are a few isolated specimens of plastic work of Flemish origin, as, for instance, the fountain of the Chartreuse at Dijon, with Moses and five other prophets, by Claux Sluter, which testify to a vigorous personality, and a keen and conscious study of nature, such as we meet with nowhere else at so early a period. These tendencies found their logical issue in the Flemish painting of the fifteenth century, which opened up a new road to German art in general.

This new development of painting in Flanders began with the two brothers Van Eyck.[1]

I. HUBERT (HUYBRECHT) and JAN VAN EYCK derived their surname from their native town, Maaseyck on the Maas, not far from Maastricht. The dates of their birth are not accurately known. Carel van Mander believes Hubert to have been born about 1366, but this is probably too early, and he says that Jan was several years younger, and his brother's pupil.[2] We can learn no more of Hubert till within two years of his death; he was living in 1424 in Ghent, a painter of repute, and died there, says Vaernewyck, quoting from an inscription in the Church of S. Bavon, on the 18th September 1426.

We have fuller information from original sources as to Jan van Eyck. From October 1422 till September 1424 he was at the Hague as painter and "*varlet de chambre*" to Jean sans Pitié, Duke of Bavaria,[3] and soon after his death Van Eyck took similar service with his heir, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (reigned 1419-1467). Jan van Eyck lived in Lille till 1428; he was in high favour with his lord, and made several journeys by his command, some indeed of a strictly confidential character. In October 1428 he was sent to Portugal to paint a portrait of the Princess Isabella, for whose hand Philip was a suitor. He returned in the Princess's train at Christmas 1429, and settled at Ghent in order to finish the great altar-piece left unfinished by his brother. Having done this by 1432, he went to Bruges, where he bought a house. He still enjoyed the Duke's favour, for when the court salaries were stopped for lack of money, Jan was exempted; and the reason alleged was that the Duke could nowhere find his fellow as a servant, nor any painter to compare with him. In 1434 we find the Duke standing godfather to an infant daughter of the painter's. Jan van Eyck died at Bruges, as has been amply proved, on 9th July 1440. A third brother, Lambert, was in the Duke's service, but we have no ground for supposing that he was an artist.[4] A sister of these brothers, named Margarethe, is spoken of in old documents as a painter too, but none of her works are known to exist.

[There is a picture in the National Gallery "ascribed" in the catalogue to Margaret van Eyck; this, which was presented to the nation by Her Majesty, by the wish of the Prince Consort, is described by Waagen as "agreeing most

with a work by Gherard van der Meire." It represents the Virgin—extremely young—and the Infant, rather stiff.]

The old historians have spoken of Jan van Eyck chiefly as an innovator in method and technique. They attribute to him the invention of oil-painting, and rank him far above his elder brother Hubert. It was only in the second edition of his *Vite* that Vasari even named Hubert, and he distinctly ascribes the new method to Jan. This, however, was certainly not the invention of oil-painting in the strict sense of the word, for the process was in use in the Middle Ages, and is mentioned in the instructions of Theophilus and of Cennino. As oil paint was slow in drying it had been used only for mural painting and not employed for easel pictures, or at any rate only occasionally, as when Cennino (cap. 144) recommends its use for representing velvet: the fluffy appearance is to be produced, he says, by painting it in oil over the tempera. Among the Germans, as Cennino says (cap. 89), oil-painting was very commonly practised, so the Van Eycks did not invent a new vehicle; at most they can only have improved on a well-known method. But this was, after all, unimportant, for the real improvement they introduced was not in the mixing but in the application of colours.[5]

In tempera painting, as it was then practised, the colours were ground and prepared separately, and then applied side by side with the colours already laid on and dried, or as a fresh layer over the dry colour. The Van Eycks introduced the new method of painting over and into wet colour; and to this end they took advantage of the slow-drying properties of oil-colour which, on the old system, had been an insuperable objection. They mixed the colours with the medium on the palette and worked them together on the picture itself, thus obtaining more brilliant effects of light as well as more delicate gradations of tone, with an infinitely nearer approach to the truth of nature. Thus this novelty of technique was itself an outcome of the new intellectual movement—of a reawakened feeling for nature which created the means it felt the need of.

This development of the resources of oil-painting brought easel pictures to the front, and wall painting fell more and more into the hands of the mere craftsman. However, as we learn from various contracts, oil-painting was largely employed for mural decoration. Large pieces were painted on canvas to take the place of tapestry on the walls of rooms, in tempera with size, or in oils; but they were not found durable. Miniature painting remained an independent art in the hands of special masters.

The Ghent Altar-piece, as it is called, is the work of both the brothers Van Eyck; it was placed in the church of S. Bavon (then called S. John's) by a worthy gentleman of Ghent, Jodocus Vijd, and Dame Lisbet Burlut, his wife. It is a large triptych of twelve panels, arranged in four series. The four central panels, three of which belong to the topmost series, are still in their original position. The two outer panels of the top series are in the museum at Brussels,

and the other six have found their way to Berlin.[6] On the outside of the four lower wing-panels the frame, which is original, bears an inscription informing us that Hubertus van Eyck, the greatest painter ever known, had begun the work, and that his brother, Johannes, the second in his art, had finished it by the desire of Jodocus Vijd. According to custom, this inscription is mainly to the glory of the donor, but the fact that the artists are named, and in so honourable a manner, was quite unusual at that time north of the Alps, and it marks the commencement of an epoch in which each master's individuality was to become of the first importance. It is probable, indeed, that Jan van Eyck had a hand in the inscription, and placed himself so modestly below his brother. The last line contains a chronogram telling us the date of the completion of the work—6th May 1432, six years after Hubert's death. Jan, however, can only have set to work on it in 1430, after his return from Portugal.

The outer side of an altar-piece of this form, when the wings are closed, is introductory, as it were. Thus we have here the Annunciation, filling the four top panels (Fig. 137). The foreshortening of the Virgin's face shows a perfect comprehension of perspective, which is also evident in the background—a view of a room extending into the two centre panels (now in Brussels). It is an ordinary Flemish room, too low, however, in proportion to the figures, which could not stand upright, with a timbered ceiling and a washing-basin in a Gothic niche. The effect of dim daylight in the room with a strong light in the opening to the sky through the window is admirably rendered. The upper panels contain noble half-length figures of two prophets, and in the middle are two Sibyls, rather squeezed into the spaces they occupy.

The architecture, like almost all that we meet with in old Flemish pictures, is a combination of the round arch with Gothic ornament. In the middle are the two S. Johns, the patrons of the church, represented as statues in monochrome stone-colour, and on either hand kneel the donor and his wife, portraits of amazing force and truthfulness—such as had certainly never before been deemed possible.

The outside is on the whole subdued in effect, and when the wings are thrown open, the holyday side blazes forth all the more splendid by contrast, with brightly-coloured dresses, sparkling gems, a richly verdurous landscape below and a gold background above (Fig. 138). The purport of the whole is a symbolical representation, founded on the Apocalypse, of the Redemption, by the Fountain of Life. Above, God the Father sits enthroned between the Virgin and John the Baptist.

It is probable that the painter worked under the advice of theologians, and that every portion of the composition has a traditional origin; the idea of the fountain is undoubtedly borrowed, and it occurs, in a somewhat different arrangement, in the Mount Athos painting-book. The fountain here is in the foreground; the Lamb behind stands on a raised altar, his blood flowing into a

Fig. 137.

chalice, surrounded by angels with censers and instruments of martyrdom. To the left of the fountain are the Prophets, in the long cloaks (*Houppelandes*) and various head-gear worn in Flanders at that period; the Apostles on the right are in conventional costume. Behind the prophets is a crowd of figures, some, no doubt, personages from the Old Testament, but among them,—and this is also seen in the Mount Athos painting-book—there are poets and philosophers of antiquity; one stands in front holding a myrtle spray, and just behind him is another with a crown and branch of bay. To the right, behind the apostles, stand the Fathers of the Church—popes, bishops, and deacons in richly-coloured priests' robes; and beyond them, again, is a crowd of heads—monks and laymen of every degree. Other groups are seen in the landscape—martyrs, popes, and cardinals to the left; to the right the virgin martyrs, with S. Agnes, S. Dorothea, and S. Barbara. The dove hovers over the Lamb, shedding rays on all sides. Beyond, on the wings, are more people crowding to the fountain: to the left, the champions of Christ—three crowned youths with banners, kings, princes, and just judges; to the right the hermit saints led by Paulus and Anthony, then Mary Magdalene and Mary *Egyptiaca*, and the pilgrim saints with the giant Christopher at their head.

With regard to the workmanship, it may be noted that the draperies, mostly studied from the costume of the time, follow the form and movement of the figures, and that texture is well rendered. The expression of the faces is extremely varied and full of individuality, but always reveals the guiding idea of a devout yearning for salvation. The landscape is carried on across the five panels, and its effect is delightful; the point of sight is placed very high, but the linear and aerial perspective are correct, and the treatment of the distance is admirable. Every detail is deserving of study, from the herbs in the foreground to the blue hills in the horizon; from the rocks and castles on the left wing to the southern landscape with orange trees, palms, and cypress on the right.

In the upper row of panels the centre is occupied by God the Father with a face of the traditional Christ-type, robed in red and wearing the papal tiara, while the imperial crown is at His feet. In strong contrast to the traditional beauty of this head is the marked individuality of John the Baptist—with a green mantle, in the act of preaching, and of the Virgin Mary, robed in blue and wearing a crown; in her the type is thoroughly German. Her expression of humility, purity, and reverence perfectly befit the Handmaid of the Lord. A faint radiating glory shines behind each of these three heads; the solid disc-like nimbus was impossible in realistic art. Each figure stands in a golden niche, richly diapered, with inscriptions above. Here again the draperies are in the very highest style of art and treatment; every detail of pattern and texture is rendered to perfection, and no less exquisite are the crystal sceptre and the crowns, especially the Virgin's, a mixture of gems and flowers. The upper wing panels are filled with angels playing and singing, in magnificent robes.

One is beating time, and the realistic treatment of the heads and action is as fascinating as it is remarkable. The texture of the metal organ-pipes, and the wooden desk, ornamented with an old German carving of the archangel Michael, is perfectly reproduced, and the background is the blue sky.

The outermost panels represent Adam and Eve, both naked; above them are the Sacrifice and the Death of Abel. This is the first instance, for more than ten centuries, of a painting studied directly from the nude. These figures are certainly not of the heroic type of Greek antiques; the figure of Eve especially is anything rather than ideal. Still, the comprehension of form that they display is marvellous as the result of mere practice without any anatomical study, and the realism of treatment is perfect, even to the difference of colour and texture between the parts of the body that are usually clothed and those exposed to the sun and air. The perspective, too, is fully understood. The figures are drawn as if seen from below; the ground on which they stand is invisible, and this particular problem, which Masaccio tried to solve, at about the same date, in Italy, but which Mantegna was there the first to master, is here satisfactorily dealt with at once.

To sum up: what was most strikingly new in the work of the Van Eycks was their uncompromising truthfulness. They saw with their eyes and understood with their hearts, and they had a complete command over the means at their disposal. Their knowledge of linear perspective enabled them to produce a truly pictorial representation of scene and subject—an art previously lost for centuries; and by their feeling for the perspective of colour, they attained harmony of effect, though no detail escaped them. But with all their clear-sighted objectivity, their conception of a subject is never cold and mechanical; they study every individual with loving devotion, and, while they omit none of the blemishes and deformities of reality, reverently studying nature, this realism is not their first and only aim. Sacred subjects and work for church purposes were still the principal openings for art, and they show themselves fully penetrated by the inner meaning of the things they represent, but they believe that the more simply and naturally these are treated the more clearly will their spiritual purport be revealed. It was their faithful determination to see God in His creatures that led them to study nature.

The fact which strikes the eye of the modern student of art as most archaic in this work of the Van Eycks is the simplicity and quiescence of all the figures, and the absence of emotional action. But it is this which gives every part its correlative value, and the whole picture such a healing and restful effect on the mind. Its peculiar characteristic is that it unites the reserve of the past time with the modern feeling for nature. The new departure, the new birth, stands revealed in the Ghent Altar-piece, so fully and logically developed that every doubt and difficulty seems at once to have been solved, and that no succeeding painter could improve on the work.

Modern criticism has taken infinite pains to discover which part of this work is by Hubert and which by Jan van Eyck. It is impossible to decide with certainty, but Waagen was probably right in his conclusions. No other work by Hubert van Eyck is known to exist, so the only way is to examine the pictures known to be by his brother, and take them as a standard of comparison. In depth of feeling, richness of style in the drapery, sense of beauty, and glow of colouring, the three larger upper figures certainly seem superior to any known work by Jan van Eyck; and it would also appear natural that Hubert should have begun with these. It is probable, on the other hand, that the outside of the wings should have been painted last, and in these we recognise Jan's hand, not merely in the marked character of the portraits, but in other features which are common to his works. A certain over-fulness of drapery with a crispness in the folds is perceptible, not only in the two S. Johns, where an imitation of sculptured drapery was intended, but also in the Annunciation, in which the heads too are scarcely above the commonplace. Waagen ascribes the angels, Adam and Eve, and the apostles, popes, etc., in the foreground to the right of the largest bottom panel, to Hubert van Eyck, as well as the hermits and pilgrims on the right wing, but none of the landscape. However, it is more than difficult to decide. The painters were brothers in natural gifts and technical training, and the whole effect is perfectly homogeneous. It is mere guess-work to assume that the calm and lofty style which are more conspicuous here than in Jan's known works are attributable to the elder brother, though Jan modestly ranks himself below him.

Jan van Eyck's independent works, though they give us a high idea of his technical mastery and keen realism, are certainly not to be compared with the Ghent Altar-piece. He is admirable in small pictures, which ere long came to be the special branch of the Flemish schools, while in Italy great fresco decorations were the outcome of the spirit of the time. In these small works Van Eyck's delicacy of finish and of drawing are most remarkable. The colours are very finely ground, and laid on rather thickly with such a firm and fused touch that not a brushmark is visible; the general tone is warm and luminous, and every object modelled with the greatest care. The accessories are always exquisitely painted. We have interiors in long perspective, and the texture of every substance—stuffs, metal, woodwork—is wonderfully rendered. Most of his pictures are Madonnas, not usually for churches, but for private devotion and ornament. The faces of the Virgin and Child are not idealised, and often lack charm; the loveliness of the Virgin at Ghent is not approached. We even find defective drawing, particularly in the naked Infant: the hands are often too small, and draperies at once too heavy and too angular, like that of the late Gothic carved work. The larger the scale, the less satisfactory are the proportions.

Jan van Eyck is seen at his best in portraits, almost always less than life-size. In these he conveys a sense of individuality and life-like resemblance. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he frequently signed his portraits on the frame, or on a painted border, and added the date and the naïf motto, "Als ikh kan"—as well as I can.

The earliest date on any work of his is October 30, 1421, on a picture which belongs to the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth, and which is described by Waagen.[7] It represents the Consecration of Thomas à Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury. A small Madonna seated in a room, belonging to Mr. Blundell Weld of Ince Hall, near Liverpool [Old Masters' Ex. 1884], is dated 1432, and there are two half-lengths in the National Gallery dated 1432 and 1433. In 1434 he painted the very fine small picture, also in the National Gallery, containing full-length portraits of Johannes Arnolfini, the representative at Bruges of a Lucca firm of merchants, and his wife Jeanne de Chenany. This work displays his technical qualities and fine feeling for character in great perfection; in a concave mirror on the wall in the background a door is reflected with two persons coming into the room; one of these, as the inscription tells us, is the painter himself: *Johannes de Eyck fuit hic.*[8]

In 1436 he painted the small half-length portrait of Jan de Leeuw *Canonicus*, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and the Madonna now in the Academy at Bruges, executed for the Canon George van der Paele[9] (Fig. 139). This is the largest work painted by Jan van Eyck alone. The faces of the Virgin and Child are not pleasing, but the naked Infant is well modelled. S. Donatian, the patron of the cathedral, stands to the right of the Virgin, a dignified figure, and on her left S. George in armour seems to introduce to her notice the reverend donor, a highly characteristic portrait. S. George is awkward in gesture and his physiognomy is commonplace, not to say ignoble. In the Museum at Antwerp is a pen-and-ink drawing on panel of S. Barbara seated, of the year 1437, the only known work of that date. In 1438 was painted the Head of Christ in the Berlin Academy, of which the duplicate at Bruges is merely a copy; the original is archaic in type, but finely painted.

The latest dated pictures are of 1439; these are the portrait of his wife, at Bruges (Academy), and a very small Madonna in the Antwerp Museum (from the Van Eertborn coll.) The Virgin is standing by the side of a fountain in metalwork; the drawing of the Virgin's arms as she holds the Child is awkward. The same motive recurs in two larger pictures, one belonging to Mr. Beresford Hope in London [exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters) in 1871. Waagen considers this to be an early work.] The other is in the Berlin Museum. In this the Virgin's robe is different and the features harder, but the metal fountain and tropical trees are surprisingly masterly. Their genuineness as Jan van Eyck's work is disputed.

There are, however, numerous unsigned and undated works which it is safe to ascribe to this master on purely artistic grounds. First, two portraits—one the half-length of an old man, bald and wrinkled, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; the other at Berlin, a man with a pink, in a red dress with fur trimmings. His steady gaze and determined mouth are wonderful for vigour and power. The hands are rather small in proportion.

Among the Madonnas attributed to him the following are probably genuine:—The Lucca Madonna, formerly in the Ducal collection at Lucca,

Fig. 139.

now in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt-am-Maine. This is a beautiful work; the Child is full of character and the accessories masterly. In the Madonna from Autun, in the Louvre, with the Chancelier Rollin kneeling as donor, the portrait is admirable, the Virgin almost ugly, the Child pitiable, the scene and landscape quite lovely. Very like this, especially as to the distant landscape, is a small picture at Burleigh House (Northamptonshire) belonging to the Marquis of Exeter. The donor, a priest in white robes, is presented to the Virgin by S. Barbara; there is a third similar picture, with a Dominican as donor, in the Rothschild collection in Paris. One of the loveliest works of the master is the small altar-piece in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 140). On the outside of the wings is the Annunciation in monochrome, to imitate gray stone;

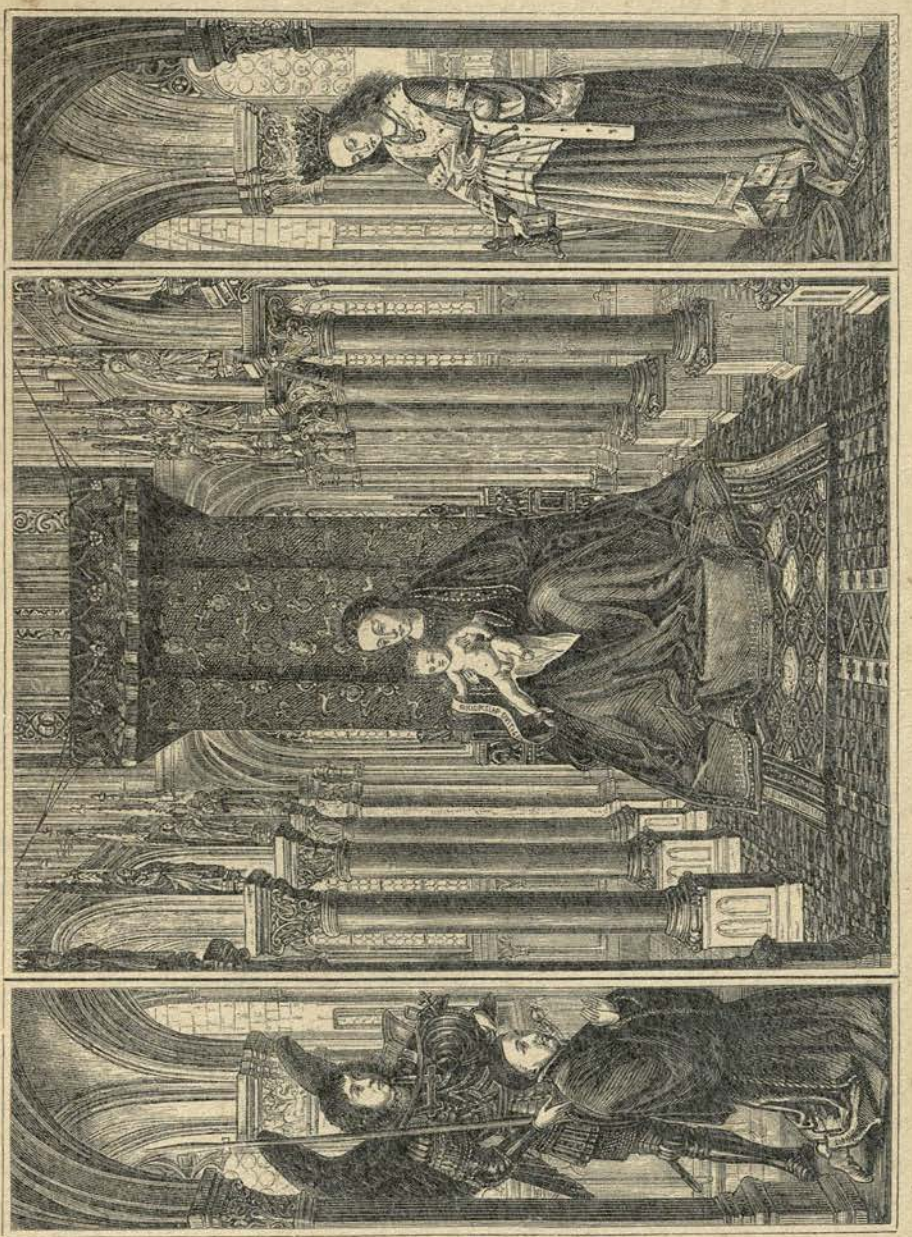


Fig. 140.

within, the Virgin and Child, in a church of mixed style, Romanesque and Gothic ; S. Catherine on one hand, and on the other the archangel Michael with the donor ; the execution is at once delicate and free. In the Hermitage at S. Petersburg there is an Annunciation in a Romanesque apartment.[10] Finally, we must mention the small Madonna standing in a Gothic church, in the Berlin Museum, which we consider to be genuine, though doubts have been raised as to its authenticity.[11] The master has here chosen a warm and glowing tone of colour instead of his usual clear, cool treatment ; the evening light comes in through the high window in which some of the panes are coloured ; every detail is delightfully wrought ; in perspective, lighting, and tone it is full of poetic feeling, and the principal figures are charming.

[In the supplementary volume to the *Art Treasures*, a Van Eyck of great beauty is spoken of as belonging to Lord Heytesbury. It is said to be as fine as the Berlin Madonna.[12]]

A whole series of works by Jan van Eyck mentioned by old writers have entirely disappeared. Facius tells us that he had seen a circular landscape by him representing the World, belonging to King Alphonso of Naples, and a picture of Women Bathing, in the possession of Cardinal Ottaviano ; and Morelli's " Anonimo " knew of a landscape with fishermen, in a private collection in Padua. It is characteristic of the man, whose aim was a truthful treatment of reality, that he should have studied landscape and the life of the people, and so shown the road to later Flemish and Dutch painters.

Jan van Eyck's small pictures were the delight of his Ducal patron, prized in foreign countries, and admired even among the Italians, who were well aware that their own painters could not, at that early date, do anything of the same kind. In fact, the progress of the Flemish school might not have been so rapid and steady if the new tendencies of art had produced anything less splendid and complete than the Ghent Altar-piece.

II. THE SUCCESSORS OF THE VAN EYCKS IN BRUGES AND GHENT.—None of the Flemish masters whose names have come down to us are known to have worked under the Van Eycks, though some of their pictures bear the unmistakable stamp of the school. In the Museum at Madrid there are two rather large works, formerly united as an altar-piece, and which are there attributed to Jan van Eyck. The general treatment and character of the details, in fact, greatly resemble his work : one panel represents S. Barbara reading, her decapitation is shown in the background ; the other shows us the donor kneeling in the dress of a Franciscan monk, behind him John the Baptist, with a lamb. An inscription gives the date 1438, and the name of the donor Magister Heinrich Werlis of Cologne.[13] There are other important works in the same gallery of which the painters are unknown ; for instance, a panel representing the Fountain of Life and the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. God the Father, seated

on a throne, strongly reminds us of the Ghent Altar-piece; the fountain springs at the feet of the Lamb, and by the side of the basin, into which it flows, stand the crestfallen representatives of the Law on one hand, and those of the triumphant New Covenant on the other. This work was formerly attributed to Hubert van Eyck by Passavant and others; Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe it to Jan, and even supposed that the likenesses of the two brothers were introduced. Waagen and Mündler think the design was Hubert van Eyck's but not the execution. Thus much we think certain, that it was not painted by either of them, nor by any Flemish master who can be identified by name. But it is undoubtedly of the school of Van Eyck, and seems to have been painted before 1450.

PETRUS CRISTUS is a master who flourished at this time, and though we have no information on the subject, the character of his work makes it seem probable that he worked under Jan van Eyck. He was the son of one Peter, living at the village of Baerle, near Deynze; he became a free citizen of Bruges 6th July 1444, and is mentioned subsequently as living there; in 1463 he was commissioned by the town to paint a large banner of the Tree of Jesse for processions, and on the 19th March 1472 appears as the representative of the guild of painters in a dispute with Pierre Coustain,[14] the Duke's painter. He resembles Jan van Eyck in technique and colouring, but remains far behind him. His sentiment and feeling for beauty are feeble, and the drawing often faulty. His works are commonly signed and dated.[15] The best are portraits; one, in the possession of the Earl of Verulam,[16] represents Edward Grimstone, at that time the English ambassador at the court of Burgundy; the treatment is simple, the colouring very good. He most resembles Van Eyck in a small Madonna in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt-am-Maine, painted probably in 1447, though the date now on it is 1417—the result of repainting, as Mündler has shown (*Journal des Beaux Arts*, 1863). The S. Eligius as goldsmith,[17] in the possession of Baron Albert Oppenheim, at Cologne (Fig. 141), is larger than usual, and this makes the angularity of the drawing more conspicuous. Two young people have come to him to buy a ring, and the simplicity of the treatment and expressive individuality of the heads are very pleasing; the accessories, too, are masterly. Two altar-wings, in the Berlin Museum, whither they were brought from Burgos, one dated 1452, have fine details, but the figures are awkward and the colouring heavy. The same may be said of a pair of altar-wings in S. Petersburg. Another genuine work is the Madonna in the Pinacoteca at Turin. [A small half-length portrait, with this painter's name attached, is in Lord Northbrook's collection, and was exhibited in 1880.]

Of *Gherard van der Meire*, C. van Mander tells us that he lived in Ghent soon after Jan van Eyck, and mentions a Lucretia painted by him, of which we now know nothing. The triptych in the church of S. Bavon at Ghent, and

several other works attributed to him, are quite problematical. A master of this name is mentioned as belonging to the S. Luke's guild of painters in Ghent, in 1452, and again in 1474.[18] [Of two "ascribed" examples in the National Gallery, one is at any rate an interesting work. No. 264, the head of S. Ambrose, is full of expression.]

Hugo van der Goes, the son of a distinguished family of Ghent, was highly

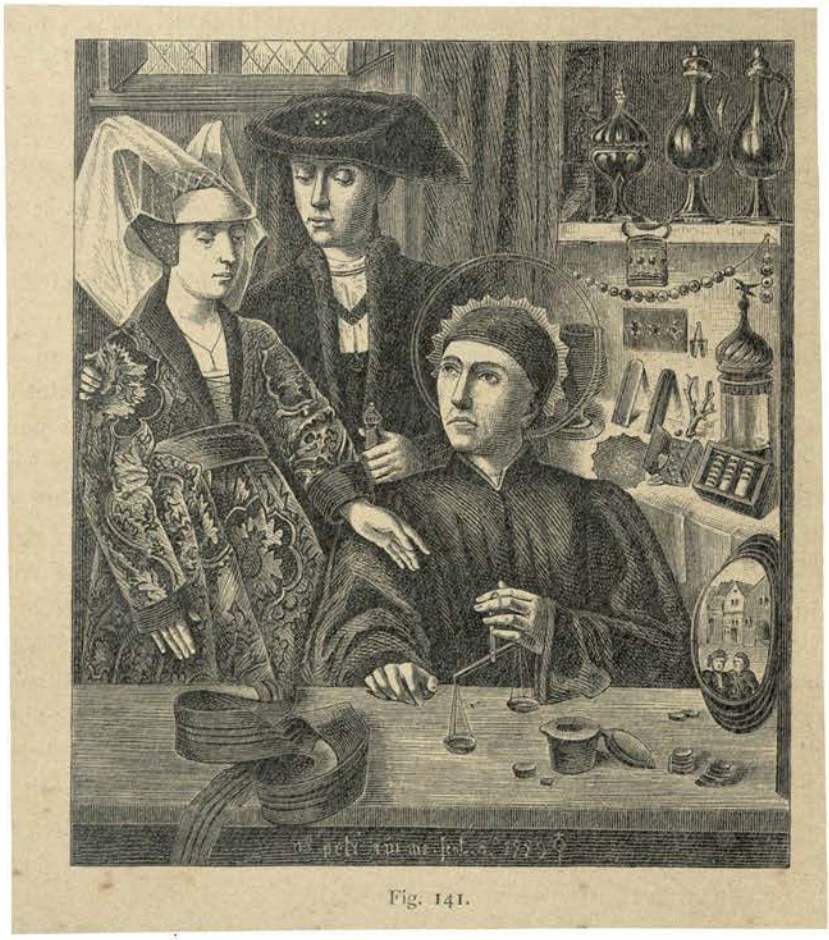


Fig. 141.

esteemed as a painter. He was a member of the painters' guild in Ghent in 1465, and in 1468 was employed by the city on decorations for a solemn reception to be given to Charles the Bold and his bride, Margaret of York; from 1473 to 1475 he was dean (or prime warden) of his guild. He soon after retired to the Rooden Clooster, near Soignies; but his name was not forgotten, and in 1479 or 1480 he was invited to Louvain to fix the value of a picture left unfinished by Dirk Bouts. He subsequently went out of his mind, and died in the convent in 1482.[19] Of all the pictures ascribed to him by Mander only one remains—the triptych in the chapel of the Hospital of

S. Maria Nuova, Florence, and now in the picture gallery of the hospital.[20] This picture, mentioned by Vasari, is undoubtedly genuine; it was ordered by Tommaso Portinari to adorn the hospital built by his ancestor. The centre panel (Fig. 142) represents the Birth of Christ and Adoration of the shepherds; the left wing has S. Thomas and S. Antony the Hermit, and the donor kneeling with two boys; his wife and one little daughter are seen on the right panel, with S. Margaret and S. Mary Magdalene. The backgrounds are filled

Fig. 142.

up with landscape and delightful little episodes; the execution of the accessories and foreground is almost deceptive. "*Hugues de Gand, qui tant eut les trets nets*"—whose touch was so clear—is what Lemaire says of him. There is a delicious naiveté in the Child lying on its back, but the female figures, especially the saints, are somewhat ascetic, angular, and Gothic. The portrait of Dame Portinari is lean and shapeless, almost vacant in expression; but the three children are charming, and the men's heads are all noble and characteristic. The feet are queerly drawn, and draperies overloaded; still it is a grand piece of Flemish art; the master has been equal to working on a large scale, and the realism, both of technique and character, must have greatly

impressed the Italians. In fact, Flemish art was greatly appreciated in Italy, and several Flemish artists crossed the Alps and found the due reward of their labours.

[There are two pictures in the National Gallery "ascribed" to Hugo van der Goes, and examples have been exhibited from time to time at Burlington House; the best known being that lent by Mr. Fuller Maitland in 1872, and a Descent from the Cross, 1873, by Mr. Richards.]

Jodocus van Ghent—Justus, Vasari calls him—painted at Urbino at the time when Federigo di Montefeltre was duke. The Last Supper, painted by him for the church of S. Agatha, and mentioned by Vasari, is now in the Academy there; the accounts referring to it are to be seen in the old books of the Corpus Christi brethren. The subject is, properly speaking, the Institution of the Sacrament, which was the traditional treatment in early Christian art. The scene is laid in a church, and the apostles are on their knees receiving the bread from Christ, who is standing. To the left is the Duke of Urbino with his suite; and with him, in Oriental dress, Caterino Zeno, who was the Venetian ambassador to Persia, then staying at Urbino. Justus of Ghent has succeeded with the large scale he has adopted, and there is much freedom in the action of the figures. The apostles' heads are good, but somewhat uniform; the colour has suffered from bad treatment. It was finished in 1474, and in 1475 the master painted a banner for the fraternity.

[For an example of this master of which Waagen speaks with enthusiasm, and which Mrs. Jameson (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 734, ed. 1866) mentions as "of wonderful beauty," see *Dirk Bouts*, p. 31 of this vol.]

III. ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN.—Contemporary with Jan van Eyck and the Flemish school of Bruges and Ghent, another school of painting existed in Brabant, with a centre at Brussels, which worked out the same tendencies, but on lines of its own. It was founded by Rogier van der Weyden, who after the death of Jan van Eyck was the most famous and influential master in the Netherlands. It has been ascertained that he was born at Tournay, where in 1426, under the name of *Rogelet de la Pasture*, he became the pupil of *Robert Campin*, a painter otherwise unheard of. He went to Brussels, where he assumed his Flemish name, and in May 1436 is mentioned as painter to the town. In 1449 he is known to have been in Italy, and in Rome in 1450, the year of a Jubilee. He died at Brussels, 16th June 1464.[21]

No connection can be proved to have existed between the schools of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden, though it is probable that the painters were personally acquainted. Their principles are the same, their aim is realism and individuality, but the men are different. By the side of the calm sublimity of the Ghent Altar-piece, or the composed sentiment of Jan van Eyck's easel pictures, Van der Weyden is emotional and vivid. His French blood betrays itself,

and he has not always known how to reconcile it with the painstaking impartiality of treatment that characterises the Flemish painter. Consequently his figures and heads, though expressive, are hard, and, while he represents a new-born infant or a stiffened corpse with extraordinary truth and detail, his defective drawing and lack of anatomical knowledge are perceptible in figures in action, which remain stiff, meagre, and often out of proportion. In drapery he is less lavish than Van Eyck, and this gives his work a look of purer taste in spite of some hardness and angularity. His heads, which in spite of considerable individuality are all of one type—oval faces, with large eyes and a prominent brow—are very expressive and spiritual, though hard-featured; even when he intends to convey the idea of female gentleness he fails to give the desired charm.

Rogier was a draughtsman rather than a colourist, although he used his palette with great care and precision. His flesh tints are light and fresh, and he is as careful as the Bruges and Ghent painters in the accessories and costume; but he has not succeeded in appropriating the poetical atmosphere, the luminous warmth, which charm us in Van Eyck, and his distances come too forward. Rogier's tendencies met the requirements of his time in a special manner: he painted for the religious needs of the people, while Van Eyck had worked for the enjoyment of the educated few. The sufferings of the Passion were his favourite subject. He was himself of a religious turn of mind, and joined a Brotherhood; and he found the language that spoke to the hearts of the people. Van Mander praises him for his "representations of human desires and dispositions, whether grief, pain, or joy;" and this peculiarity gave him a far wider and more enduring influence than that of the Van Eycks. His famous masterpiece, which caused Albrecht Dürer to write him down in his journal as "the great master Rudier," has perished: the four great pictures in the *Golden Room* of the Town Hall at Brussels. This was the Hall of Judgment; and the subjects of the four pictures were two instances of strict and disinterested justice, with the corresponding events that showed the direct approbation of Heaven. First, Trajan stopping at the head of his army to listen to the petition of a widow that he would avenge the death of her son; and then Pope Gregory I., who, being touched by the story, besought God to have mercy on that heathen soul, and was assured by a sign from Heaven that his intercession was heard, since, on examining the long-decomposed remains of the emperor, he found the tongue which had pronounced the righteous judgment still undecayed. Secondly, Graf Herkenbald, who, while on his deathbed, condemned his own nephew to be executed for a crime; but the deed was postponed in expectation of the uncle's death, and when, five days later, the young man entered his uncle's room, the old man called him to him and stabbed him with his own hand. Presently, when Herkenbald was dying, he confessed to the bishop, who refused him absolution because he

Fig. 143.

would not admit that he had sinned in killing his nephew; but, as the bishop turned away, the dying man showed him, in his mouth, the wafer, which had been placed there by a miracle. Tapestries after these pictures and of later date, but not in any strict sense copies, exist in the Town Library at Berne.[22]

Carel van Mander speaks of the Descent from the Cross in the Church of the Virgin outside the town of Louvain as Van der Weyden's finest work (Fig. 143). When he wrote it was in the possession of the King of Spain. Three replicas at present exist in Spain; Crowe and Cavalcaselle regard the one in the Prado Museum as the original; Waagen says that which is in the outer sacristy of the chapel of the Escorial. The figures, ten in number, are almost as large as life, and much crowded; the background is gilt, as was still very frequent in large altar-pieces. The figures are lean and stiff, but the expression of grief is amazingly real, from the passionate weeping of the Magdalene to the more manly sorrow of the disciples.[23] A smaller replica, somewhat altered, is the central panel of an altar in a side chapel of S. Pierre at Louvain; the side panels represent the donor, Willem Edelheer, and his wife and children. Dated 1443. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (p. 195) doubt the genuineness of this little triptych, but, as we think, without reason. The inscription on the outside of the wings informs us that it is the same altar-piece, dedicated by Edelheer, that Molanus mentions in his MS. chronicle of Louvain, with the greater work in the Church of the Virgin, and he speaks of both as being by Rogier. Another picture, authenticated by old writers, is a little altar-piece of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum, whither it was brought from the Carthusian convent of Miraflores near Burgos. It was placed there in 1445 by King John II., and is mentioned in ancient catalogues of the possessions of the convent,[24] as a work by "the great and famous Flemish master Rogel." It is a triptych, the three panels equal in size. In the left wing, representing the Birth of Christ, Joseph's solemn face is almost comical. The middle panel is a Pietà, and to the right Christ appears to His mother after His resurrection. The painter has rarely reached so high a level as in the expression of mingled grief and joy and surprise in this picture. Cherubim and seraphim hover above. The whole is enclosed in a Gothic border, with a round arch, painted in stone colour, with statues. A very similar specimen, illustrating the life of John the Baptist, is also at Berlin; but in the border the arch is pointed instead of round. The centre panel is reproduced here (Fig. 144). The scene and figures in the background are of the homely Flemish type. This realism is carried out in the third panel, where behind the principal action—the Decapitation of S. John—we see through a corridor into a banqueting hall where Herod is feasting like a Duke of Burgundy. There is a small replica in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

Very much like these is a small triptych in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna

Fig. 144.

with a Crucifixion in the centre. S. John supports the Virgin, while an honest Flemish couple kneel as the donors. S. Mary Magdalene and S. Veronica are

on the panels, and a pretty bright landscape with a distant town serves as the background to all three panels.[25] The details are finely treated. Like this in style is an altar-piece in the Duke of Westminster's collection. The figures are half-lengths, and Christ is represented in the act of blessing. Both these works are highly characteristic of the master, especially in the landscape.

The most important of his remaining works—the most important work perhaps in existence of the years 1440-1450—is an altar-piece at Beaune, painted for Nicolas Rollin, the Chancellor of Burgundy under Philip the Good. The outside of the wings is in gray monochrome, with the Annunciation on the two upper panels and, below them, the patron saints of the hospital, S. Sebastian and S. Antony. The donor and his wife are seen kneeling, figures of really magnificent sincerity of style. Within is the Last Judgment, Christ in the centre, on a rainbow, with angels bearing the instruments of His death; below the Virgin and the Baptist, and other saints and apostles. On the lower half of the middle panel the archangel Michael is weighing souls, while the dead are seen rising all over the landscape. The wing panels represent the gates of Paradise and the mouth of the Pit. The background of the upper figures is gold. The execution is bold and full of style, the arrangement simple and dignified; there is a lack of flow and impetus in the composition, but the drawing is excellent throughout.[26]

Facius, and before him Cyriacus of Ancona, mention a triptych painted by Van der Weyden in Italy for Leonello d'Este, and which was seen at Ferrara in 1449.[27] This work has disappeared, though Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that the fine Pietà in the Uffizi Gallery may be the centre panel. Facius also mentions a series of pictures on canvas of the Passion that he saw at Naples, and a *tempera* painting on canvas of the Burial of Christ in the National Gallery may perhaps have been one of them. A particularly lovely work, a Virgin and Child, in the Städel Institute was also painted in Italy. As it displays the patron saints and the arms of the Medici, it may have been executed for that family.

Still, no trace of Italian influence is perceptible in Rogier's later work; he never introduces any southern features into his landscape, as Jan van Eyck was fond of doing. The altar-piece at Berlin, whither it came from Middelburg in Zeeland, is probably a late work. It represents Mary and Joseph adoring the Holy Child, and the donor Bladolin, the founder of the town, simply dressed in black. On the wings are allegorical subjects figuring the Manifestation of Christ to the West and East. On the right are the Kings worshipping the Star; on the left is the Emperor Augustus with a sibyl, who points to a vision of the Virgin and Child. [There is an engraving in the British Museum of this subject by the Master of 1466.] These unemotional subjects are treated with appropriate simplicity; the heads are lifelike in their expression of calm dignity or rapturous faith. The execution of the dresses

and details is as admirable as that of the cool clear landscape with the town in the centre panel; the work is hardly surpassed by any other by this master. Somewhat like it in style, but much injured by repainting, are two pictures in the Pinacothek at Munich: (1) S. Luke painting the Virgin, a favourite subject for chapels belonging to painters' guilds. The landscape here is varied and picturesque. (2) A large triptych with the Adoration of the Kings, between the Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple. In the centre panel the young Moorish king is a noble figure; the outside of the lofty Gothic structure representing the temple is seen in the middle panel, and on the right-hand wing the interior is shown with a view through to the landscape beyond.

The fine triptych in the Madrid Museum was first described by Waagen. It represents the Seven Sacraments of the Church. The centre panel shows us the interior of a Gothic church, and in the background the Eucharist is being celebrated at a high altar, while in the foreground we see the Crucifixion, with Mary and John. The six other sacraments are represented at the sides as acts of worship. On the left wing is the Expulsion from Paradise, on the right the Last Judgment. The border is a rich architectural doorway, with niches and statues in monochrome. To the left, we have the days of Creation; in the middle, scenes from the Passion; to the right, the Acts of Mercy. The outside of the wings is also monochrome, but by a very inferior hand. It seems probable that this is the painting executed by Rogier de la Pasture in 1455-59 for Jean le Robert, Abbot of S. Aubert, at Cambrai.[28]

The Seven Sacraments, less elaborately treated, also form the subject of the triptych in the Antwerp Museum, with the arms of Jean Chevrot, Bishop of Tournay, 1437-60. The separate subjects are treated with more homely freedom; Marriage and Confession especially are delightful little pictures.[29]

[Two half-length figures, "Ecce Homo" and "Mater dolorosa," by Van der Weyden, were presented to the nation by the Queen; the National Gallery has also a reading Magdalene (No. 654) which has great charm, and a picture of "the painter and his wife" (No. 653) which is delightful—the man shrewd and determined, and the woman sweet and motherly. Waagen ascribes the Duke of Westminster's altar-piece to the elder Roger van der Weyden, as well as a Madonna at Ince Hall, while he attributes the altar-piece "of great interest" in the Royal Institution at Liverpool (No. 39) to the younger.[30]]

Van der Weyden's successors worked for a long time in his style and manner. One of his sons, *Peter*, was a painter, and *Goswien van der Weyden* presented an altar-piece in 1535 to the Abbey Church of Tongerloo.[31] Over his portrait, as donor, his age was stated as 70, and he spoke of his grandfather, Rogier van der Weyden, as the Apelles of his time. This work has disappeared. It is possible that other pictures in the Van der Weyden manner

may have been painted by these members of his family, but this is in no instance authenticated.[32]

[Waagen speaks of a Coronation of the Virgin in her Majesty's possession as being probably by Goswien van der Weyden.]

IV. THE DUTCH SCHOOL AND DIRK BOUTS.—Haarlem was the centre of an independent school in the north, and Carel van Mander speaks of two masters of repute as belonging to it: *Albert van Ouwater*, by whom he mentions an altar-piece in the "Groote Kirk" (S. Bavon), but no work of his is now known to exist; and *Gerrit van Haarlem*, called *Geertgen tot S. Jans*, a pupil of the former painter. He is said to have died at the age of twenty-eight, but had painted an altar-piece for the Knights of S. John. From the description of this work by Van Mander there is hardly any doubt that the inside and outside pictures of one wing still exist in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. The rest was destroyed in the outbreak of the Iconoclasts. The inside panel is a Pietà; the outside has three scenes from the legendary history of S. John the Baptist. The figures, which are small in proportion to the landscape, are bony, but they have the look of grief which Mander praises; the details are good, and the landscape well treated. No particular skill is displayed in composition or arrangement, and the painting is sombre, not to say heavy.

Two works may be mentioned among many which probably belong to this early Dutch school, both diptychs in the Marienkirche at Lübeck. They are dated 1494 and 1501.

DIERIK BOUTS, also called by early writers *Dirk van Haarlem*, settled some time before 1460 at Louvain;[33] his wife, Katharina van der Bruggen, was a native of that town, and his eldest son married in 1476. He died, after marrying a second time, in 1475. Two of his sons, *Dirk* and *Albrecht*, were also painters, but their works cannot be identified. Little is known of his early career; an altar-piece by him, signed and dated at Louvain in 1462, is described by Mander, who had seen it at Leyden, but it no longer exists. All his remaining works were painted later. The most important of these is an altar-piece painted for the Brethren of the Sacrament to decorate their chapel in the church of S. Peter at Louvain; it was finished in 1468. Only the centre panel—the Last Supper—is now in its place. The wings, also typical of the Eucharist, are each in two panels, and one pair, representing Abraham and Melchisedek (Fig. 145) and the Manna in the Wilderness, are in the Pinacothek at Munich; the other pair are in the Berlin Museum, and represent the Passover before the Exodus, and Elijah sleeping in the desert while an angel brings him food.

This master is visibly influenced by Rogier van der Weyden, but he is his superior in warmth and fulness of colouring, and his luminous treatment and richness of tone rank him as one of the great masters of the school. In landscape he has rendered with much skill the effects of aerial perspective.

His heads are expressive, though somewhat monotonous in type, with high foreheads and marked cheek-bones; but the touch of melancholy which pervades

Fig. 145.

their gravity is curiously attractive. His taste is pure, his draperies free and not too angular, the hands well drawn; but the legs are weak, and the action, when it should be dramatic, is stiff and rigid. In composition, too, he fails, lacking unity and concentration. A calmly-poetical subject suits him best, and

in this there is a marked dissimilarity to the dramatic energy and power of Van der Weyden. On the completion of this altar-piece, Dirk Bouts was appointed painter to the town of Louvain, and in 1468 was commissioned to execute two great works for the Town Hall: first, a triptych of the Last Judgment, which no longer exists, and then four large paintings for the Council-Room of the Sheriffs. These were intended to vie with Van der Weyden's works in the Hall of Justice at Brussels, but only two were finished; they are now in the Museum at Brussels. These are the works Hugo van der Goes was called upon to value. The subjects, which are taken from a legendary history of the Emperor Otho III. required more dramatic treatment than the painter was equal to, and the life-size figures are unpleasantly angular; still the whole effect is impressive, and, though the expression of the heads hardly reaches the necessary level, they are full of genuine feeling, and the figures, in their Flemish costumes, are dignified in spite of their stiffness. Other known works by the master are rare. First a small triptych in S. Peter's at Louvain, with the martyrdom of S. Erasmus and saints on the wings; and a second in the Cathedral at Bruges, representing the martyrdom of S. Hippolytus. Even these dreadful scenes of torture are quite calmly set before us, and the saints are unmoved from their gentle tranquillity. A good work by this painter is in the Städel Institute: a sibyl showing the Emperor Augustus a vision of the Virgin. The composition is scattered and the action feeble, but the character of the heads and technical qualities are admirable.

Christ taken in the Garden, in the Pinacothek at Munich, is probably by this master, and the companion picture, the Resurrection in the foreground, with the Ascension beyond, in the Germanic Museum at Nurenberg. A small altar-piece in the Pinacothek at Munich, long ascribed to Memlinc, is very rightly restored to Dirk Bouts by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The centre panel, the Adoration of the Kings, is characteristically calm and simple. The type of the heads, grave and sober, is unmistakable, and the landscape has all his wonted beauty. The foreground, again, has his characteristic finish in the rose-bush and other flowers in front of the old wall, and the black snail that creeps up it, leaving a slimy trail. The landscape on the wings is even finer, particularly where S. Christopher crosses the storm-tossed waters with the Infant on his shoulders. The waves are not studied from nature it is true, but nothing can be more poetical than the effect of sunset light.

Waagen has rightly attributed a Coronation of the Virgin in the Academy at Vienna to Dirk Bouts, and two larger circular pictures—from the history of Joseph—are in the Berlin Museum. [A picture, No. 783, in the National Gallery, representing the Exhumation of S. Hubert, is "ascribed to Bouts." There seem to be no well-authenticated examples of this painter in private collections in England. This one belonged to Sir Charles Eastlake, and before him to Mr. Beckford, and is the picture described by Waagen, who saw

it in Sir C. Eastlake's collection, as a work by Justus of Ghent (*Art Treas.*, ii, 264). Mr. Comyns Carr (*Art in Provincial France*) mentions a "Fountain of Life ascribed to Dirk Bouts," in the Lille Museum.]

V. HANS MEMLINC[34] is the greatest master of the next generation, and his works bring us down to the end of the fifteenth century. We know nothing of his parents or the date of his birth; but he was probably of German extraction, as he is always called Hans, never Jan, which is the Dutch form. We first hear of him in Bruges in 1478, but he had probably been settled there for some time, as he is mentioned as a well-to-do citizen, owning several houses. In 1480 we find him joining in a loan made by the town to the Emperor Maximilian. His wife, whose name was Anna, died in 1487, and he himself died before December 10th, 1495, for we find the names of his three children under age as wards of the town.[35]

It seems probable, from certain points of resemblance in their style, that he was a pupil of Rogier van der Weyden. Vasari and Guicciardini state this as a fact, and it is confirmed by an entry, in an inventory of property belonging to the Archduchess Margaret, of a small altar with a Pietá by Rogier, of which the wings were painted by "Meister Hans."[36] At some time he lived in Germany, for the views of Cologne on the Shrine of St. Ursula are exact. He was early famous in Italy, and several pictures of his were to be seen in a collection somewhere in North Italy, which "Morelli's Anonimo" had seen and described at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This is very intelligible, for of all the early Flemish painters Memlinc is the most modern in sentiment, and displays a feeling for beauty which we miss both in Van Eyck and Van der Weyden. The forms of his figures have the slenderness and leanness of Rogier's school, but as he selects less dramatic subjects they have not his forced and angular action, and their proportions are better. Their heads are apt to be set too far forward on their narrow shoulders, but the faces, with their high foreheads and scarcely marked eyebrows and hollow eyelids, have a quaint and peculiar charm. He has, in short, escaped or avoided many of the archaic defects of his predecessors, and the purity, fervour, and serene contentedness of his figures are deeply refreshing. He seems to dwell in the same atmosphere of tenderness and glow of feeling as the early painters of the Cologne school. His men are characterised by gentle and modest dignity, his women are graciously thoughtful, humble, and pure. Their innate self-possession qualifies even the expression of grief which never rises to passion; all that is vehement or evil lies outside his ken, though he sometimes attains sublimity.

His scheme of colouring reminds us of Van der Weyden; it is less luminously pure and his imitation of texture is less successful, but his modelling of flesh is more delicate, and he depends less on strong contrasts for his outlines. Nor

do we find in Memlinc the concentrated high lights and strong relief of Jan van Eyck, or even of Dirk Bouts, but he has such a delicate feeling for harmony that we hardly perceive the want of aerial perspective; everything stands in pleasing relationship, and his pictures are full of poetic charm. No painter

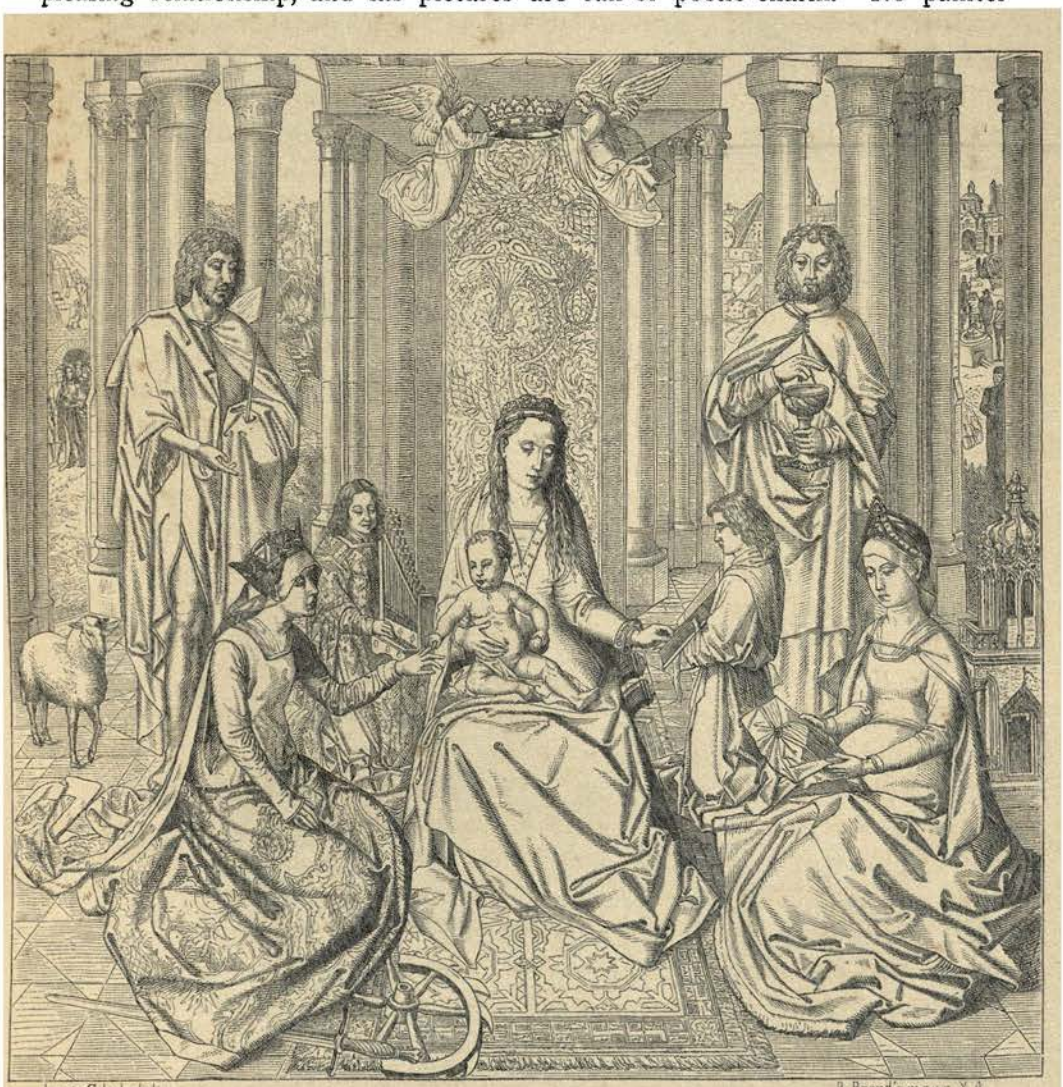


Fig. 146.

on this side of the Alps has succeeded so nearly in combining the innocent and childlike character of the Middle Ages with the free handling of later art.

His earlier works are difficult to identify and date with certainty. There is a large triptych of the Last Judgment in the Marienkirche at Dantzig, which was seized by Captain Paul Benecke of Dantzig, on board an English ship

chartered by the Portinari and other merchants of Bruges. The fragment of a date, . . CCCLXVII., on a gravestone, stands for 1467 no doubt. In style it resembles Van der Weyden's altar-piece at Beaune. The archangel Michael wears armour, however, and the gates of Paradise are opened by S. Peter. The variety of attitudes in the figures is remarkable, and the skill with which they are foreshortened, though they still are lean and lengthy. Waagen considers this work the most important production of the school next to the great Ghent altar-piece. But its attribution to Memlinc is only the result of recent opinions, which still differ greatly.[37] There is less reason for doubting the genuineness of a small diptych in the possession of the reverend Fuller Russell at Greenhithe in Kent, though Crowe and Cavalcaselle dispute its genuineness (p. 298). On one panel is the Crucifixion, Christ between the two thieves; on the other the donor, Princess Jeanne, daughter of Charles VII. of France and wife of Jean II., Duke of Bourbon. As she looks about thirty-five, and as she was born in 1426, we may assign it approximately to 1460. The delicate finish on a minute scale is very like that of authenticated works by Memlinc at Bruges. The same may be said of the small altar-piece at Chiswick belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, a Madonna under a canopy with angels and saints, Sir John Donne, as donor, with his wife and children. Weale suggests that it may have been painted in 1471, when Edward IV. and several Englishmen of rank were staying at Bruges.

[Besides the Duke of Devonshire's triptych, which was exhibited in 1876, and Mr. Fuller Russell's example, of which Waagen speaks with unhesitating admiration, other examples have been exhibited belonging to private collectors in England.[38]]

We see the master at his best, and in perfectly authenticated works, at the Hospital of S. John at Bruges, where there is a little collection of very choice pictures, most of them painted for the hospital. Two altar-pieces are signed and dated on the frames. The date is 1479, but there is some doubt as to its accuracy, as the inscriptions have certainly been repainted. The larger one has on the outside, in a sober key of colour, the donors with their names. Within, the centre panel shows us the Virgin enthroned (Fig. 146), the Child on her knee gives the ring to S. Catherine. In the background stand the two SS. John—the Baptist and the Evangelist. These two figures are perhaps of a too soft and melancholy aspect, but the Virgin saints, in rich and fashionable attire, are delightful, with their devout and modest grace and their air of perfect distinction. On one wing is the Decapitation of the Baptist, on the other S. John in Patmos. The landscape which is seen between the pillars in the middle panel extends into the wings.[39] The smaller triptych, presented by Brother Jan Floreins, represents the Adoration of the Kings in the centre, on the right wing the Presentation in the Temple, and on the left the Birth of Christ, with a timid attempt at painting a night effect. Joseph holds a taper,

the Virgin, dressed in blue, kneels before the Child, who lies on a corner of her mantle. The outside is painted with round arches of a late Gothic style and imitation of stone carvings of saints and subjects.[40] A diptych, with a half-

Fig. 147.

length figure of the Madonna and a portrait of the donor, Martin van Neuenhowen (Fig. 147), is dated 1487. The head and background are alike admirably painted.

But Memlinc's crown of glory is the shrine of S. Ursula, a reliquary in the form of a Gothic chapel, with panels in the sides and medallions on the roof.

The panels are by Memlinc, but the paintings on the roof are the work of a pupil of his school. The relics were deposited in the shrine on the 24th October, 1489, so that it must have been finished by that date. One end is filled with the Coronation of the Virgin, the other with S. Ursula gathering her followers under her cloak. The legend is told in six pictures, three on each side. In these the calm dignity and perfect grace with which the story is told are equally remarkable. The saint herself is always fashionably attired in a clinging blue dress with tight sleeves and a purple mantle trimmed with ermine —every inch a princess. In the first and two last scenes the views of Cologne are painted on the spot; Basle and Rome are imaginary. The most delightful of the series, perhaps, is the saint's reception in Rome by the Pope (Fig. 148). Delicate flesh tints and gorgeous robes in a happy combination of colours produce a most harmonious effect. In the last panel, the martyrdom of the 11,000 maidens, Memlinc is hardly equal to the subject; scenes of horror were unsympathetic to him: still there is genuine tragic grandeur in the attitude of the saint, who stands with resignation awaiting the fatal arrow. Even her foes compassionate her, particularly a young knight close by her, in whose bright armour the surrounding scene is mirrored. There is scarcely any stiffness, even in the most vehement scenes, and if they are somewhat too calm and dignified in treatment, it has all the appearance of intentional reserve and self-control.

Of the painter's works elsewhere, a small panel at Turin may be especially mentioned, representing the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.[41] A corresponding picture as to subject is in the Pinacothek at Munich, the Seven Joys of the Virgin; but, as it is much larger, they are not companion panels. The Munich picture was presented, 1480, by Peter Buyltink to his guild (the Curriers'), to be placed in their chapel in Notre Dame at Bruges. In each the scene is a landscape with a many-towered view of Jerusalem, the point of sight placed very high up. The Seven Sorrows give a history of the Passion from the entry into Jerusalem to the appearing of Christ after his resurrection. The Seven Joys begin with the Annunciation and end with the Coronation of the Virgin. In this the principal action is the Adoration of the Kings, and their journeys, coming and going, are also represented. A number of delightful little episodes are introduced; in the middle distance two horsemen in armour, soldiers of Herod, are asking their way of some reapers in a field, and in front a servant is watering the horses, which are very skilfully foreshortened. Both these pictures are full of poetry and incident; that at Turin, being the best preserved, is the most brilliant in colouring.

A picture dated 1480 is in S. John's Hospital at Bruges; a late inscription has dubbed it Sibylla Sambetha; it is a portrait of Maria, the second daughter of Willem Moreel, who is himself represented, as donor, with his wife and children, on a large altar-piece removed to the Academy at Bruges from the

R. BRENDAMOUR. R.A.

Fig. 148.

church of S. Jacques. This is dated 1484. There are also portraits of this worthy couple in the Museum at Brussels, with another capital portrait of a man.

A large work by Memlinc is in the Conte Duchâtel's collection at Paris. The Virgin sits in a chapel with a landscape on either side; S. James the elder and S. Dominic present the donor's family of eight men and boys and thirteen women and girls. The latest date on any work by Memlinc is 1491. It is one of his finest: the great altar-piece with double wings in the Greverade chapel of the Cathedral at Lübeck. The outside of the outer wings, painted in stone colour, represents the Annunciation, the figures being in niches. Then come the inner wings with four life-size pictures of patron saints. These open on a Crucifixion in the middle; to the left is Christ bearing the cross, to the right the Saviour's Burial and Resurrection, and other incidents from the Passion are introduced into the landscape. The centre panel is full of remarkable details. The naked limbs of the crucified Christ and the foreshortening of the faces turned up to gaze, reveal original and independent study; some of the figures, however, are still stiff and awkward. A poetical effect is given to the burial scene by the sunset over the sea; on the shore—on a very small scale —Christ appears to His disciples.

There are several small Madonnas bearing a considerable resemblance to each other, and undoubtedly by Memlinc, the arrangement being more or less like that of the Bruges altar (Fig. 146). One of these is in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; this has wings with the two S. Johns inside, and Adam and Eve outside. There is one in the Uffizi, a third in the Gothic House at Wörlitz,[42] and a fourth, in which the donor is presented by S. George, in the National Gallery, London. [Besides three others "ascribed" to Memlinc, one of which, S. Laurence, is a very charming figure.]

We may not have enumerated all the works of this painter that still exist, for it would be impossible to examine the vast number of works of which the history is unknown but which display some affinities to his style. We must, however, mention some wall-paintings which were discovered a few years since during the restoration of Notre Dame at Dijon. Wall-paintings of this period are so unusual as to give these a peculiar interest. In the northern aisle below the window we find a saint with a kneeling donor and his wife, but they are much injured; a Crucifixion on the eastern wall of the north transept is better preserved. The figure of Christ, which was modelled in relief, has been removed. The knowledge of drawing, the simple and noble heads, and expression of deep but controlled feeling in what remains, have a strong infusion of Memlinc's style, particularly the female groups.

VI.—GHERARD DAVID stands forth as one of the few painters of recognisable identity in the crowd of Memlinc's followers.[43] He was the son of Jan David of Oudewater in Holland; in 1484 he became a member of the Painter's

Guild in Bruges, where he died August 13, 1523. We find his name several times between 1487 and 1499 as receiving various sums for paintings for the Assessors' Court in the Town Hall there, among them a Last Judgment and two panels finished in 1498, which are now in the Academy. These again represent the punishment of Injustice—the execution of Sisaumes by Cambyses. The figures, which are about half life-size, carry out the action with a calm deliberateness that is suggestive of Memlinc; but the terror of Sisaumes and the rough promptitude of the guards who seize him are well expressed in the first picture, and in the second the hideous details are shown with the greatest realism. The bystanders, it is true, betray no feeling, but the victim, who is being flayed, has been studied from nature.

Subjects of a less dramatic character are more satisfactory, as the large and somewhat formal composition of the Virgin with Saints in the Museum at Rouen (Fig. 149). An old inventory in the Carmelite convent at Bruges identifies this picture with one given to them in 1509 by Meister Gherard. We have the portrait of the painter, as donor, in the background. The figures are well proportioned and full of dignity, the hands remarkably well-placed and drawn; the colouring is rich and warm in the draperies, delicate in the carnations, and the whole broad and masterly in execution. David's type of heads resembles Memlinc's, the figures here fill the picture, but in many of his works the background is a lovely landscape. The Pietà in the church of S. Basil at Bruges is mentioned in a memorandum of the seventeenth century as a work by Gherard David.

Many works by this master still exist:—a triptych at Genoa, in the Municipal Palace, the Virgin enthroned giving the Infant Christ some grapes, with S. Hieronymus and S. Benedict; another picture in the Darmstadt Gallery, with angels resembling those in the Ghent altar-piece; a triptych in the Academy at Bruges, Christ baptised in a beautiful landscape, and the donor, Jean des Trompes; a Crucifixion, Museum at Berlin; Adoration of the Kings, formerly ascribed to Jan van Eyck, Pinacothek, Munich; a small triptych, belonging to Herr Artaria, at Vienna—in the middle panel is the archangel Michael conquering Satan. The calm beauty of the triumphant archangel is quaintly foiled by the mischievous and impudent devils, some of whom clutch at his mantle as they fall. The scene is a rocky landscape, and at the top God the Father looks down on the conflict. One wing of an altar-piece, presented to the Cathedral of S. Donatian at Bruges by Bernardino de Salviatis, *Canonicus*, is in the National Gallery (No. 1045), and is a very beautiful and exquisitely finished work.

We have traced the school of Van Eyck down to the end of the fifteenth century, and indeed a little beyond it. The Van Eycks left their mark on several generations, though many painters of strong individuality were in the

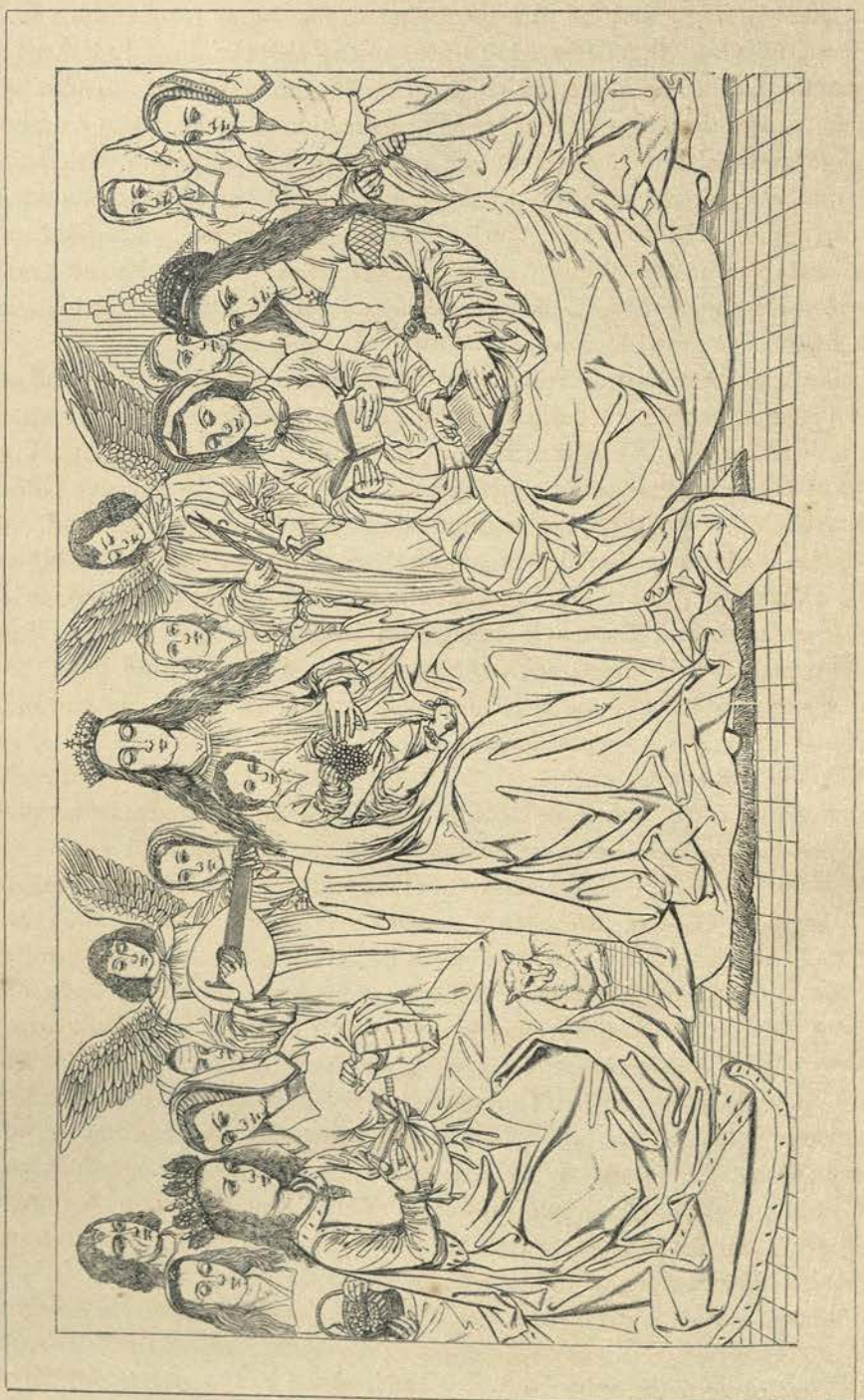


Fig. 149.

ranks of their followers. *Rogier van der Weyden* added dramatic power and vehemence of expression to the traditions of the school; *Dirk Bouts* brought depth and variety of character, and added to the charm of landscape; Memlinc surpassed them all in the delicate finish of his brush-work, in feeling for beauty, and in perfect purity and serenity of sentiment. But the last great step to freedom and breadth of style—an advance which even *Gherard David* was far from achieving—none of these masters could take. Perfect certainty of drawing the figure in action, a comprehension of the principles of composition of lines and masses, and vitality of action free from the timidity of mediæval narrowness—they were as far from mastering these as the founder of their school had been.

The amount of work produced by the Flemish school was enormous, and only a part of it has survived to our time, chiefly because the havoc committed by the Iconoclasts in 1566 was worst in the churches of the Netherlands, where many of the finest works were utterly destroyed. Though it was the patronage of a Duke of Burgundy that gave encouragement to Jan van Eyck, the citizens did quite as much on the whole to promote art as the Court did. Individual citizens dedicated altars in the churches and the corporations gave commissions on a grander scale. The town halls were as richly furnished with paintings as the churches, and in them, as we have seen, other than sacred subjects were represented besides the scene of the Last Judgment. Portrait painting for family purposes was also patronised.

At the same time the Flemish painters worked extensively for foreign countries, and merchants from abroad residing in the Netherlands, or perhaps only passing through, ordered altar-pieces to be sent to their native towns. This export of pictures was considerable, especially to Italy and Spain; but some went to German cities, and notably to Lübeck. As the Reformation here took the less stern aspect of Lutheranism, and as the Iconoclasts never invaded it, several of the churches there—particularly the Marienkirche—show us what the Flemish churches may probably once have been. All their painted glories are of Flemish workmanship, and Memlinc's grand altar-piece is by no means the only evidence that Lübeck supplied her artistic needs from the Low Countries. Lübeck also boasts of the best preserved specimen now extant on a large scale of painting *in tempera* with size—a method once extensively used, though very few examples remain. This piece represents the Mass of S. Gregory, and is in a side chapel of the Marienkirche; the heads are full of character. It is a work of the end of the fifteenth century.

Flanders was not only a centre of artistic production; it was a fountain-head of artistic culture, and many foreign painters went to school there, as we shall see in treating of painting in Germany and France.

CHAPTER II.

TEXTILE PRODUCTS AND MINIATURE PAINTING IN FLANDERS—FRENCH PAINTING.

The banners at Solothurn—Embroidered robes at Vienna—Tapestries in France and at Madrid—MINIATURES or ILLUMINATIONS—The Flemish book-shops—Books of devotion—Breviaries—Histories—Grisaille—MSS. in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, Brussels—The *Grimani breviary*, Venice—FRENCH PAINTING—Illuminations—School of Provence: NICHOLAS FROMENT—JEAN FOUCQUET of Tours and his school—MSS. at Paris and Munich—Missal painted for René of Lorraine—Anne of Brittany's prayer-book.

I. EMBROIDERY AND WOVEN STUFFS.—Various archæological works, and more particularly the publication of the household accounts and other domestic papers of princely families, have of late years made us acquainted with the names of a crowd of minor painters who were principally employed, however, in what we now regard as artisan's work. The intendants, for instance, of the castle and gardens of the dukes of Hesdin were painters, and so were the inventors of the "booby traps" which there awaited the unwary visitor to startle him or to drench him, to cover him with feathers or meal. Painters, too, were expected to arrange the processions on festal and solemn occasions, and required not only to paint pictures but also to decorate furniture and coaches, banners and palls; indeed, the banners taken from the Burgundians—still to be seen at Solothurn—prove that skilled artists were frequently thus employed.

A more durable result was obtained by embroidered or woven tapestry, not indeed executed by the artists themselves, but copied from their designs, often with remarkable accuracy and success. The finest specimens of embroidery, perhaps, now remaining are the Burgundian sacerdotal robes in the Ambras collection at Vienna, which were made for Philip the Good—three copes, a chasuble, two dalmaticas, and two altar-cloths. The faces are worked in silk, as admirably shaded and full of expression as if they were painted. Everything else is underlaid with gold thread, over which the colours are worked in silk—closely where the shadows fall, and wide apart for the high lights. They are of Flemish workmanship. On each cope a principal subject occupies the centre of the back, and figures in niches are arranged concentrically on the large semicircular cloak. (Fig. 150 is one of these figures.) The subjects of all the pieces are, of course, sacred. The style resembles that of Van Eyck; the draperies displaying the crisp angularity of his work, and there can be no doubt that the drawings—probably on the same scale—from

which they were copied were by some master-hand. It has been supposed that these vestments were those belonging to the order of the Golden Fleece, but no device or motto of the order occurs on them.[44]

Hand-embroidered work was, however, soon superseded by woven or loom tapestry, which was made in many of the Flemish towns. The headquarters of this industry in the fifteenth century were at Brussels, and paintings by the first masters were used as models, or they made designs on purpose; however, the tapestries could not compare with the originals in drawing or finish. Some of the finest are those preserved at Berne (see *ante*, p. 25) from the pictures of Rogier van der Weyden, and others, with coats of arms, taken from the Burgundians by the Swiss. Another remarkable series is in the museum at Nancy, representing a morality, "*La Nef de la Santé*."[45] There is a large collection of fine tapestries at Madrid, but a series illustrating the history of the Virgin is wrongly attributed to Van Eyck; the designs are in no particular worthy of that master. [There are at Hampton Court some fine specimens of Flemish tapestries of various dates—the most interesting are not easy to see—in the antechamber to the Great Hall. Three fine pieces of the same character have lately been acquired by the South Kensington Museum, one dated 1470.[46]]

Fig. 150.

II. MINIATURE PAINTING IN FLANDERS in the fifteenth century produced some of the most beautiful works ever executed in this branch of art. It no longer filled so prominent a position as in the Middle Ages, being henceforth subsidiary to the more important work of easel-painting; nor was it ever the principal occupation of the greater masters; still, though it had become to a certain extent a handicraft, it was practised by skilled hands and with exquisite taste.

The French kings, who had been distinguished during the fourteenth century by their love of precious books, were now quite eclipsed in this respect by the dukes of Burgundy. The library collected by Philip the Good was soon the finest in the world, and he constantly added to it the most beautifully written and decorated volumes. Several of his most precious MSS. are in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels, but other collections, and particularly the Imperial Library at Vienna, possess books that were written by his command. His family inherited his tastes, which were shared, too, by his son's wife, Margaret of York, as well as by many of the nobles of his court; Flemish miniatures were also in request in foreign countries.

When the interest of modern collectors was first directed to these illuminated manuscripts, the mistake was made of attributing such works to the great masters of the time; even Waagen was led into this error. But the assumption has in no instance been proved; we have no miniatures by *Van Eyck*, *Van der Weyden*, or *Hans Memlinc*, and it is not probable that either of them ever worked in this manner. Painting and illuminating were separate branches of art, though the line of demarcation was not sharply drawn, and no doubt often overstepped. *Simon Marmion*, for instance, a painter of Valenciennes, whose works are unfortunately lost to us, painted "books, coats of arms, chapels, and altars," as his tombstone informs us; but he seems to have been principally a miniature painter; in the *Couronne Margaritique* he is styled the "Prince of Illuminators" after Jan van Eyck has been called the "King of Painters," and we know from local archives that he painted a breviary for the Duke as well as pictures and occasional decorations.[47]

The illuminators, in fact, commonly belonged to the same guild as the writers, bookbinders, and other craftsmen employed in connection with libraries, —such a guild as was incorporated at Bruges in June 1457. We find *David Aubert* and *Jean Mielot* named as the writers of several books for the Duke and other personages. But though we also find entries of payment to the same persons for *histoires*, *i.e.* illuminations in these books, it does not seem to mean that they themselves painted them; they probably did not even write them with their own hand, but were rather the superintendents of the shops or workrooms where these costly volumes were produced. The names of illuminators which appear in the Duke's household accounts are: *Jehan Trachel*, *Jehan Drieu*, *Jean de Prestinien*, *Johann of Bruges*, *Pôl Fruit*, *Loyset Lyeder* and *Guillaume Wyelant*, who painted the second volume of the *Chroniques du Hainault*, now at Brussels. We can, however, but rarely identify the works of the artists whose names we know; even the best are not signed.

Picture-painting had by this time quite supplanted illuminating as the leading art in the Franco-Flemish school. Oil-painting, indeed, can never be applicable to illustration, which is always executed in body-colour on parchment; the treatment is generally very solid and free, and not without breadth

of effect notwithstanding the small scale. Still, with all its fulness, purity, and delicacy, it can never attain the force and gradation of tone that characterise oil-painting. The feeling for landscape now suddenly displayed is equally perceptible in this minor art; linear perspective makes marked progress, though aerial perspective is not yet understood; accuracy of detail, distinct apprehension of character, and careful regard to accessories and costume, are the rule in these illustrations to MSS.

Illuminating in miniature offered a wider variety of subjects than painting on a grander scale. The subjects in both are of course for the most part sacred; but besides the dedicatory frontispiece, which commonly represents the presentation of the book to its royal owner, there were ample opportunities for depicting the daily life of the period. Every conceivable event and detail is set before the reader, and invariably in the costume and with the accessories of the painter's time and country. The heroes of Troy and of ancient Rome appear, like the knights of Charlemagne, in Flemish costume of the fifteenth century, and the Roman Forum is surrounded by Gothic buildings. The Danaids are sitting in night-shifts on the mattresses of their four-post beds, and Penelope and Telemachus, in dresses of the period, are standing by a comfortable fire under a chimney-shelf.[48] The border ornaments at first adhere to the older style of the Franco-Flemish school of the fourteenth century: flowing foliage in many colours, sometimes of the acanthus type, sometimes drawn from nature, and not unfrequently mingled with realistic or grotesque animals and armorial bearings, heightened with dots or leaves in gold, the ground being left uncoloured. By degrees, however, the taste changes, evidently influenced by the growing love of nature; flowers and fruit are studied from life, insects are drawn with exquisite fidelity, the ground is coloured or sometimes gilt with the brush. The margins of the splendid breviaries of the latter half of the fifteenth century are ornamented in this style. Waagen describes as a very important example the famous breviary of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, 1422-1435. This fine volume, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lat.* 17,294), contains more than 2500 illuminations, not counting the initials, and is quite a gallery of the religious art of the period. The execution is beautiful, though the compositions are sometimes archaic in style, on gold and diapered grounds; they occasionally show the influence of the Van Eycks. There is, however, no stamp of individuality; the large Crucifixion, which was copied from a painting of the fourteenth century into a *Pontificale* of the fifteenth century (Bib. de Bourg., No. 9215) is superior to anything we find here.[49]

[The no less famous Bedford missal, which was presented to Henry VI. of England by the Duke and Duchess of Bedford on the occasion of his coronation at Paris as King of France, and must therefore date from 1423-1431, is in the British Museum. It is ornamented with fifty-nine large miniatures and

about a thousand smaller ones. Most of the borders, with the minute pictures that form part of them, are said to be French ; some of the larger illuminations are the work of a Netherlander, but the best are, in Waagen's opinion, undoubtedly by English painters. A very fine psalter, partly Netherlandish but chiefly French, was executed for Henry VI. himself within the succeeding ten years. There are some extremely fine and interesting examples of the skill of the French and Flemish miniature painters of this as well as of an earlier period in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. A prayer-book, probably written in Picardy, shows the Flemish taste in the illustrations of the months ; some of the sacred subjects are very refined in feeling and high in aim. *Les Chroniques d'Angleterre* is a very splendid example of the Van Eyck school. The second volume is inferior.[50]]

At Vienna a very admirable specimen is preserved in a folio volume containing only seventeen leaves of the *Croniques de Jherusalem Abregies* (Imp. Lib., No. 2533). In this the large and small pictures alike reveal a master's hand ; every composition is a distinct work of art, the characters full of individuality, the architecture thoroughly understood, and the landscape poetically conceived ; even the aerial perspective is well expressed, which is very rarely the case. The work is a mine of wealth for the costume of the time, and the late Gothic architecture which serves as a background to some of the figures (Fig. 151) is elegantly designed and correctly drawn. One of the most delightful scenes is the fortifying of Jaffa by Richard Cœur de Lion. The painter of this work was a true artist ; he seems to have been directly influenced by Jan van Eyck, and though his name is unknown there can be little doubt that he must have executed larger works. In the same library we find a gorgeously illustrated romance, *L'Histoire de Monseigneur Gérard de Roussillon, translate de Latin en François* (No. 2549), which is very little inferior to the *Cronique de Jherusalem.* This volume was finished in 1447 for Philip the Good, and its dedication picture is as fine as anything of the kind, excepting, perhaps, that of the first volume of *Les Chroniques du Hainaut* in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels (No. 9242). Here Philip the Good, dressed in black, is seen sitting in his room with a greyhound at his feet, and his son, the Count of Charolais, stands by his side. The author kneels and presents the book. The rest of the illustrations are good, but not equal to this frontispiece, and the succeeding volumes are distinctly inferior. In the *Conquestes de Charlemagne*, finished in 1458 by *David Aubert*, in three volumes, the dedication picture is a busy scene of street life, and the presentation of the book merely an incident. (Bib. de Bourg., 9066.)

Decoration in monochrome, heightened with gold and touches of colour in the flesh-tints, was still much admired and practised ; we see it in the *Conquestes de Charlemagne*, and in the lavishly-illustrated life of S. Catherine, at Paris[51] (Bib. Nat., 6449), finished in 1457 by *Jean Mielot* for the Duke ; in

the *Composition de la Sainte Écriture*, at Brussels (No. 9017) by *David Aubert*, 1462; in the fine copy of Froissart, in four volumes, at Breslau—*David*

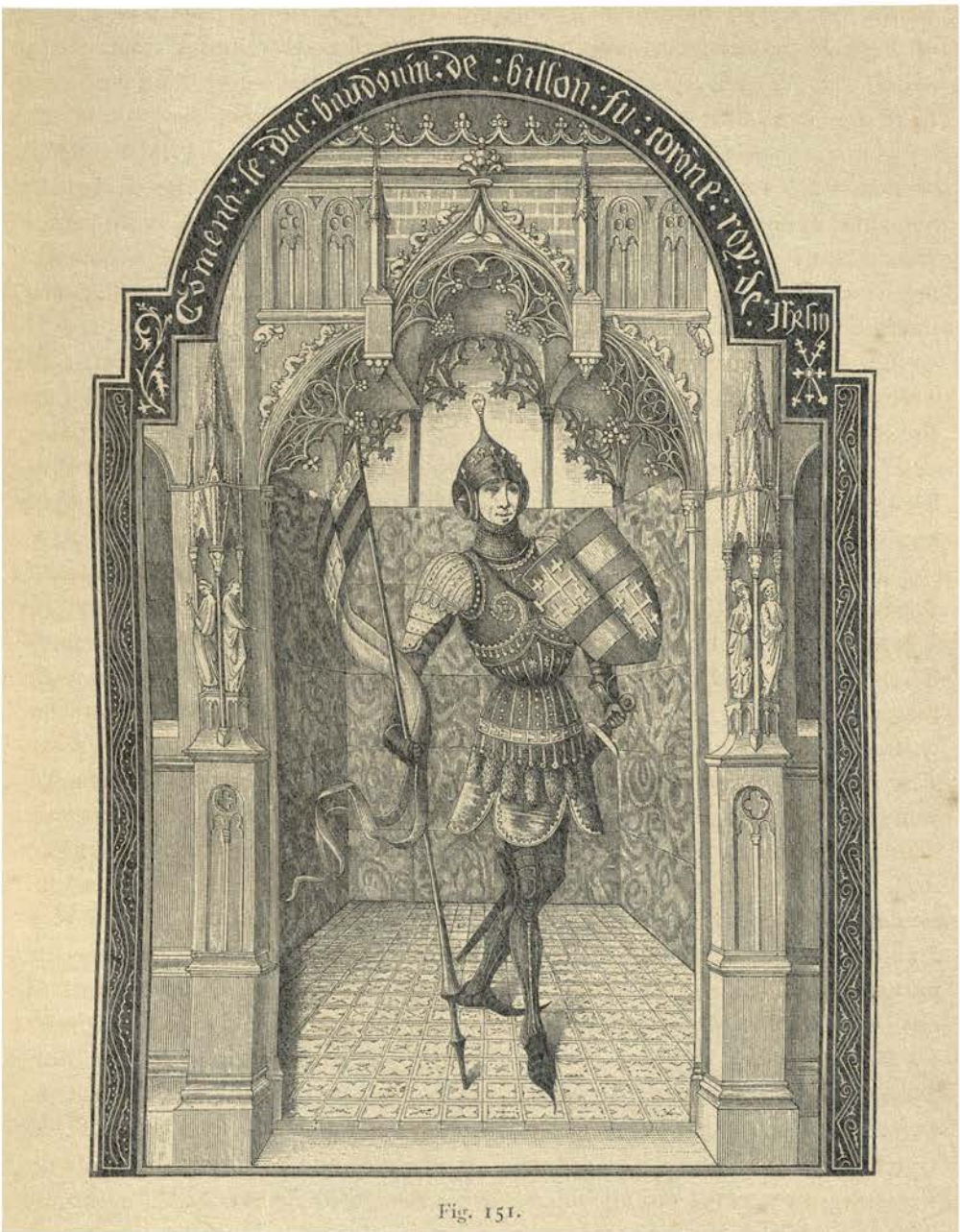


Fig. 151.

Aubert 1468-1469. The pictures in this are not fully coloured till we get to the third volume. Other works of high merit are the *Legend of S. Hubert* in the library of the Hague, *David Aubert*, 1463; the *History of S. Helena*, the mother of S. Martin of Tours, *Jean Wauquelin*, 1448, at Brussels (No. 9967);

the *Cérémonie des Batailles* in the Bib. Nationale, Paris (*Franç.* 2692); and *Lestrif de Fortune et Vertu* (Bib. de Bourgogne, No. 9510), from the library of Charles de Croy; this is remarkable for one very beautiful picture of a Wheel of Fortune, between Fortune dressed as a lady of fashion and Virtue robed as a nun; *Jaquemart Pilavaine* of Mons executed for the same patron a *Vita Christi*, now at Brussels (No. 9331), but the work is inferior.

La Toison d'Or, in two parts, was written in 1460 by William, Bishop of Tournay, for Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; and of the same period are some interesting volumes from the library of Margaret of York, especially *La Fleur des Histoires* with a large picture at the beginning of Constantine receiving homage (Bib. de Bourg., 9027 and 9233). In this the harder treatment of the Brussels school is at once perceptible. The two pictures in the *Livre de l'Ame Contemplative*, translated from Gerson, are more pleasing: in the first a young man sits discoursing with his soul; the composition is graceful and the expression is full of feeling. The second essay in the volume, *La Manière de bien Mourir*, has a picture of a man who has fallen backwards, while Death holds an arrow to his breast; the anguish in his face is very remarkably rendered (Bib. de Bourg., No. 9305).

The greatest splendour and elegance were, however, lavished on books of devotion, and especially on breviaries written and decorated for royal personages. There is a beautiful prayer-book at the Hague, illuminated for Philip the Good. The *Fidei-commis* Library at Vienna is particularly rich in prayer-books of the fifteenth century. Laborde mentions a missal in the library at Copenhagen, written for Charles the Bold while he was still Comte de Charolais, by *Jacques Undelot*, 1465; a fine prayer-book in the University Library at Turin was probably executed for the same prince soon after he became Duke of Burgundy. The expression of the figures is well given, the effects of light are such as are rarely met with in miniature paintings; the Betrayal, for instance, is a well-rendered scene by torch-light. Interiors and landscapes are alike masterly. Another breviary in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 1857), of the latter part of the fifteenth century, recalls *Memlinc's* pictures by the character of the heads, but in one of the paintings the treatment has probably been suggested by *Rogier van der Weyden's* picture of S. Luke and the Virgin. All the scenes from the history of the Passion are full of life and individuality, as, for instance, the Crucifixion (Fig. 152). The borders are composed of foliage and flowers conventionally treated, with figures of angels introduced, or, as realism was now beginning to prevail, various objects are represented; a parapet, for instance, with a cushion on it, a rosary, a book, etc. Grotesques and caricatures are also common: monsters, centaurs, a sow spinning, an ape playing the organ, a fox in a monk's cowl, and many others.[52]

[In the library of the British Museum there is a breviary of the Flemish school, late fifteenth century, which is interesting as having belonged to Isabella

of Castile; and one quite small prayer-book of the same date and character, extremely elegantly executed, has the arms of Mary of Burgundy; in this

Fig. 152.

many of the pictures have been suggested by familiar pictures of Van Eyck and his school. The same feeling, with a remarkable degree of skill in execution and composition, is to be seen in the best pictures of a book of

prayers, in which, however, some are very inferior. The best specimens of the Netherland artists of a somewhat later date, 1500-1520, are some large detached pages with coats of arms, monsters, genealogical trees, and subjects of a more or less historical character. "Some of the faces have," says Waagen, "entirely the character of features peculiar to Jan Mostaert, and are therefore valuable as helping to decide the date and origin of this work."]

At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries this luxury of decoration had reached a climax. This is the date of those missals with richly-illuminated calendars, with saints and Bible subjects illustrating the whole ecclesiastical year, and with borders of natural objects treated with the most delicate realism. One of the most famous and best-preserved examples —though by no means the only one—is the Grimani breviary in the library of S. Mark's at Venice. Many others in the same style exist in various libraries; two in the National Museum at Munich, several very fine ones at Vienna, one at Naples;[53] and one of somewhat later date has recently been acquired for the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels.

The Grimani volume, which was bequeathed to the republic of Venice by the munificent owner, was described by Morelli's *Anonimo* in 1521 as belonging to Cardinal Grimani. He is said to have bought it of Antonio Siciliano, a dealer in works of art, for 500 ducats; and the *Anonimo* ascribes the miniatures in it to three masters: *Hans Memlinc*, *Gérard of Bruges*, and *Lieven of Antwerp*. There is, however, none of Memlinc's work, though, his name being well known in Italy, the dealer used it to enhance the price. *Lieven of Antwerp*, who is also mentioned by Lemaire, was, according to Pinchart, a contemporary of Charles the Bold. *Gérard of Bruges* is *Gérard Horenbout*, a famous illuminator, whose son, *Lucas Horenbout*, was painter to Henry VIII. of England, and died in this country in 1544. His daughter *Susannah* also executed illuminations in England, and Dürer, in his diary of his journey through the Netherlands, mentions having seen her with her father in 1521, as a girl of eighteen. *Gérard Horenbout* was principally employed by the Archduchess Margaret, and was paid various sums between 1516 and 1521 for work done for her.[54] A beautiful book, a German version of Sebastian Brant's *Hortulus Animæ*, copied from the Strasburg edition of 1510, was certainly made for her (Vienna, Imp. Lib., No. 2706); pearls and the daisy, or Marguerite, constantly occur in the borders, and in one place the letter M is ornamented with a pendant pearl. This we may reasonably suppose to have been the work of *Gérard Horenbout;* be that as it may, the Grimani breviary was undoubtedly executed under the supervision of the same painter. It seems to have been written out before 1484, Sixtus V. being mentioned as if he were the Pope then alive; the paintings, too, belong for the most part to the end of the fifteenth century, and the style of the architectural ornamentation confirms this view. [A

picture of Henry VIII. by Lucas Horenbout is at Warwick Castle. There is a good Flemish copy of it in the National Portrait Gallery.]

The finest illustrations belong to the calendar, as is usually the case; and

Fig. 153.

the pictures for the months, which are generally vignettes in the borders, are here quite little *genre* pictures, filling a whole page. The picture for April is here reproduced (Fig. 153). The landscape is in all of them pleasingly composed and treated; every hour of the day and season of the year has been

carefully studied; effects of light and perspective are admirably rendered, and men and animals are drawn from nature, though the figures are thick-set and sometimes clumsy. The keen observation of the artist never rises to the level of real humour. The Bible subjects are visibly the work of various hands; the figures are here and there almost dwarfish, as in the Death of the Virgin. In the study of the nude—for instance, in the Fall—the modelling is most delicate, but there is no feeling for beauty; only the landscapes are unfailingly charming, even when the figures are least successful. The borders are often architectural, with little panels in bronze colour; others, however, are elegant and exact studies of flowers, strawberries, caterpillars, and butterflies on a gold ground. The architecture of the Renascence is only recognisable in two or three pictures which are obviously of later workmanship.[55]

Some later breviaries betray the influence of the German and Italian art of the sixteenth century. The *Hortulus Animæ* contains a picture of the Holy Family in a barn, evidently suggested by *Dürer's* Nativity; and a prayer-book at Brussels, in which the large pictures for the calendar resemble those in the Grimani breviary, reminds us of Raphael in some of the heads, while the Last Supper is directly borrowed from Leonardo. But mixed with these there are others of the purest Flemish workmanship.

[The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses some illuminated works of the greatest beauty and rarity. Of several prayer-books of French and Flemish execution, many of them remarkably fine, one is specially interesting from its having remained in an unfinished state, thus revealing some of the processes of the art. A prayer-book, or rather *Offices de la Vièrge*, which is one of the most beautiful MS. works produced in the Netherlands in the early years of the fifteenth century, "shows so strong an affinity to several prayer-books . . . in which pictures by *Pol de Limburg* and his brothers occur, as to make it probable that some of these miniatures proceed from those masters" (see Waagen, *Art Treasures*, vol. iii. p. 76, where it is very fully described). A large octavo prayer-book of a somewhat later date contains between twenty and thirty miniatures "executed by two excellent Netherlandish miniature painters of the school of Van Eyck, and under the strong influence of Rogier van der Weyden. *Les Miracles de la Vièrge* is interesting as containing a portrait of Philip the Good, for whom, therefore, the work was no doubt done. *David Aubert* is named in a volume of moral treatises as the *Secrétaire Indigne*, who wrote it for the "Dame Marguerite de York, Duchesse de Bourgogne" in 1475. The pictures, which are of high merit, are not numerous. Another prayer-book of small size, in two volumes, is interesting in the first place from the marked affinity of the pictures with those in the Grimani breviary, and also because they "take us beyond the circle of moral and religious subjects into the realm of chivalry, troubadours, sports, etc." (*Waagen*). Another exceptionally beautiful specimen, though of

later date—about 1500—suggests, Waagen thinks, the hand of Lieven of Antwerp.]

III. FRENCH PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY is principally known to us by its illuminations, for almost all the great works of the school were destroyed, either in the religious wars or in the Revolution. In the illuminated MSS. we detect the style which was at its best under the protection of the Duc de Berri, but it betrays the influence of the Flemish school. A remarkable specimen of the work of the time is a prayer-book at Vienna (Imp. Bib. 1855)—in which the calendar is particularly rich, with animals in the borders and little *genre* pictures to illustrate the months. It also contains, like many such books of Jean de Berri's time, a personification of the Church as built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and on the backs of the pages half-length figures of saints rising from flower-cups. The various subjects from the Gospels and from legends display more style than is usual in Flemish work. The whimsical grotesques, mingled with gold leaves and coloured flowers in the borders, are inexhaustible in variety. The figures are generally too slender and their attitudes stiff and uncertain, but they are full of realistic individuality, with a reminiscence of Gothic grace. The colours are bright and delicately shaded, the draperies often have a lining in a second tint, and the gilding is gold leaf. The backgrounds are commonly diapered, but we sometimes meet with a landscape or a pleasing interior. The MS. of the *Roman de la Rose* in the same library is even more Flemish in style, while the *Liber Precum Marianus* is quite Gothic in feeling. The heads, though sentimental and weak, are very charming. The last picture—there are but three—the Virgin and Child in a Garden, reminds us strongly of the Cologne school (see vol. i. p. 416).

In the French school the advance to realism is slower and less marked than in the Flemish. There is in the Louvre a picture on panel, of the first half of the fifteenth century, representing *Jean Juvenal des Ursins*, president of the Parliament (died 1431), his wife, and eleven children, which was brought from Notre Dame. It is painted in tempera; the arrangement is inartistic, the perspective faulty, and the treatment dry; but there is a marked feeling for character in the heads.

An independent school, closely akin to the Flemish, flourished in the south at a somewhat later date. Its centre was in Provence at the court of René d'Anjou (died 1480), who, having lost the duchy of Lorraine and the kingdom of Naples, found time for the arts. A letter exists addressed by this king to *Maistre Jehanot le Flament*, whom he desires to send two good painters instead of two he had previously employed and found inefficient.[56] He had, however, painters of his own who had been brought up in Flanders. There is a famous triptych at Aix, representing the Burning Bush, with a

vision of the Virgin and Child appearing to Moses: the background is a landscape with a town; on the wings are three saints and the donors King René himself and his wife Jeanne de Laval.[57] This was at one time attributed to King René himself, and subsequently to various Flemish painters—nay, even to *Memlinc;* but the real name of the painter has recently been discovered in some archives at Marseilles:[58] *Nicolas Froment* of Avignon, who is frequently spoken of as having been in the king's service, and who was paid seventy gulden for this altar-piece in 1475-76. Another triptych, in the Uffizi at Florence, representing the Restoration of Lazarus, with Mary Magdalene on one wing and Martha on the other, is signed outside: "*Nicolaus Fromenti absolvit hoc opus XV kl Junii m° cccc° lxi°.*" Burckhardt attributed this altar-piece to a certain Meister Korn of the school of Colmar, and accused him of "hideous grimaces;" but the work is unmistakably Flemish in character, and the hard ungracious style reminds us of what is least good in Rogier van der Weyden.[59]

King René also commanded the execution of many illuminated MSS., and the *Roman de la très douce Mercy du Cueur damour épris,* now at Vienna (Imp. Lib. 2597), is a very beautiful work of art. The borders are not remarkable, being for the most part mechanical repetitions of a copy; but the sixteen miniatures are admirable.[60] The influence of the Flemish school is evident; still, the treatment is often very independent, less broad and heavy, indeed as fine as enamel; the drawing is careful, the heads full of life, the details elaborate; the horses are rather clumsy, but their action is sometimes well rendered. The most marked peculiarity of the master is the novelty and skill of his experiments in chiaro-oscuro; the effect of the dim morning light before sunrise, for instance, is very happily rendered in the picture of the knight *Humble Requeste* meeting the squire *Vif Désir* (Fig. 154).

The greatest French painter of the fifteenth century, however, was *Jean Foucquet* of Tours, who started on a new path of his own. He was famous at a very early date; Francesco Florio, a Florentine who lived for some time at Tours, mentions him in 1477 in a description of Touraine written to a friend. Comparing the ancient pictures of saints in the church of Notre Dame la Riche with the newer ones, he says that *Johannes Fochetus* is superior to all his contemporaries and predecessors. He mentions a picture on canvas by him in the Minerva at Rome, representing Pope Eugene IV., which, though it was a youthful work, was an excellent likeness. Antonio Filarete praises this picture, representing the Pope with two of his people, probably two cardinals, and says that it was painted in his time, that is to say, when he was employed in Rome on the bronze gates of S. Peter's, and these were finished in 1445, two years before the death of the Pope, who only returned to Rome in 1443.[61]

In 1461, when Charles VII. died, Foucquet was living in Paris, and painted a portrait of the deceased king of the size of life for the funeral

ceremony. He was afterwards employed by Louis XI., receiving moneys from him from 1470 to 1475 for pictures and miniatures, and for a design for that king's tomb. He must therefore have been a highly-accomplished artist in every branch.

Foucquet's great patron was Maître Etienne Chevalier, treasurer to Charles VII. and his successor (died 1474). He commanded a large diptych, of which one panel is now in the Museum at Antwerp, and the other, representing the donor and his patron saint Stephen, in the Brentano collection

Fig. 154.

at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. In the Antwerp panel[62] the heads and the figure of the Child are carefully studied; seraphim, all blue, and cherubim, all red, hover in the sky. But the Frankfort panel is finer, the heads admirable, and the background Italian architecture of the Renascence. It is difficult to assign any other pictures to Foucquet with certainty; the nearest in style is a half-length portrait of a man in the Liechtenstein Gallery, dated 1456. In the Louvre there are two portraits attributed to him, of Charles VII. and his chancellor Guillaume Juvenal des Ursins; the first is too much injured to judge of, and the second is not quite in his style, though resembling it in the architecture. Foucquet can be more completely studied in his miniatures, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where there is a French translation of Josephus (Franç. 247)

illustrated by him. Robertet, secretary to Pierre de Bourbon, mentions it as belonging to his master, and adds, "This book containeth twelve pictures, the three first by Duc Jean de Berri's illuminator, and the other nine by King Louis XI.'s good painter, Jehan Foucquet of Tours." There is in fact a marked difference in the work of the two hands, but we find after the first three eleven by Foucquet. The freedom of action in the figures, the taste of the draperies, and the style displayed in the compositions betray Italian influence, though the individuality is strongly marked, but less sharply and obtrusively than in Flemish art. In the battle-scenes the movement is vigorous and the foreshortening is excellent both in men and horses. Foucquet is free from Memlinc's almost exaggerated sweetness, and the dignity he could impart to a peaceful scene is shown in the picture of the Release of the Jews from Captivity. We see in the Renascence character of the canopy over the throne and the Roman arch in the background that Foucquet was familiar with the Italian art of the period, but he is often faithful to the types of his native art. The temple of Solomon on which the workmen are employed, while the king looks on from the balcony of his castle, is a Gothic building, and the landscape is always thoroughly French. The perspective, and light and shade are well understood though not invariably correct. There is a striking departure from the Flemish school in the colouring; the master has abandoned its fresh bright hues for a tender scheme of colour, heightened by gold lines on the draperies, armour, and architecture to a very beautiful harmony. There are in the Bibliothèque Nationale two copies (Franç. 20,071 and 273) of a French translation of Livy, which, though of the same date and school, bear few traces of Foucquet's hand. An admirable, and perhaps the earliest, specimen of his work now extant is in a copy of Boccaccio's *Des Cas des nobles Hommes et Femmes*, at Munich; a note at the end states that it was finished 24th November, 1458 —"pour et au prouffit de honnourable homme et saige Maistre Estienne Chevalier." Most of the miniatures are by Foucquet's pupils, but a picture of a "Lit de Justice" which occupies a whole page is by his own hand. It shows us Charles VII. of France surrounded by his peers in Parliament, and evidently represents the trial of the Duc d'Alençon in 1458.

Foucquet's finest work is to be seen in what remains of a prayer-book illuminated for Maître Etienne Chevalier. A later owner was so barbarous as to dismember this exquisite volume; the greater number of the miniatures, about forty, are in the Brentano collection.[63] These little pictures are characterised by a tenderness and grace which remind us on the one hand of Memlinc and on the other of Fra Angelico, and they are quite free from the stiffness which is often seen in their works. Foucquet not unfrequently rises to a feeling for beauty, foreign at that time to the northern schools, as in many heads of the Madonna. At the same time, he has a keen sense of individuality—for instance, the portly figure who assists at the marriage of Joseph and Mary (Fig. 155). In scenes of

martyrdom the dignity and spiritual expression of the saints redeem the subjects from the repulsive realism which was so common in the German and Flemish art of the period. The drawing of the hands especially is well understood, the land-

Fig. 155.

scapes full of charm, and the architecture of a type that Foucquet must have studied in Italy. Thus, in the Marriage of the Virgin (Fig. 155) the gate of the temple is a Roman triumphal arch; and the pillars are those which were placed in the old church of S. Peter's, and supposed to be the remains of the

temple of Solomon. Rogier van der Weyden and Jodocus van Ghent both visited Italy, but their works betray no trace of Italian influence; later Flemish painters, on the other hand, seem to have lost all their nationality under the impressions they received there. Foucquet very happily engrafted the elegance and dignity of southern art on his own individuality and feeling; he is not an artist of strong originality, but for grace and charm was long unsurpassed by any of his countrymen.

[There are several admirable examples of the French art of this period in the British Museum. It must suffice here to mention three: first, a French translation of the Bible (Harl. 4381) in two volumes, with the autograph at the end of the first of the Duke of Berri himself. "The influence of Netherlandish art is recognisable in the realistic treatment of the colours and accessories, though the heavy and dull effect of the colouring equally indicates a French painter" (*Waagen*); secondly, a missal (Harl. 2940) in which "the noble feeling, good drawing, flowing and well-composed drapery, and the very delicate execution, are well calculated to show the high development which miniature-painting had at this time attained in France;" thirdly, a copy of *Le Roman de la Rose*, strongly resembling the celebrated prayer-book of Anne de Bretagne at Paris.

There is a French *Legend of S. Denys* with very delicate illuminations at Christ Church, Oxford; in the Bodleian Library, among others, a prayer-book (Douce, 311) is remarkable for the elegance and finish of the borders; the pictures too are beautifully executed, though "somewhat poor in invention and but moderate in drawing." Among the MS. volumes belonging to University College, Cambridge, two are good specimens of this school. The *Horarium Mariæ Virginis* contains miniatures "by a clever artist of the school of Jean Foucquet about 1490;" and the *Letters of Jean Robertet* has pictures by "a good French artist influenced by the Van Eycks, about 1470."

There are, moreover, some good examples in the Soane collection—especially a volume of Josephus, 1470-1480, mentioned by Waagen—and in private hands; a very interesting collection, not exclusively of this period, was exhibited in the rooms of the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1874.]

In most of the miniatures of the end of the fifteenth century which are not of Foucquet's school Flemish tendencies are strongly marked; for instance, in a small volume at Munich [64] containing the twelve Sibyls and thirteen other miniatures. But even here Italian influence is perceptible in the rich style of architecture, in the composition of the lines and in the treatment of the nude. Of a still higher range of art is a volume at Vienna (Imp. Lib. 2556): *Le Songe du Pastourel*, a poem dedicated to René II. of Lorraine (1473-1508) and commemorating his wars with the House of Burgundy till the death of Charles the Bold at Nancy. The miniatures, on a moderately large scale, are only pen-and-ink drawings, lightly washed with colour; but they are full

Fig. 156.

of a vigour and style far transcending the early Flemish school, and more nearly approaching the freedom of the sixteenth century. The same Prince's prayer-book now in Paris (Bib. Nat. Lat. 10,532) is another of the most elegant and gorgeous works of this school of illuminators. The Flemish character still pervades the landscapes, but the feeling throughout is more refined and modern. The draperies are calm in their flow, the colours delicate though brilliant. Some of the borders, with knots, scrolls, and plaits, recall the flat ornament of the Arabs; others, even more pleasing, are studied from natural objects, as the vetch on a gold ground, round the figure of the Virgin (Fig. 156).

The famous missal of Anne of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII. of France, and afterwards of his successor Louis XII., is a work of the same class; it is in Paris.[65] The nude is carefully studied in several of the miniatures, as the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian and the Holy Family with the Infant asleep. We also find a skilful treatment of luminous effect in the night-scenes—in the birth of Christ, and in the announcement to the shepherds, whose faces are illuminated by a fire in the foreground. But here again the most remarkable feature is the flower-painting; in the borders, on a gold ground, we find every blossom and fruit drawn as exquisitely as by Jan de Heem in the seventeenth century—roses, lilies, pansies, cherries, hazel-nuts; and each species has its French and Latin name written below.

If we now take a general review of French art at this time, so far as the works still extant enable us to judge, we are forced, in spite of their beauty and richness, to conclude that France, which in the last century had held the lead in manners, art, and taste, had not merely lost her prominent position, but was almost bereft of her artistic independence. She succumbed to Flemish influence till that of Italy became paramount, as it did in France long before it had asserted itself in Germany and the Netherlands.

CHAPTER III.

FLEMISH AND DUTCH SCHOOLS OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTORY—THE SCHOOLS OF FLANDERS AND BRABANT—QUINTEN MASSYS—The altar-pieces in the Brussels and Antwerp Museums—*Genre* pictures of money-changers—*Jan Massys* and *Marinus van Roymerswale—Barend van Orley*—His three periods—THE ROMANISED FLEMISH MASTERS—Jan Gossart or *Mabuse*—His early works—His later Italianised style—Sacred and mythological subjects—Joachim Patinir—Heinrik Bles or Civetta—Minor Flemish painters—The *Clouets*, Janet and his son—THE CONTEMPORARY DUTCH MASTERS—Jerome Bosch—His engravings—Jan Mostert—LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, engraver and painter—Jan Scorel—Jakob Cornelissen—Jan Swart.

IN no country north of the Alps were wealthy towns so closely planted or their citizens so devoted to splendour and art as in the Netherlands, the natural consequence being that the art of painting, which had flourished there in the fifteenth century, had never been allowed to languish. Though in some places it had been then practised with greater success than in these later days, it was now more widely diffused; for though Bruges and Ghent had to yield in pre-eminence to Antwerp and Brussels, this only led to a more rapid diffusion of the art. But this expansion, which coincided with that of the territory, gradually resulted in the dilution, so to speak, and final disappearance of its national charm of character. It was precisely because the shrewd Netherlanders were quicker to understand the demands of the new era for greater explicitness, freedom, and fulness of utterance than their fellow-workers in Upper Germany, that they were the first to follow in the footsteps of the Italians; but when the magnates of the country took a great number of the best masters into their personal service, art soon became subservient to fashion as the hobby of an aristocratic circle. Indeed, very few masters were wise enough to seek a road to a broader and freer scope of art within the limits of the national genius; and those few—such as Quinten Massys in the South, and Lucas van Leyden in the North, at any rate for the greater part of his life—remain, in fact, the ideal standard of the true Netherland artist of the time. But as these more national masters could not wholly contemn everything that was Italian—they could not, for instance, escape the southern influence in architecture so far as it was intelligible to them—while the leaders of the Italianising movement still could not altogether throw off the traditions of their old Flemish descent, no hard and fast line of demarcation between these two tendencies can be laid down. On the contrary, the earlier generation of artists who visited Italy must

be treated of first, and their disciples, who almost lost all affinity with the old northern schools of art, must be considered separately.

I. THE MASTERS OF FLANDERS AND BRABANT.[66]—Antwerp, which in the early years of the sixteenth century stood at the head of the towns of the Netherlands in commercial importance, was also the home of the greatest master of Flemish painting. *Quinten Massys* or Massijs[67] (also called Messys, Matsys, and Metsys) was born there before 1460, and enrolled on the Guild of S. Luke in 1491; he married for the first time in about 1480, and for the second in 1508 or 1509. He filled various civic offices in the town, and was the friend of Erasmus, Ægidius, and Dürer; he died in 1530.

As a painter he is the first and most important representative of the new era in the North. While his predecessors had employed the human figure as only of equal importance with landscape or architecture, he boldly made it prominent, and gave his actors, often of the size of life, emotional individuality and dramatic connection. They are still apt to be lean and their attitudes angular, while his composition is not always harmonious: his pictures are, so far, only larger without being grander than those of his precursors; but, at the same time, he adds breadth of character and power of expression. With the enlarged scale he gains in freedom of brushwork, not however abandoning the sound traditions of the Van Eycks; nor does he neglect the landscape and accessory details. He models the figure with scarcely any shadow, and yet it does not lack roundness, and his palette is richer in depth and variety than that of the earlier Flemish painters.

The greatest of his surviving works is the altar-piece from the Church of S. Peter at Louvain, in the Brussels Museum (Fig. 157). The centre panel represents the Holy Family in a way that was at that time very common.[68] The women of the Virgin's family sit in the foreground with the Holy Child between them; the fathers look on from behind a balustrade. In this picture, which was finished in 1509, there is no dramatic feeling; the treatment is purely conventional, but the figures are nobly conceived and solidly represented; and the master's dramatic power, as displayed in scenes from the life of the Virgin on the wings of the altar-piece, is the more striking by contrast. In 1508, before this work was finished, the Guild of Joiners had ordered another, which it would seem was not completed till later, and which displays the master's immense superiority. This is the great triptych now in the Antwerp Museum (Fig. 158), which is always admitted to be his finest work; indeed, the centre panel, a *Pietà*, is one of the grandest efforts of art in any time. The principal action almost fills the scene; the concentrated purpose and common grief are expressed with dramatic passion, and the gorgeous variety of colour is harmonised to an appropriate soberness of tone. The wings represent the martyrdoms of S. John the Evangelist and of the Baptist. In the first the

composition is rather crowded, and the grotesque individualisation of the executioners verges on caricature. Genuine pictures by Massys are as rare as studio copies are common; some, however, may be named with sufficient certainty—an enthroned Virgin in the Berlin Gallery and the Virgin in glory in

Fig. 157.

the Hermitage at S. Petersburg. Two of his best devotional pictures are half-length figures of Christ and the Virgin at Antwerp, of which studio copies, slightly varied, are numerous—for example, those in the National Gallery. Massys is even better known as the originator of a peculiar class of *genre* pictures, half-length figures representing money-changers or misers in a room—commonly two persons seated at a table; the title is unimportant. These

pictures are, in fact, life-like studies from the citizen merchant-life of Antwerp, keenly observed as to character and carefully finished in a somewhat archaic technique. Only one can with certainty be ascribed to Massys himself—that signed and dated 1514 in the Louvre (Fig. 159). The few portraits he has left us, no less than this picture, show him to have been skilled in this branch

Fig. 158.

of his art. One of Ægidius is the property of the Earl of Radnor at Longford Castle. A much-injured portrait of a young man in the Berlin Gallery and the powerful picture of Jean Carondelet in the Pinacothek seem to be genuine.

Jan Massys, Quinten's son, was also a painter of mark.[69] Van Mander speaks of a picture of money-changers by him, and it is probable that many of the pictures of that class attributed to his father, but too weak to be his work, are that of Jan Massys. Examples may be seen at Munich, Madrid, Berlin, and

elsewhere; one of the best is the Misers, at Windsor. [An interesting replica of this kind was exhibited in 1879 by Captain Dawson, and ascribed in the catalogue to Quinten; "it may, however, have been the work of Jan Massys." At Keddleston Hall, the residence of Lord Scarsdale, a Virgin and Child by Jan Massys is "a good example, possibly by the father."]

Fig. 159.

Another imitator of Massys, who may be mentioned here, though his birthplace was Seeland in Holland, signed most of his pictures. This is *Marinus van Roymerswale* or *Marinus van Zeeuw*, who painted between 1521 and 1560. His colouring is more monotonous than that of his master, and even in his religious works he only paints *genre;* there is such an example in the Madrid Gallery. In the Pinacothek is a picture of a steward with a peasant, dated 1542, and the often-repeated pair—a money-changer and his wife, 1538; replicas exist dated 1541 at Dresden, and 1558 at Madrid, besides others. The picture in the National Gallery is undoubtedly genuine. A later imitator of Massys was *Peter Huys;* a picture by him of a bagpiper, 1571, is in the Berlin Gallery.

Turning now to Bruges, we find that by the beginning of the sixteenth century that town had fallen from her pre-eminence, though she could still produce some noteworthy painters. Of *Pieter Claeissens* the elder—born 1500, and an apprentice on the list of the Bruges Guild in 1516, passed as master in 1529, died 1576—no authentic work is known; and we therefore come to *Lancelot Blondeel*, who was a very early imitator of the Italians, painting somewhat after the manner of Correggio. Van Mander tells us that he was originally a mason, and used the trowel as his sign manual; he was painting for the town of Bruges in 1520, was master of his guild in 1530, and died in 1561. He was a man of many gifts, but the only works by him that remain are devotional—altar-pieces in the Jakobskirche and the Cathedral at Bruges, and an enthroned Madonna in the Academy there; his best picture is in the Cathedral at Tournay.[70]

One of the most important of the Flemish masters of this period was

Barend van Orley of Brussels. Pinchart has recently ascertained that he was the son of a painter, *Valentine van Orley* (born 1466); that he was born at some time between 1488 and 1490; that he was appointed court painter to Margaret of Austria in 1518; charged with heresy, and consequently dismissed, in 1527, but taken into favour by Mary of Hungary; he died in 1541. Van Mander also tells us that he was employed by Charles V., but neither he nor Vasari mentions his having visited Rome during Raphael's lifetime; it nevertheless seems to me probable that he went there between 1527 and 1532. The early works of *Barend van Orley* show a marked affinity to *Gherard David*, though we see that from the first he tries to assimilate the Italian influence that was in the air. At the same time, the altar-piece in the Belvedere at Vienna—of which the wings, unnamed, are in the Brussels Gallery—as well as a picture now at Turin, are essentially Flemish. During his middle period he resembles Mabuse, though adhering to a characteristic reserve of treatment and to the style of the Van Eycks in his landscapes. The grace of his figures and sweet oval female faces are as much his own as the cold olive red of his flesh, especially in men, and the rather unpleasing though not inharmonious general tone of his colour. The principal picture of Van Orley's middle period is a triptych, dated 1521, in the Brussels Gallery, of which the centre panel represents the trials of Job, and one of the finest is the Holy Family belonging to Lord Scarsdale at Keddleston Hall; no less interesting is the *Riposo* from a composition by Leonardo da Vinci in the Royal Institution, Liverpool.[71] Pictures of Van Orley's latest period are not rare; they show an obvious and intentional imitation of the Roman school. Pictures of this date are to be seen in the hospital at Antwerp, at Lübeck, at Dresden, Munich, and Brussels, where, too, there are some undoubtedly genuine portraits. His remarkable skill in composition found special exercise in designs for the manufacture of tapestry at Brussels, of which specimens are extant in the Louvre and at Madrid.

[Though Barend van Orley's work is not exceptionally rare, only one picture is ascribed to him in the National Gallery—a Magdalen with a portrait-like head and very little sentiment; Waagen, however, in his catalogue of the Prince Consort's collection, from which the two pictures Nos. 720 and 721 were presented by Her Majesty, was of opinion that they should be attributed to Van Orley and not to Schoorel, to whom they are given in the National Gallery catalogue.]

A pupil of Barend van Orley is the *Master of the female half-lengths* whose name is unknown. Waagen[72] identified him as the painter of a number of pictures of women of a pronounced Raphaelite type, and the great altar-piece with the Crucifixion in the Turin Gallery, which goes under the name of Van Orley, must certainly be ascribed to him. *Jan van Rillaer*, who was known only by his monogram till Van Even discovered his name,[73] also worked under the influence of Van Orley's later pictures; he died in 1568. Passavant

attributes five copperplates to him. His principal pictures are at Louvain; in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings there is a grisaille of the Judgment of Solomon, dated 1528.

Contemporaneous with Van Orley in Brussels were several members of the family of *Van Coninxloo*. *Jan van Coninxloo the elder*, who is mentioned in the Brussels catalogue of 1877 only as the father of Van Coninxloo the younger, was the painter of two large and excellent pictures in the Museum at Rouen; an altar-piece of the Death of the Virgin, in S. John's Hospital at Brussels, 1520, is also signed with his name. There is in the Brussels Museum a good and careful picture of SS. Anne and Joachim by *Cornelis van Coninxloo*; and by *Jan van Coninxloo* the younger, a triptych signed and dated 1540 or 1546, with a representation of the family of the Virgin. In this the landscape has entirely lost the traditional treatment, being in fact a dull expanse of blue-green foliage, and the effect of the whole work is cold and empty in spite of admirable execution.

II. At the Head of the Romanised Flemish School stands *Jan Gossart*, who is bettter known by the name he adopted of *Mabuse*, signing himself "Malbodius," from the name of his native town, Maubeuge in Hainault (now in France). His mode of engrafting the Italian feeling of the period on to that of his native school met with signal success, and he must consequently be held responsible for the mannerism which resulted from the union. He was a contemporary of Dürer, being born about 1470. He settled in Antwerp, and in 1508 accompanied Philip the bastard of Burgundy to Italy, where he acquired his new ideas at the fountain-head. On his return he again settled in Antwerp, where he died, as Van Even has discovered, in 1541.[74] His earliest works prove him acquainted with those of *G. David*, but also betray the influence of *Quinten Massys*; in technique they are among the most masterly productions of the school, in colour warm and blooming, in drawing thoughtful and correct, and the execution is a marvel of freedom and finish. With all this we are aware of a lack of sentiment. A magnificent example of this early period is at Castle Howard, and represents the Adoration of the Kings [Ex. Old Masters, 1885]. The figures, which are slender in type, are well grouped; the heads unusually characteristic for Mabuse; the key of colour is given by the warm flesh tones with tawny shadows and yellowish high lights. Two fine early works by this master are the enthroned Madonna in the Museum at Palermo and the sweet Madonna by the fountain in the Ambrosiana.[75] The miniatures in the famous Grimani missal are late works, but in these he has deliberately returned to his early style, in imitation of the other artists employed on it.

His later Italianised work is remarkable for the rich architectural decoration of the backgrounds and the careful roundness of the modelling. The minute

finish is more like that of the Italians of the fourteenth century than the grand treatment of his contemporaries; his scheme of colour is fresh, even cold, and

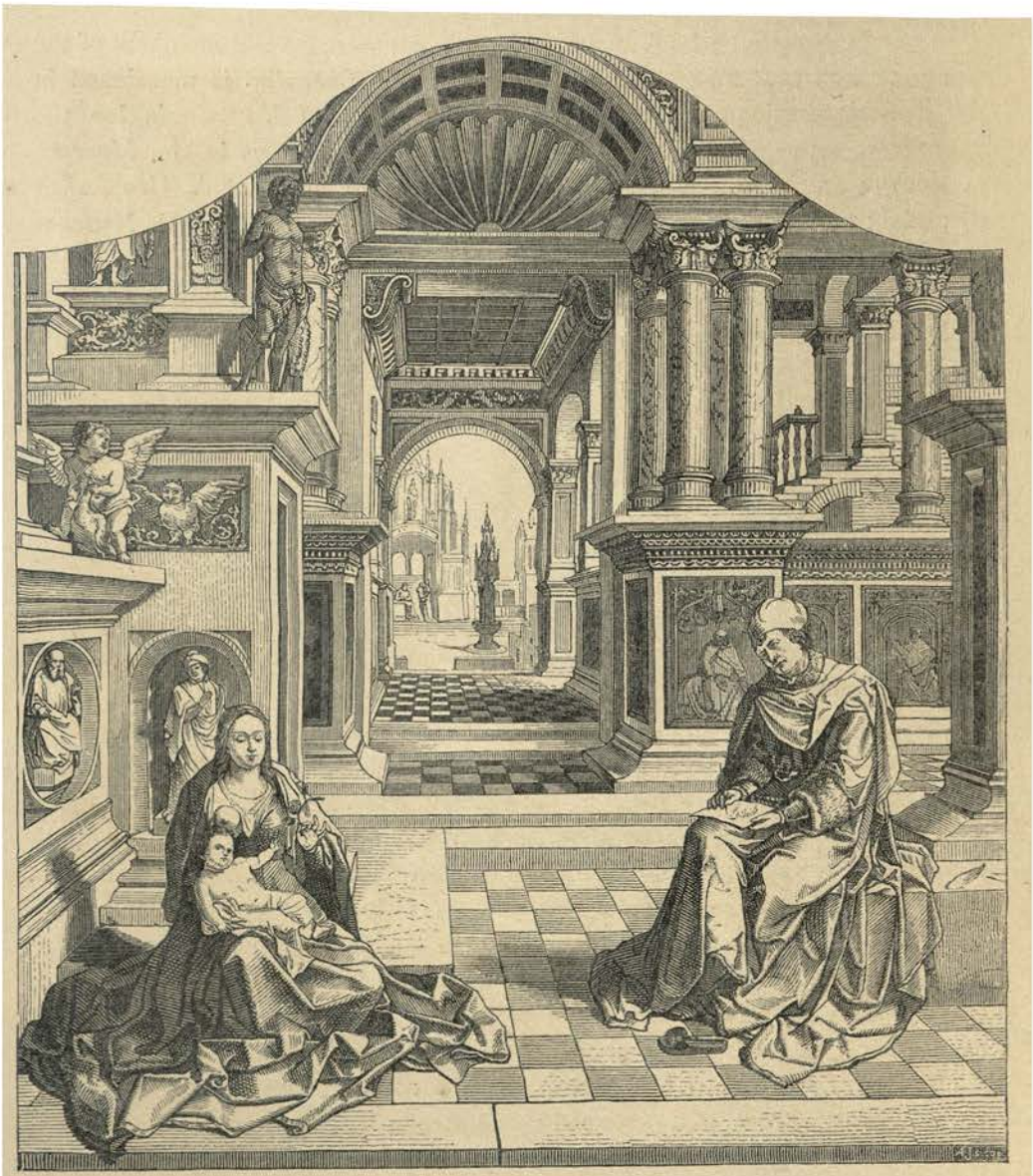


Fig. 160.

the feeling lacks spontaneity. One of his best works of this time is the picture in the Cathedral at Prague (Fig. 160) representing S. Luke painting the Virgin. There are good examples at Vienna and at Brussels. The work for which he was most famous among his contemporaries was the altar-piece at Middleburg, which was unfortunately burnt with the church in 1568. Vasari indeed names no

other; but Dürer, who saw it in 1520, wrote of it that the painting was better than the drawing. Madonna pictures by Mabuse are very numerous: in the Louvre, at Madrid, and at Münster there are well-authenticated specimens, and

Fig. 161.

the Man of Sorrows in the Antwerp Museum is also signed (though Scheibler regards it as a mere studio copy). The Adam and Eve at Hampton Court are not pleasing; and in mythological subjects he is not satisfactory—for instance, the Neptune and Amphitrite in the Berlin Gallery and the Danae in the Pinacothek (Fig. 161). His *genre* pictures and portraits are very superior: the picture of the children of King Christian II. of Denmark at Hampton

Court;[76] two fine portraits in the National Gallery and that of Jean Carondolet in the Louvre are fine examples.

[Various examples have been exhibited at Burlington House: in 1873 Mr. Fuller-Maitland's Virgin and Child; in 1874 "a priceless specimen, brilliant, delicate, and dainty," belonging to Lord Northbrook; and in 1877 Lord Methuen's "Virgin and Child with Saints, a very important late work showing marked Italian taste, of about the same period as the Louvre portrait." Lord Radnor's portrait picture (ex. 1876) is an earlier example.]

A painter whose career dates a little later than that of Mabuse worked in a quite different groove: *Joachim Patinir* (Patinier), born at Dinant towards the end of the fifteenth century, died at Antwerp in 1524 at latest. He never advanced beyond the line that *Gherard David* had reached in his Baptism of Christ in the Bruges Academy. Like his contemporaries, Altdorfer of Ratisbon and certain Venetians, he composed pictures in which the sacred action was merely accessory to the landscape. Thus the German, the Fleming, and the Venetians simultaneously hit upon an idea which each worked out to very different results. Dürer, Altdorfer, and the Venetians gave a true presentment of a natural scene; Patinir composed his landscapes of incoherent elements: rocks, woods, hills, and valleys. But this gave him greater facilities in the treatment of the religious subjects he placed in the foreground by making them seem less out of place. Dürer, who visited him in Antwerp in 1520 or 1521, speaks of him as "Joachim the good landscape painter," and the separate parts of his scenes are truly observed and tenderly felt, though the whole effect is generally artificial in tone and arrangement. Four genuine works by Patinir afford a standard by which to judge him: the Flight into Egypt in the Antwerp Gallery, the Baptism of Christ in the Belvedere (Fig. 162), a small landscape with S. Jerome at Carlsruhe, and the Temptation of S. Anthony in the Madrid Gallery,[77] where most of his authentic works are preserved. There is a genuine picture, a *Riposo*, in the Berlin Gallery, and a few others are in Germany. Those in the National Gallery seem to me doubtful, but the larger Crucifixion (No. 715) and S. John in Patmos (No. 717) may be by the master. [Waagen esteems the two at Glasgow as genuine.]

A painter who followed Patinir is *Hendrik Bles* (also called *Civetta*[78]), only, however, so far as concerns his landscapes; in figure-painting he had a style of his own and has never been duly esteemed, even Lampsonius praising him only as a landscape painter. Of his biography little is known but that he was born at Bouvines, and worked through the early part of the sixteenth century. There is little trustworthy evidence of his having been to Italy and worked in Venice; Van Mander merely tells us that he was esteemed in Italy, and this is proved by the numerous examples of his later time still to be seen there. The lists of his figure pictures that have hitherto been published are partly incorrect and partly incomplete.[79] The Adoration of the Kings in the Pinacothek

(Fig. 163) must serve as our standard of comparison. The figures, which are small and mannered, are placed in an architectural scene, of which the style shows the work to be a late one of his first period. A yet earlier picture is the Annunciation in the same gallery, in which the architecture is more Gothic; the Mount

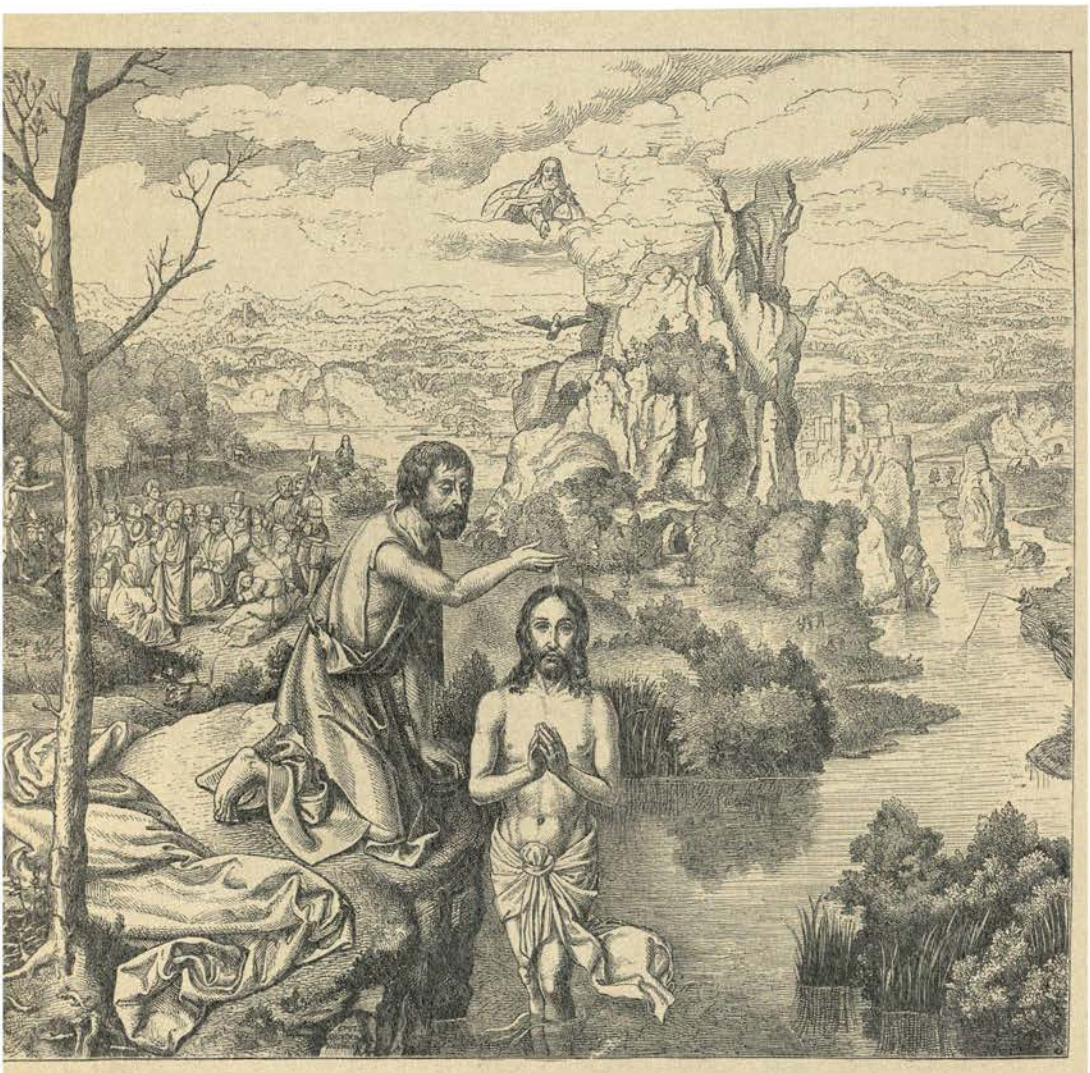


Fig. 162.

Calvary in the National Gallery (No. 718), with others at Florence and Madrid, not to speak of many unrecognised examples in various collections, are also early works. Historical pictures of his later period, in which he imitated the style sometimes of the Italians and sometimes of the old Flemish masters, are rare; the Holy Family in the Basle Museum is an example. I agree with Scheibler in ascribing to Civetta's youthful stage several works that pass under the name

Fig. 163.

of Patinir—for instance, a landscape with S. Christopher in the National Gallery (No. 716) and a *Riposo* in the Belvedere. At the time when he freed himself from the influence of Patinir he at first affected a light brownish tone, and to this period I assign a capital portrait in the Berlin Gallery and pictures in the Nuremberg Museum[80] and the Liechtenstein Gallery. His latest transition stage is seen in an admirable picture in the Uffizi, representing a street with furnaces, smithies, and a busy crowd in the foreground of a grand imaginative mountain landscape. In the landscapes of his latest period his brushwork is broader and softer, the tone lighter but at the same time less pure and very conventional. Still the novelty of the treatment made these pictures very popular; they are abundant in Italy and at Vienna, and I saw some examples in the Henry collection at Dinant. The picture in the Dresden Gallery with figures in the foreground, representing an ape robbing a sleeping pedlar, is authenticated by Van Mander.[81] [A good small example (Waagen) is the Christ on the Mount of Olives in the Liverpool Gallery.]

An inferior imitator of Civetta's later style was *Lucas Gassel;* there are pictures by him in the Belvedere and in private collections, dated between 1538 and 1561. A contemporary figure-painter of the second rank, but of considerable merit, was *Jean Bellegambe*[82] of Douai. We find him mentioned in the town archives as late as 1531. He is one of the painters who adhered to the old traditions in the composition of his pictures, while he adopted the architecture of the Renascence; he shows the influence of his time in rounder modelling and a paler, cooler tone of colour. His most important work is, after many vicissitudes, now complete in the church of Notre Dame at Douai—an altar-shrine, originally executed for the convent of Anchin. His best preserved works, however, are two triptychs in the cathedral at Arras; there is an altar-piece of the Last Judgment in the Berlin Gallery (No. 641) which I ascribe to Bellegambe.

Jean Prevost was a native of Mons, who settled at Bruges about 1493-94, and died there in 1529 in the enjoyment of a considerable reputation.[83] A Last Judgment in the Bruges Academy, which is well authenticated, ought to serve as a guide to the identification of others of his works. It is not the work of a master of the first rank, but the deep religious sentiment of the heads marks him as a faithful adherent of the old school. Another painter whose name, *Pierre des Mares*, betrays his Flemish or French origin, has left an example of his skill in a signed and dated picture, 1517, in the Pinacothek. His style shows an affinity to that of the Cologne *Master of the Holy Family*, and the picture in fact came from a church in Cologne.

Last but not least in this chapter I must name the essentially French painter *Clouet.*[84] *Jehan Clouet*, known as *Jehannet* or *Janet*, was court painter to Francis I. of France after 1518 at latest, and did not die till 1540. He is spoken of in contemporary chronicles expressly as a foreigner, and everything points to the conclusion that he was a Netherlander. No authentic works by

his own hand are known to have survived, but we are probably safe in ascribing to him the earlier and more archaic portraits, which are in the same style as those of his son François. They are paintings of the simplest but most exquisitely delicate treatment; I may name among his more important works

Fig. 164.

the equestrian portrait of Francis I. (on parchment) in the Uffizi (Fig. 164), the half-length of the same king on panel at Versailles, that of Eleanor of France at Hampton Court (No. 561), and that of Margaret of Valois in the Royal Institution at Liverpool [described in the catalogue (No. 56) under the name of Holbein].

His son *François*, who succeeded him as painter to the king, 1541-71, also went by the name of *Janet;* indeed, his fame for a long time blinded criticism to the existence of his father. A series of historical pictures by him, formerly in the Luxembourg, have unfortunately perished, but his portraits are comparatively common. They are occasionally attributed to Holbein, though their less vigour, unsubstantial modelling, defective treatment of texture, and shadowless silveriness, make them easy to distinguish. Clouet's most important work is the life-size portrait of Charles IX. in the Belvedere. A smaller replica with a portrait of Charles IX.'s queen is in the Louvre. There are miniatures of Francis II. as Dauphin at Antwerp and at Hampton Court, a fine picture of Catherine de' Medici at Castle Howard,[85] and many others of equal interest dispersed throughout the galleries of Europe, besides numerous examples of the school, which is very distinguishable by its faithful adhesion to the old northern style at a time when the French painters were servile followers of the Italian masters whom Francis I. had collected round him. [Some interesting portraits of the school of the Clouets are at Hampton Court, and Sir R. Wallace exhibited a small bust portrait by François Clouet in 1880. Another small portrait is in the National Gallery (No. 660).]

III. THE DUTCH MASTERS IN VARIOUS TOWNS OF HOLLAND were successfully competing at this period with their Flemish contemporaries. *Hieronymus* (*Jerome*) *Bosch*, more correctly *Hieronymus van Aken* of Bois le Duc (*Bosch* being the Dutch form of *Bois*, or wood), was a painter of strongly marked individuality. He was born between 1460 and 1464, and died 1516. His peculiarity lay in his treatment of the most wildly fanciful subjects, such as sins and their punishment in hell. These, as being at once farcical and terrible, soon became extremely popular, and found many imitators. At the same time he could deal skilfully with simpler subjects, giving them a very piquant humour and realism; these compositions are best known from engravings of the sixteenth century (Fig. 165). He himself was not an engraver. His more important works mentioned by Van Mander and Zanetti have perished; most of his remaining pictures are in the Madrid Museum, and two of seven there ascribed to him are undoubtedly genuine[86]—the Adoration of the Kings, full of quaint details with an extensive landscape (No. 1175), and the Temptation of S. Anthony (No. 1176). There is another of his works—a Holy Family with SS. Catherine and Barbara, in the Naples Museum. One of the best is the Last Judgment in the Vienna Academy, of which there is a copy in the Berlin Gallery. In spite of his grotesque humour, Bosch is a very noteworthy master; his execution is free and broad, clear and sure, and as a colourist he is successful in harmonising vivid local tints into a bright and glowing tone. [There is one of Bosch's fantastic representations of hell at

Hampton Court, and in the British Museum one (a man being shaved—Waagen), if not more, of his drawings. Mr. Fuller Maitland has a small Head of S. John; and there is a "good example" at Petworth: the Adoration of the Kings (Waagen).]

Haarlem too had a master of mark in *Jan Mostert*[87] (also spelt Mostaert), who, as we learn from documents, was already in employment in 1500 and

Fig. 165.

still alive in 1549; he was for a considerable time in the service of the Archduchess Margaret. Van Mander praises him highly, and names a long series of his works which no longer exist, many of them having perished in the burning of Haarlem. As it is now considered certain that the two portraits in the Antwerp Museum (Nos. 263 and 264) are not the portraits of Frank van Borselen and his wife, painted, as Van Mander tells us, by Mostert, no signed or authenticated work by him can be positively identified. We have only the large picture of our Lady of Sorrows, surrounded by seven smaller pictures, in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges, on which to base our judgment of

the master; and even these, though tradition ascribes them to him, are in no way authenticated. However, it must be admitted that the long list of pictures assigned to him by Waagen as the painter of this work strongly resemble it. The catalogue might indeed be greatly extended. This painter, whom with Waagen we will assume to have been Mostert, certainly was the painter of a Madonna (No. 554) in the Berlin Gallery, of an Adoration of the Kings (No. 639) in the Pinacothek, of a Madonna in Glory (No. 262) in the Antwerp Museum, and of other works at Vienna, Brussels, and Lübeck; and in these he reveals himself as an accomplished master, a quite independent follower of *Gherard David*, but more tender in his treatment of form and broader in his composition. His landscapes too, which are often the principal part of the picture, are admirable. Whether this thoroughly distinguished painter was in truth Jan Mostert of Haarlem must remain for the present undecided. [A very graceful Virgin and Child seated under a tree with a landscape background in the National Gallery (No. 713) is the only example there; it is one of the works presented by the Queen. The Royal Institution at Liverpool has a second specimen, and one was exhibited in 1879, the property of the Rev. Dr. Ash, —a diptych of the Annunciation.]

Jan Joest, the painter of the Calcar altar-piece, was probably a native of Haarlem.

Another centre of artistic effort at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Leyden. The earliest master there who is known to us by name is *Cornelis Engelbrechtsen*, a son of the wood engraver, *Engelbert van Leyden*, born 1468, died 1533; his name appears in the town archives in 1499 and 1522. Most of his works perished in the revolt of the Iconoclasts; two altar-pieces authenticated by Van Mander still exist in the Leyden Gallery—one with the Crucifixion as the chief subject, and one with a *Pietà*. The latter is at any rate a weaker and inferior work.[88] [A little picture in the National Gallery (No. 714) bears his name; it is one of those from the Wallenstein Gallery, presented by the Queen.]

His far more famous scholar was *Lucas van Leyden*,[89] one of the most brilliant and versatile artists of his time; he might be called the Dürer of Holland. His real name was Lucas Jakobsz, and he was born at Leyden in 1494. His genius developed itself early, for one of his copperplates bears the date 1508; he married in 1515, and after 1521 was living for a time in Antwerp, where he became the personal friend of Dürer; in 1527 he made a tour—almost a triumphal progress—through the Netherlands, and died in his native town in 1533. His best energies were concentrated on engraving, though he has also left a considerable number of paintings, which show that he was a master of technique. The pictures of his most independent period have a peculiar charm of their own from the singularity of the type, the originality of the composition, the brilliancy and splendour of the colouring, and the warmth of tone,

especially in the carnations with their olive shadows. In his later years he fell into various eccentricities in trying to keep up with the Italian influence of the time. In judging of his works caution is necessary, to avoid being misled by the numerous oil-paintings from his engravings done by his imitators. Of genuine works one of the most interesting is the great triptych at Leyden, of which the centre subject is the Last Judgment, the right wing a picture of hell, and the left a scene of paradise. Here the tradition of the old Flemish school has governed the arrangement; the figures, though carefully drawn, are meagre; the expression lacks intensity. There is a genuine picture by this master at Wilton, the property of the Earl of Pembroke, representing some ladies and gentlemen at cards, with highly characteristic heads, somewhat hard in treatment. The Game of Chess and the Penance of S. Jerome in the Berlin Gallery are also to be regarded as genuine, but I cannot recognise his hand in the Hermits in the Liechtenstein Gallery; a Madonna with S. Catherine presenting the donor, in the Pinacothek, is a powerful late work.[90] Genuine again is the Sibyl with the Emperor Augustus in the Vienna Academy (Fig. 166)—a work of which the authenticity has been doubted, in my opinion without sufficient reason; its pale tone is a result of the use of tempera on canvas. The picture of Moses striking the Rock, 1527, in the Villa Borghese; the Adoration of the Kings, at Buckingham Palace [Ex. Old Masters, 1881], and a Crucifixion, signed, in the possession of Herr Ed. Weber at Hamburg, are certainly by him. A late picture, perhaps the master's last finished oil-painting, 1531, is the Healing of the Blind, highly praised by Van Mander, and now in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg. [A small Virgin and Child is in the collection of Mr. Fuller Maitland at Stanstead (ex. in 1873). Hampton Court boasts of three—of which one, at least, is considered very doubtful—and the Liverpool Institution has a portrait, esteemed genuine by Waagen, who also speaks of "the Dentist" at Chatsworth as certainly by the master. In 1877 Lord Methuen exhibited a rather large work, described as Christ before Pilate, in tempera: "a ruined, but still exceedingly interesting, example of this favourite method with the master."[91]]

His engravings give us further insight into the history of his life as an artist; Bartsch and Passavant reckon 177 plates.[92] Lucas van Leyden cannot, it is true, be regarded, like Dürer, as marking an epoch in the history of the art; still his technique is marked by great delicacy and a tender grayness of tone. Of paramount importance in following the master's development is his treatment of the figure in these plates: his earliest, before 1512, are characterised by a mean, angular, nay, often very ugly type, with that mannered lengthiness which was then the accepted ideal of grace, while they betray an honest striving after fervent expression. An example is the Temptation of S. Anthony (Fig. 167), B. 117. In his middle period he sacrificed the religious sentiment and devoted himself to giving his subjects a thoroughly Dutch, and sometimes

Fig. 166.

a very grotesque, rendering; at the same time, his drawing was freer and his scenes better composed: of this period may be named the Adoration of the Kings, dated 1513, B. 37; a S. Jerome, 1516, B. 113; and Esther before Ahasuerus, 1518, B. 31. For a time before and after 1520 we perceive that Lucas is intentionally competing with Dürer, whom he occasionally

Fig. 167.

surpasses in the free adaptation of the figure, though he never can compare with him in feeling and thoroughness of workmanship. Of this period are the Magdalene of 1519, B. 122; the famous half-length of the Emperor Maximilian, 1520, of which Van Mander speaks as being his finest plate; a Passion series, 1521, B. 43-56; and a Madonna, 1523, B. 84. In three genre subjects, of 1523 and 1524, which represent a dentist (Fig. 168), a surgeon, and two musicians, B. 155-157, a powerful treatment of the figure is allied to a keen realisation of humour and character. In 1525 he engraved his own portrait

—the face has a look of suffering. After this he yielded completely to Italian influence; Marc Antonio was fatal to him. Fine as his later works are in some respects, they are, for the most part, full of mannerism. Really painful examples are the Adam and Eve, B. 9, and the First Murder, B. 5; the Venus and Mars, 1530, B. 137, is still nobly treated. He also drew for woodcuts; Passavant enumerates thirty-two blocks cut from his designs, but they throw

Fig. 168.

no further light on his history as an artist. Lucas van Leyden was the first native Dutch artist to make himself a world-wide reputation.

In Amsterdam, in the early years of the century, there flourished a master of much merit, mentioned by Van Mander as *Jakob Cornelissen;* he was born in East Zaanen. He signs himself with a peculiar mark between the letters I. and A., so he probably called himself *Jakob van Amsterdam.* His woodcuts have always been known to collectors,[93] but his oil-pictures have only lately been identified or done justice to; the inference seems certain that he is

identical with a certain Westphalian master whom Waagen struck out of his *Handbook*. Though he remained more austere and archaic than many of his contemporaries, and was faithful on the whole to the older school, the architecture in his later works is that of the Renascence; his execution is careful but free, his colour bright and rich. The earliest date on any picture by him is 1506, the latest 1526; but a picture which has now disappeared was dated 1530. There are two of his paintings in the Cassel Gallery—a *Noli me tangere* (Fig. 169), which was formerly unaccountably ascribed to Schäufelein; and an Adoration of the Holy Trinity, signed with his monogram, and dated 1523. Three more are at Berlin, while in the Amsterdam Museum a picture of Saul and the Witch of Endor has lately been hung, also signed and dated 1526—not 1500, which is the work of the restorer. There are others at the Hague, 1524, at Vienna, and in the Naples Museum. [Two small full-length portraits, the donors probably of an altar-piece, represent this master in the National Gallery (No. 657).]

Turning from Amsterdam to Utrecht, we find *Jakob van Utrecht* (*Jacobus Trajectensis*), who merits a passing notice as having been made a member of the Antwerp Guild in 1506. A portrait by him, dated 1523, in the Berlin Museum, proves him to have been a meritorious painter.

But the pride of Utrecht at this time, though not a native of the town, was *Jan van Scorel*[94] (Schoorl, Schoreel, or Schoorle), who was in fact the most independent painter of his time, and a follower of the Italian Renascence. As he was born in the fifteenth century, and passed through a decidedly German period in his youth, he must be mentioned here. He took his name from the village near Alkmar, where he was born in 1495. His first teacher was Willem Cornelissen at Amsterdam, and after him Jakob Cornelissen; then, in order to work under Mabuse, he went to Utrecht, and subsequently travelled to Nuremburg, where he studied the works of Dürer. It was in Carinthia, however, that he painted his first signed picture, dated 1520, a fine altar with wings, still preserved in the church of Ober-Vellach, and which plainly reveals the influence of both *Cornelissen* and *Dürer*. Still this was not the end of his wanderings; he went not only to Venice but to Jerusalem, and finally spent some time at Rome, where he was appointed Curator of the Papal Collections of Antiquities by Adrian VI., who was his fellow-countryman; here he sat at the feet of Raphael and Michael Angelo. He was at home again by 1525 at latest, and then painted a series of tempera pictures for the Church of Warmenhuizen, near Alkmar,[95] where they are still preserved. In these he appears as a frank follower of the Italians. Scorel worked for a long time in Ghent, but lived for a little while in Haarlem in 1527, where Heemskerk and Antonio Moro were his pupils. Finally he returned to Utrecht, was made Canon of S. Mary's,[96] and died 1562.

Most of his works in Holland were destroyed by the Iconoclasts, and very

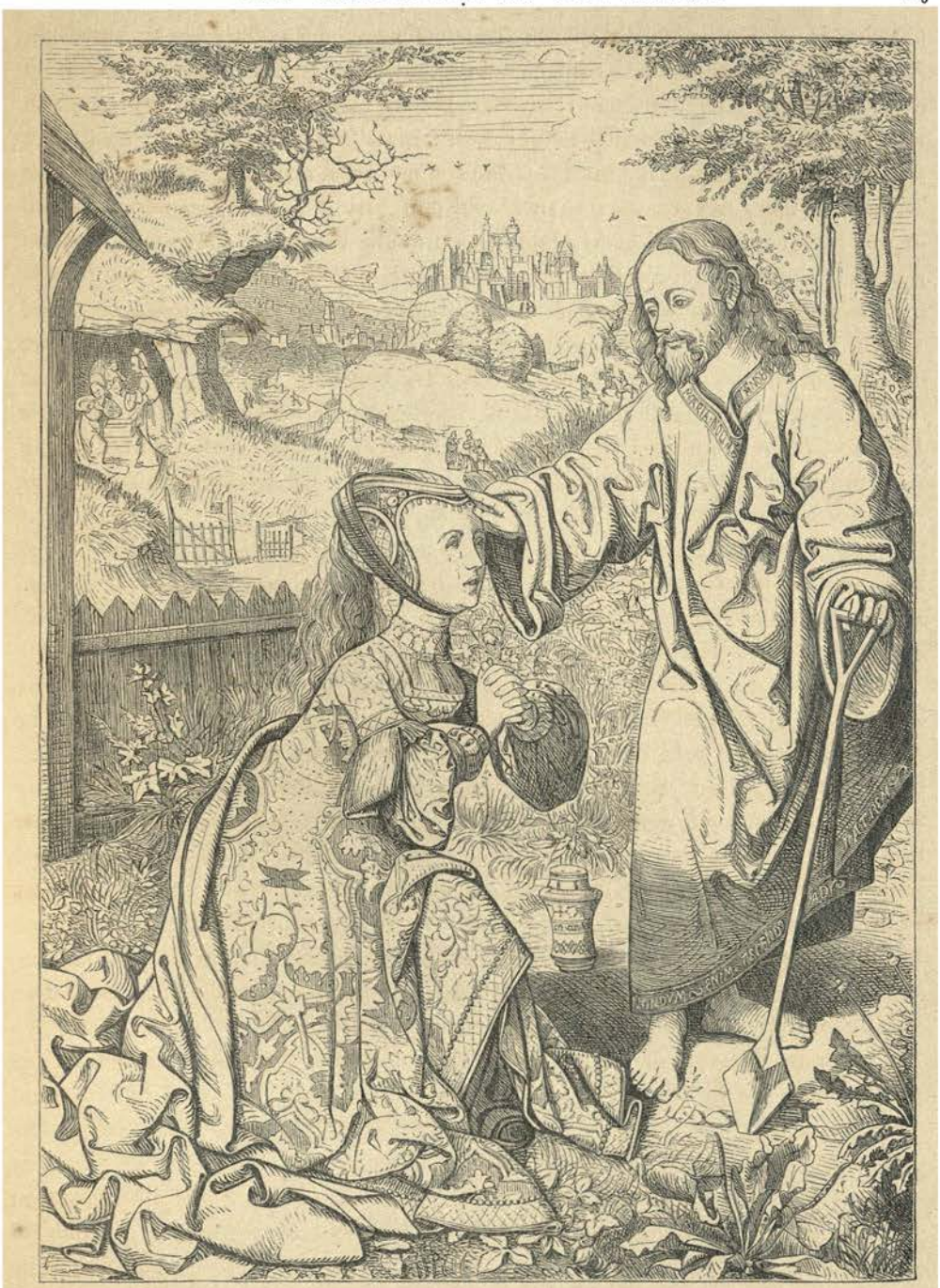


Fig. 169.

few of those formerly ascribed to him in various galleries are genuine. Nevertheless, there are a certain number which are well authenticated. In the Museum at Bonn there is a Crucifixion by him, signed and dated 1530. The

drawing is evidently Italianised, but the technique and colour are those of the North. A Madonna at Utrecht; a Magdalene, a picture of the Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon, and a Bathsheba, all three at Amsterdam; a Baptism of Christ, in which the figures are merely accessory to the landscape; and an Adam and Eve, both at Haarlem, are no doubt his work. The Dresden Gallery has a very Italian David conquering Goliath, by Scorel (which in the new catalogue, No. 65, is unaccountably ascribed to Bronzino). His portraits show a more independent style; they are full of character, firmly drawn, simply and flowingly painted, with rather unnaturally sallow flesh tones. Three half-length portraits of Brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, and one of himself, in the town-hall at Utrecht, are certainly by him; and another authenticated work is the portrait of Agathe van Schoenhoven, 1529, in the Palazzo Doria, Rome. Others exist at Dusseldorf (No. 1, the portrait of a woman), in the Berlin Gallery, in the Cologne Museum, where two pictures by him are ascribed to Bruyn, and in the Rotterdam Museum (a portrait of a boy, 1531). [Two pictures, the gift of her Majesty, bear his name in the National Gallery. There is a portrait of an old woman by Scorel in the Fuller-Maitland collection, and Waagen accepts a Virgin and Child at Hampton Court (No. 578) as genuine.]

Jan Swart, of Groningen, was not, as Kramm says, a pupil of Scorel's, for he was in fact considerably the elder (born 1469); he spent some time in Venice, as we are told by Lomazzo and Van Mander, and afterwards settled in Gouda, where he died in 1535.[97] One of his woodcuts, Christ preaching from the Ship, a very fine piece, bears his monogram. Corresponding with this in style is the picture in the Pinacothek of S. John the Baptist preaching, and an Adoration of the Kings, in the Antwerp Museum; but not the pictures in the Brussels Museum (No. 32) and the Pinacothek (No. 652) which have hitherto been attributed to him. In these works we see Jan Swart as a master who, though he emancipated himself at a comparatively early date from the old Flemish traditions, has no particular or original charm.

[Among the rare early pictures belonging to the Queen is an Adoration of the Kings by Jan Swart, of which Waagen speaks as characteristic.]

APPENDIX I.

1. The principal sources of information concerning Van Eyck and the Flemish schools of art are: Bartholomæus Facius, *De viris illustribus*, 1456, first printed at Florence in 1745; Jean Lemaire, *La couronne Margueritique*, an allegorical poem in honour of the Archduchess Margaret, in which painters are mentioned, 1511, printed at Lyons 1549; L. de Laborde, in the *Revue Archéologique* and elsewhere, published the *Inventaire des tableaux, livres, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, 1850; Jacopo Morelli, an anonymous writer known as L'Anonimo di Morelli ["probably Marc Antonio Michiel, a Venetian nobleman," J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*, Lond. 1883, p. 77], *Notizie d'opere di disegno, nella prima metà del sec.* xvi., Bassano, 1800; Vasari, *Vite*, 1st ed. 1550, *Proemio*, and the *Life of Antonello da Messina;* see too in the 2d and subsequent editions the chapter *Di diversi artefici fiamminghi*, and a letter addressed to Vasari by Dom. Lampsonius (Milanesi ed., vii. p. 579); Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi*, Anversa, 1567, the chapter on Antwerp used by Vasari for his 2d ed.; Marc van Vaernewyck, *De Historie van Belgis of Kronyke der nederlandsche Oudheyd*, b. iv. ch. 47 (pub. first in 1568 with the title, *Den Spieghel der Nederlandscher Oudtheyt*); Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, part iv., *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders*, Amsterdam, 1604. [Henri Hymans, *Le Livre des Peintres de C. van Mander, trad.*, Paris, 1885.] Pinchart gives a good review of all these authorities in the notes to the French edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle. See also Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, vol. viii. p. 103.

In modern literature see Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, Breslau, 1862. Waagen's more recent views and a résumé of his latest researches are to be found in the last ed. of Kugler, *Handbook of Painting. [German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, ed. by J. Crowe, London, 1874.] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1857 and 1872. [These authors will be so frequently referred to in this work that they will henceforth be designated for brevity as C. and C., and the references rectified to the English edition of 1872.] The French edition, Brussels, 1862, has a valuable additional volume of annotations by Ruelens and Pinchart. Hotho, *Die Malerschule Huberts van Eyck*, unfinished, Berlin, 1858. A. Michiels, *Histoire de la peinture flamande*, Paris and Brus. 1865; untrustworthy. Schnaase, *Gesch. der bildende Künste*, vol. viii., 1876. A variety of essays and memoirs have also appeared in different periodicals or as separate volumes, by James Weale, Wauters, Edmond de Busscher E. van Even, Pinchart, and others. L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1849. [See also A. H. Keane, *Artists Mediæval and Modern; The Early Teutonic, Italian and French Masters* (translated from the Dohme series, *Kunst und Künstler*), London, 1880.—Boiserée, *Sammlung Alt-Nieder-und Ober-Deutscher Gemälde;* and E. Förster, *Denkmale Deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei, und Malerei*, will make the untravelled reader acquainted with a number of the finest works of the early Flemish and German schools in foreign galleries. The publications of the Vienna Society for reproductive arts (vervielfältigende Kunst) and those of the London Arundel Society are also of great interest to the student of early art. Fred. Maynard, *Twenty Years of the Arundel Society*, 1849 to 1868, and *Five Years of the Arundel Society*, 1869 to 1873, gives a convenient review of the Society's publications, with photographs on a reduced scale, and notices of artists.]

2. I offer no hypothesis as to the relative ages of the Van Eycks, as founded on the idea that two of the heads in the panel with the "Just Judges" are portraits of the two brothers. The earliest authorities for this statement are Van Vaernewyck and Lucas de Heere, both writers of the latter half of the fourteenth century. Carel van Mander publishes an ode on the altar-piece by Lucas de Heere. The foremost rider, supposed to be Hubert, is certainly much older than the one who turns to look back, and this seems to have suggested the assumption that the brothers were far apart in age.

3. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. i. See also Pinchart's notes to C. and C., French ed., p. clxxxvi.

4. James Weale, *Notes sur Jan van Eyck*, Lond. 1861. For Margaret and Lambert van Eyck see C. and C., *Early Flemish Schools*, pp. 132, 133.

5. Schnaase, viii. p. 83. Eastlake, *Materials*, 219. [For Theophilus and Cennino see ante, vol. i. 255 and 450—Theophilus, trans. by R. Hendrie, *An Essay upon various Arts*, Lond. 1847; Cennino, trans. by Mrs. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Art of Painting*, 1849.]

6. A copy was made in 1559 by Michael Coxcie for King Philip II. The two centre panels of this copy are in the Berlin Museum; the Virgin and S. John the Baptist are in the Pinakothek at Munich. Six wing panels are now in S. Bavon at Ghent, with the largest panel which is genuine; the Adam and Eve are much later copies. Modesty of a very recent date has clothed them in a sort of savage raiment; [fully described in Kugler, ed. Crowe, Lond. 1879].

7. Waagen, *Art Treasures in England*, iii. 349; *Handbook*, ed. Crowe, p. 67. C. and C. doubt its genuineness, but describe it fully, *Flem. school*, p. 90. [See the *Athenæum*, August 28, 1875.]

8. Described in the inventory of the Archduchess Margaret's property, 1516; and again, but incorrectly, by Vaernewyck; and from him—by C. van Mander—as belonging to Maria Queen of Hungary and Governess of the Netherlands.

9. J. Weale, *Catalogue du musée de l'acad. de Bruges*, 1861; mentioned by Guicciardini. There is an early copy in the Antwerp Museum.

10. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Ermitage zu S. Petersburg*, p. 115. Facius describes a similar picture in the possession of Alphonso King of Naples, with S. John the Baptist and S. Hieronymus on the wings, and Lomellin, the donor, and his wife outside.

11. C. and C., p. 115; J. Meyer and Bode, *Katalog der Berl. Gemäldegalerie*, 116; see too *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, ii. 419, with reference to various copies and replicas.

12. *Handbook*, ed. Crowe, p. 67.

13. Waagen, in *Zahn's Jahrb.* i. 47. C. and C., p. 146, attribute the picture to Petrus Cristus.

14. J. Weale, in *Le Beffroi*, i. pp. 235, 151, and 204. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, i. p. cxxvi. In 1454 Petrus Cristus had to make three copies of a miraculous Virgin in the cathedral at Cambrai.

15. Petrus Cristus or Cristi with an abbreviated Christus monogram; C. and C., p. 140. It must have been a misunderstanding of the monogram which led Waagen to state that the name on the frame of the female portrait at Berlin was Petrus Christophori. He was formerly known as Peter Christophson.

16. *Archæologia*, 1870. A coloured print.

17. Erroneously called S. Godeberta by Weale.

18. Ed. de Busscher, *Recherches sur les peintres Gantois*, p. 205.

19. Ed. de Busscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 105, 113, 117; Wauters, *Hugues van der Goes, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brus. 1872; Laborde, *op. cit.*, i. p. cxvi. See too *Bulletins de l'Acad. de Belgique*, Ser. ii. vol. ii. p. 737, for an extract from the Chronicles of the Convent, written by Caspar Ofhuys (d. 1523).

20. Pungileoni, *Elogio storico di Giov. Santi*, Urbino, 1822, p. 65. [See Lady Eastlake, *Five Great Painters*, vol. ii. p. 146.]

21. *Cat. du musée d'Anvers*; Wauters, *R. v. d. Weyden, ses œuvres*, etc., Brus. 1856; Pinchart, in the French ed. of C. and C.—C. van Mander makes two persons of him, Rogier van Brugge and Rogier van der Weyden, who died, he says, in 1529.

22. A. Pinchart, *R. van der Weyden et les tapisseries de Berne; Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, ser. ii. vol. xvii. p. 54, Brus. 1864; Fig. in Jubinal, *Tapisseries Historiées*, Paris, 1838.

23. Förster, *Denkmale*, xi. There is a copy by a pupil of his school, dated 1488, in the Berlin Museum.

24. Ponz, *Viage de España*, Madrid, 1783, xii. p. 58.

25. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, ii. 161. C. and C. 200. On the outside are the arms of Brabant and of the Bracque family.

26. An outline of the whole in C. and C. The centre panels in Förster, *Denkmale*, x.

27. Collucci, *Antichità Picene*, xv. p. cxliii.; C. and C., p. 208, where the money account, as copied by the Marchese Campori at Ferrara, is also given.

28. See *Zahn's Jahrb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. p. 40; C. and C., p. 216; Laborde, *op. cit.*, i. p. lix. This hypothesis, suggested by Kinkel, was accepted by Waagen. But there is no documentary evidence as to the subject of the Cambrai picture; all we learn is that it contained "11 huystoires," that

would be eight on the middle panel, two inside the wings, and one outside; and the size is stated as six and a half feet high by five feet wide. But the altar at Madrid is only one metre ninety-six across, with the wings shut, and the wings are of the same height. The centre panel has been cut, and is now only one metre seventy-two high; so the dimensions do not altogether correspond.

29. Centre panel in Didron, *Ann. Archéologique*, xxi. p. 241. C. and C. (p. 220) doubt its authenticity, but without reason.

30. [*Handbook*, ed. Crowe, 80; and note by J. A. Crowe, 111.]

31. Ed. Fétis, *Sur un triptyque du mus. de Brux. attribué par erreur à Goswin v. d. Weyden; Bull. des commissions roy. d'art et d'archéologie*, Brussels, 1862.

32. It was formerly usual to ascribe pictures of this class in general terms to Rogier v. d. Weyden *the younger*. This is inaccurate, to say the least, for it was Goswin's son whose name was Rogier, and he did not join the Antwerp guild till 1528, and is still mentioned as belonging to it in 1538. See Léon de Burbure, *Documents inédits sur les peintres Gossuin et Rogier v. d. Weyden le jeune; Bull. de l'Acad. de Belg.*, ser. ii. xx. p. 354. [Waagen throughout falls into this confusion of names.]

33. Ed. van Even, *Thierry Bouts, dit Stuerbout*, Brus. 1861; A. Wauters, *Thierri Bouts ou de Harlem et ses fils*, Brus. 1863; Ed. v. Even, *Thierry Bouts, Dix Lettres à M. A. Wauters*, Louvain, 1864. The name of Stuerbout, which has been erroneously given to him of late, arises from the fact that a family of painters of that name is met with at Louvain; particularly one Hubert Stuerbout, who is frequently mentioned. Wauters fixes Dirk Bouts' birth in 1391, but it was certainly later; there are no grounds for identifying him with one Dirk van Haarlem, who in 1467 was called as witness in a trial at Brussels, and who then gave his age as seventy-six.

34. Descamps in the last century called him "Hemling," having misread the antiquated, but by no means unusual form of "M" in the inscription. The name was variously written as Memlinc, Memelinc, Memmelyncghe, etc.

35. J. Weale, in various passages, in *Le Beffroi*, in the *Cat. du musée de l'acad. de Bruges*, and in the Arundel Society's publication, *Hans Memlinc, a Notice of his Life and Works*, 1865.

36. Schnaase has, however, no sufficient grounds for referring a passage in the accounts of payments for Rogier's picture at Cambrai to Hans Memlinc. See *Gesch. der bild. Kunst*, viii. p. 235. "Hayne, jone pointre," who is said to have done the decorative work of the border, cannot be identified with Memlinc, and is not, in fact, spoken of as a pupil of Rogier's, though his "ouvriers" are mentioned; he may have been a native craftsman.

37. Förster, *Denkmale*, ix. Hotho, Waagen, and C. and C., who give a full description of the work, all very rightly ascribe it to Memlinc; Schnaase, however, hesitates.

38. C. and C., p. 294, enumerate them critically.

39. Förster, *Denkmale*, viii. Fully described in Waagen's *Handbook*, ed. Crowe, p. 99.

40. A replica, by Memlinc no doubt, with very slight differences, is the travelling altar-piece of Charles V., as it is called, at Madrid.

41. Very likely this is identical with a picture originally in the chapel of the Booksellers' guild at Bruges; this is probably the centre panel of the altar-piece presented by Willem Vreland, and ordered of Meister Hans in 1477-78. C. and C., p. 277. Reproduced in colours by the Arundel Soc.

42. This and the Vienna picture are attributed in the catalogues to Hugo van der Goes.

43. J. Weale, *Cat. du musée de l'acad. de Bruges; Beffroi*, i. p. 223, ii. p. 288, iii. p. 334; *Gaz. des beaux-arts*, xx. p. 524, xxi. p. 489.

44. *Die burgundischen Gewänder*, twelve photographs with letterpress, Vienna, 1864; Fig. in Förster, *Denkmale*, iv.; see too E. Freiherr von Sacken, in *Mitth. der k. k. Centralcom.*, iii. 1858, p. 118, *Der burgundische Messornat des goldenen Vliess-Orden*, illustrated.

45. Alph. Wauters, *Les tapisseries Bruxelloises*, Brus. 1878. For a full account and coloured prints of these and the Nancy, Berne, and other tapestries, the reader is referred to the illustrated folio volumes of A. Jubinal, *Les anciennes Tapisseries historiées*, Paris, 1838.

46. [They represent "the Triumphs" of Petrarca. See *The Builder*, April 7, 1883; and they are described (with two Figs.) by E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France*, Par., 1885, p. 540.]

47. Laborde, *op. cit.*, ii. p. xxvii., i. p. 496, and elsewhere; Pinchart in C. and C., French ed., p. ccxxxix. [Marmion, Mielot, etc., are named in Laborde, *Essai d'un Catalogue des Artistes des Bays Bas, etc.*, Paris, 1849.]

48. Instances of this quaint familiarity of treatment are the French translation of Suetonius, Lucan, etc., 1454, in the Bib. de l'Arsenal, Paris; *Les Epistres d'Ovide*, Bib. Nationale, Paris, Fran. 874: *Epistre d'Othea*, etc., by Christine de Pisan, at the Royal Lib., Hague.

49. No. 9215. The Catalogue of the Bib. de Bourgogne contains several reproductions of miniatures, including this Crucifixion.

50. [Waagen, *Art Treasures;* see also Shaw, Henry, *Illuminated Ornaments selected from MSS. and early printed works*, with an excellent introduction written by Sir Henry Madden; and Shaw, H., *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, for numerous references to illuminated volumes in public and private collections in England. The catalogue by Ruelens of the MSS. exhibited at Brussels in 1880 contains much interesting information.]

51. In this and in the *Conquestes de Charlemagne* we have the name of the binder: "Stuuaert Lieuin me lya ainsi a Gand," or "a Gand ou a bruges."

52. See *Le Beffroi*, iv. p. 111. The evidence as to the history of this volume is not conclusive.

53. Known as "La Flore." Fornari, *Notizie della Bib. naz. di Napoli*, 1874, p. 69.

54. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres*, 1st ser. vol. i. § 13; and in C. and C., French ed., p. cccii.; Harzen, *Archiv für die zeichn. Künste*, iv. 1858, p. 3.

55. See later under Mabuse, p. 67.

56. *Arch. de l'art français*, Documents, v. p. 213; Ruelens, notes to C. and C., French ed., p. clviii.

57. Fig. in *Les Œuvres complètes du roi René;* Comte de Quatrebarbes, i., Angers, 1835; Kugler, *Handbook of Painting, Flemish, French, and Spanish Schools*, ed. by Sir E. Head, 1854, ii. p. 226.

58. Michiels, *L'art flamand dans l'est et le midi de la France*, Paris, 1877, p. 539. [Mrs. Mark Pattison, *The Renaissance of Art in France*, Lond., 1879; E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France*, Paris, 1885.]

59. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, trans. by Mrs. Clough, 1879, p. 105.

60. There are numerous figures in Quatrebarbes, *op. cit.*

61. Vallet de Viriville: *Rev. de Paris*, 1857, Aug. und Nov.; Laborde, *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, Paris, 1850-55, i. pp. 155, 691, etc.; C. Ruland, *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1866, pp. 27 and 311, gives a detailed account of Foucquet and his works; L. Curmer, *Notice sur Jehan Foucquet, Appendice des Évangiles*, Paris, 1864. *L'Œuvre de Jean Foucquet*, Paris, 1865, has coloured reproductions. [C. and C., pp. 365 and 366, quote the passages in the Couroune Margueritique, in which Foucquet is mentioned.] In the extract from Filarete given by Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 205, the name is written *Giacchetto Francioso*. Vasari, however, had seen a MS. of Filarete's in which it was correctly spelt, for it is on his authority that he mentions the portrait in the Minerva; in his first edition he calls the painter *Giovanni Fochetto;* in the second it becomes *Foccora*. See the Milanesi ed. of Vasari, ii. p. 461. [Mrs. Mark Pattison, *The Renaissance in France*, i. p. 254; E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 490 ff.]

62. The head of the Virgin is said to be a portrait of Agnes Sorel, and has been frequently copied.

63. In the Gothic house on the Taunusplatz. The leaves are so framed that both sides are visible. [One was formerly in the possession of Mr. Rogers. *Photographs*, Frankfort, a. M. (no date).]

[63.* (P. 58.) The greater portion of the examples exhibited at the B. F. A. Club in 1874 formed the collection of Mr. Bragge, and a few choice volumes were lent by the late Rev. J. Fuller Russell. The descriptive catalogue, printed for the members, gives a good account of the finest specimens; many French and Flemish of the fifteenth century.]

64. Dibdin, *A Bibliographical Tour*, iii. p. 269.

65. Pub. in facsimile by Curmer, Paris, 1861. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, i. p. xxiv. He believes that Jean Poyet executed the miniatures in this book. Lemaire mentions this illuminator in a poem ("La plainte du Desire," see Pinchart, notes to C. and C., French ed., p. ccxlix.), and he was paid in 1497 for painting the miniatures in a prayer-book for the queen. But the description does not correspond with the book in question, and as the initial "L" occurs entwined with the "A" it must have been executed after Anne's second marriage with Louis XII. in 1498.

66. In addition to the authorities enumerated in note 1 the reader may be referred to the following:—Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie der edlen . . . Künste*, Nürnberg, 1675-79; J. D. Fiorillo, *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland*, Hanover, 1815; Ernst Förster, *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1851-60; G. Rathgeber, *Annalen der niederl. Malerei*, Gotha, 1839-44; C. Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstschilders*, Amsterdam, 1842-43; Chr. Kramm, *A*

Continuation of Immerzeel's Work under the same Title, 1857-64; the catalogues of the Antwerp and Brussels Museums, which are valuable for Pinchart's original notes. I am indebted to Dr. L. Scheibler for allowing me to avail myself of his copious MS. notes on the German and Flemish schools of this period. For the Antwerp school, see Max Rooses, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Ghent, 1879, in German by Franz Reber; F. J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1879; Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerius, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lukas-Gilde*, Antwerp, 1864-76.

67. An old monograph is by Alex. van Fornenbergh, *Den Antwerpsche Proteus*, Antw. 1658. Van Even, *L'ancienne école de peinture de Louvain*, Brus. 1870. I regard the question as to whether Louvain or Antwerp was this master's birthplace as settled by P. Génard in his monograph, *Nasporingen over den geboortsplaats en de familie van Quinten Massys*, Antw. 1870.

68. [For a full account of this treatment of the Holy Family or family of the Virgin Mary (known in German as *die heilige Sippe*, in Waagen's *Handbook* as "Holy Kith and Kin pictures," ed. Crowe, 133), see Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 261.]

69. Max Rooses' theory (*op. cit.*, p. 94 of the Flemish edition), that Quinten had two sons by his two wives, both named Jan, both of whom were painters, and that the genre pictures in imitation of his father's style are to be ascribed to the elder, cannot be accepted. See J. v. d. Branden, *op. cit.*, p. 135 sq. Of Jan Massys the elder, who was passed as Master in painting in 1501, we know nothing—not even that he was Quinten's son; early writers mention only one Jan as the son of Quinten.

70. J. Weale, *Cat. du Musée de l'académie de Bruges*, 1861. A. Michiels, *op. cit.*, p. 52. As to the Last Judgment in the Berlin Gallery, formerly ascribed to Blondeel, see below *Bellegambe*, p. 73. Scheibler is of opinion that neither the Berlin Madonna nor the S. Peter in the Brussels Museum is by this master.

71. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*. [See the catalogue of the collection, p. 34.]

72. *Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, i. p. 324.

73. *Histoire de la peinture de Louvain*, *Messager des sciences*, 1864, p. 311 sq. Passavant, *Peintr graveur*, iii. p. 2.

74. A. Woltmann, *Dürer und Mabuse in Prag*, "*Aus vier Jahrehunderten*," Berlin, 1878, p. 28 sq. Vasari says, "E Giovanni di Mabuse fu quasi il primo che portasse d'Italia in Fiandra il vero modo di fare storie piene di figure ignude e di poesie." Siret, *Journal des Beaux arts*, 1879, p. 47, accepts the dates as given by E. van Even. Previously to this 1532 had been assumed to be the date of Mabuse's death.

75. See Bode's edition of Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, 1879, p. 617.

76. [E. Law, *Historical Catalogue of Pictures at Hampton Court Palace*, London, 1880, p. 198. There is a portion of an altar-piece by him in the Glasgow Gallery (Waagen).]

77. I myself vainly sought the signature which is almost effaced on this picture, but Dr. Scheibler found it and informed me of the fact. Madrazo's catalogue ascribes seven pictures to Patinir, but I can only regard four as genuine—No. 1523, the S. Jerome; No. 1519, the *Riposo;* No. 1522, S. Jerome in a Cave; No. 1524, Paradise and Hell.

78. Van Mander says that his nickname was "met de bles," from a lock of white hair—"een witte vlok of bles hair." This derivation is not, however, satisfactory; the master signs himself Henricus Blesius on a picture in the Munich Pinacothek, and it seems likely that it was his name. To conclude, like A. Michiels, that the inscription is therefore a forgery is in contradiction to evident facts. The Italians designate the painter as "Civetta," from his having introduced a little owl as his emblem instead of a monogram on most of his works.

79. A. Michiels is particularly unlucky in his surmises. For a comparison of this master with Patinir see Jules Helbig, *Hist. de la peinture dans l'ancien pays de Liège*, 1873. Scheibler, who has collected all the known facts regarding Bles, but has not published them, which is to be regretted, discerns in early work by this master in the Feast in the House of the Pharisee, in the Brussels Gallery, No. 15. I cannot accept this verdict without reserve.

80. A picture of S. Hubert, rightly attributed to Bles in the old catalogue, but not in the new one. There is, however, no room for doubt.

81. The doubts as to the genuineness of this picture, adopted from A. Michiels in the catalogue, are without foundation. The picture is in the master's hasty later style.

82. He is mentioned by Vasari and Guicciardini. The latest information as to this painter has been collected by A. Michiels, *Histoire de la peinture Flam.*, iv., 1867, p. 150 sq.

83. J. Weale, *Cat. de l'académie de Bruges*, 1861, p. 27.

84. Laborde, *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, Paris, 1850, i. p. 13. Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, viii. p. 332. [Mrs. Mark Pattison, *op. cit.*, i. p. 307.]

85. [There is also at Castle Howard a remarkable collection of drawings of heads of the time of Henry II., Francis I., Charles IX., and Henry III. See Lord Ronald Gower, *Three Hundred French Portraits representing Personages of the Time, by Clouet III.*, London, 1876.]

86. A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts*, Ghent, 1860, p. 268. T. von Westrheene in Meyer's *Künstler-Lexikon*, i. p. 90. A list of Bosch's engraved compositions is given in Meyer, i. p. 96, thirty-eight in all. Of the Madrid works I consider the genuineness of "the Fall," No. 1179, and the fantastic "Allegory," No. 1181, as possible; but cannot admit that of the Temptation of S. Anthony, No. 1178, though it is signed.

87. A. van Willigen, *Les artistes de Haarlem*, 1870; I am also indebted to L. Scheibler for a notice in MS.

88. Taurel, *Christelyke Kunst*, ii., was the first to draw attention to this picture. See too K. v. Mander, *Het Leven*, etc., ed. of 1746, i. p. 67.

89. Van Mander is still the chief authority, *Schilderboek*. Vasari also treats of him at some length as Luca d'Olanda. With regard to his paintings, Waagen's opinions in his various works are worthy of note, but not invariably to be accepted.

90. [Rosenberg in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 281.] It is an error to assert that the picture No. 191 at Darmstadt—which indeed can hardly be genuine—originally formed the second half of the Munich picture; it was no doubt a diptych, but it is now composed of the two halves which Van Mander mentions, joined together.

91. [S. Colvin, *Albert Dürer*, etc., *Portfolio*, 1877, p. 119. He says the subject is really Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream. The whole chapter is devoted to a study of Lucas van Leyden.]

92. Bartsch, *Peintre graveur*, vii. p. 331. Passavant, p. 3. [Amand Durand, *L. van Leyden, Œuvre reproduite;* texte de G. Duplessis, Par. 1882. See A. W. Chatto, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, p. 308, for L. van Leyden's work in that branch of art.]

93. Bartsch, vii. p. 444; Passavant, iii. p. 324. For his pictures see V. de Stuers in the Hague catalogue; the doubts there expressed have proved unfounded.

94. Van Mander, *Schilderboek*, gives the earliest known facts; the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Samml.*, ii. 1881, p. iv., includes a paper on Scorel by C. Justi, and a list of his works.

95. J. A. Crowe in the English ed. of Waagen's *Handbook*, i. p. 235.

96. Hence he was not member of the Utrecht Guild, where the painters and the saddlers still formed one body. See S. Müller, *Schilders-Vereenigingen te Utrecht*, 1880, p. 14.

97. Ed. Fétis, *Cat. du Musée royal de Belgique*, 1877, p. 150.

BOOK III.

THE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE.

SECTION II.

THE GERMAN SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

CHAPTER I.

THE GERMAN SCHOOLS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE SCHOOLS OF GERMANY BEFORE FLEMISH INFLUENCE—THE SCHOOL OF COLOGNE—The *Dombild*—Lochener and his school—THE WESTPHALIAN SCHOOL—THE FRANCONIAN—The *Imhof* altar-piece—A SCHOOL AT SALZBURG—THE SWABIAN SCHOOL—The *Staufenberg* altar-piece—THE GERMAN SCHOOLS UNDER FLEMISH INFLUENCE—THE SCHOOLS OF THE RHINE PROVINCES AND WESTPHALIA—The spread of Flemish Art—THE COLOGNE MASTERS—*Justus di Allamagna*—The Master of Liesborn—ENGRAVING ON WOOD AND COPPER—Engraving derived from *Niello*—Various anonymous masters in Germany and the Netherlands—*Israel von Meckenen*—*Veit Stoss*—THE SWABIAN PAINTERS—MARTIN SCHONGAUER—His pictures—His engravings—His influence at Ulm and elsewhere—*Bartholomäus Zeitblom*—Friedrich Herlin and the Nördlingen school—The Augsburg painters—THE ELDER HOLBEIN'S early works—THE FRANCONIAN OR NUREMBERG SCHOOL—MICHAEL WOLGEMUT—His portraits—Schools at Cracow and at Breslau—The fine illuminated *Codex* at Cracow—*Hans Pleydenwurff* and the Schleswig school—PAINTING IN BAVARIA AND AUSTRIA—No painters to be identified by name—*Perchthold Furtmeyer* the illuminator—The great carved and painted altar at S. Wolfgang; *Michael Pacher*—Dance of Death—The unprogressive character of German art in the fifteenth century.

I. THE SCHOOL OF COLOGNE seems to have been the most important centre of German art at a period when in Flanders painting had already felt a great and successful impetus towards realism, while in Germany it still lingered in the old grooves, though the new movement was not unfelt even there.

The chief work of this school now extant is the *Dombild*, as it is called, formerly over the high altar of the chapel in the Rathhaus, which was founded in 1426 on the site of an ancient Jewish college, and dedicated to the Virgin. We can thus approximately fix its date; and in Dürer's diary of his journey in the Netherlands we meet with the name of the painter: "Item. I gave two white pfennige to see the picture that Master Steffan of Cologne painted."[1] From the records and accounts of the shrine at Cologne we can identify this "Master Steffan" with some degree of certainty as one *Stephan Lochener* of Constance who, between 1442 and 1451, is mentioned as purchasing property in Cologne and sitting on the Council; he died in office in 1451.[2]

On the outside of the triptych the Annunciation is represented. The scene is a room with hangings patterned in gold; white predominates in the draperies. More splendid colouring is reserved for the inside. In the middle are the Virgin and Child adored by the three Kings, and on the wings are two patron saints of Cologne—S. Ursula and her virgin host, and S. Gereon with the Theban legion (Fig. 170).

Though this work bears the stamp of the early Cologne school (see vol. i.

p. 413) with its innocent fervour and graceful sentimentality, we also see traces of the new impulse towards realism, a frank delight in the work and a more intelligent eye for form. The heads, though somewhat vulgarised by a marked breadth of nostril, are very expressive; the action of the Virgin is surprisingly graceful and easy; Gereon is a really heroic figure in his gilt armour, and the maidens in the train of the modest S. Ursula do not stand demurely with downcast eyes, but look brightly and boldly at the spectator. The type is no longer one of long oval faces and lank limbs, and the conventional robe-like drapery is worn only by the Virgin; all the rest wear dresses in the fashion of the day, of splendid materials and colours. The rich brocade of the king's vestments, the shining armour, the jewelled crown, and the hanging behind the Virgin, powdered with roses, blend in gorgeous harmony with the flesh-tones—though these are almost too delicate—and the red-gold hair of most of the heads; banners flutter above, and little blue cherubs hover in the air. It is a distinguishing mark of the Cologne school, as compared with the Flemish, that it avoided all pictorial or distant backgrounds. The outside of the wings shows an attempt in this direction, but on the Holy Day side, though the floor is of turf with flowers and strawberries, the figures are seen against a gold background, and the disk-shaped nimbus, which the Flemish school had rejected, is placed behind the heads of the Saints and Child. The material is certainly not the tempera painting of an earlier time, though it would be rash to assert that it is oil-painting. The medium, be it what it may, has allowed of the most delicate blending, and the colour has been laid on much thinner and more fluid than was the practice of the Flemish painters.

A few other pictures resemble this altar-piece so closely that they may be supposed to have been painted by the same hand; the Virgin with the Violets, now in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Cologne, was found in the Seminary; the Virgin, larger than life, holds the flowers in her left hand, and her childlike face, with a high forehead, is singularly charming. The small Virgin in the Rose-garden, in the Cologne Museum, is the gem of the works of this school (Fig. 171). The undraped Child sits with royal dignity in the Virgin's lap, and she gazes down at Him in absorbed contemplation, as though it were solely in His honour that she had decked herself with gold and jewels. Ministering angels surround them, and above, in a medallion filled with cherubs, God the Father bestows His blessing. If I am right in ascribing this lovely little work to the painter of the Dombild, a picture of the Presentation in the Temple (formerly in the Church of S. Catherine at Cologne) in the Darmstadt Gallery is also from his school, if not by his hand. The Virgin kneels before an altar decorated with sculpture and an embroidered antependium, and offers doves. Joseph counts the money he has brought in a bag. Simeon has a train of fair-haired boys carrying tapers, while a procession of

young girls follows Hannah, filling the foreground. The unusual number of figures and the festal character of the scene, with the graceful animated heads and rich variety of colour (which has suffered in harmony by the working through of the ultramarine) render this a highly remarkable work. [The only example, it would seem, of this painter's work in any public collection in

Fig. 171.

England is in the National Gallery (No. 705): a tempera painting of three saints, on a gold background. A very small oil-painting, of earlier date than the Dombild, is, however, described by Mr. J. C. Robinson.[3]]

The Last Judgment, in the Cologne Museum, which was formerly in the Church of S. Lawrence, is of somewhat later date, and shows a marked advance in realistic treatment. This is even more conspicuous in the twelve small pictures of the martyrdoms of the Apostles, in the Städel Institute at

Frankfort; the details are indeed painfully realistic, as in the martyrdom of S. Bartholomew. These were originally the inner side of the wings of the same altar-piece; the outside panels are in the Pinacothek at Munich. Numerous works of the school exist in the galleries of Cologne, Munich, Darmstadt, Berlin, and London, but need no special mention, with the exception of a small prayer-book in the Darmstadt Library,[4] which is dated 1453. The character of the miniatures is identical with that of this school of painting, and in some cases a direct reference to the figures in the Dombild can be traced. A picture in the town-hall of Solothurn, of which the history is unknown, shows the same influence in a marked degree. The Virgin sits in a rose-garden reading, while the Christ-child offers her flowers out of a basket; the donor, on a very small scale, kneels on one side. [There are in the Bodleian some fine examples of German workmanship in miniatures. Among them a fine prayer-book of 121 leaves, "executed," says Waagen, "about the year 1430, on the Lower Rhine. The best pictures are those towards the end; in these the borders especially are characteristic of the German taste of the time."]

THE WESTPHALIAN SCHOOL betrays a similar tendency in a triptych with a gold background, in the Church of the Holy Virgin at Dortmund. It seems likely that this belonged to one of the three altars that were founded in this church in 1431. The high altar from S. Paul's at Göttingen, now in the Welf Museum at Herrenhausen is even more mediæval in style.[5]

THE SCHOOL OF FRANCONIA is well represented by a large altar-piece brought from the Franciscan Church at Bamberg to the National Museum at Munich. This is dated 1429, and represents, within, the Crucifixion on a gold ground, with the Nailing to the Cross on one wing and the Deposition from the Cross on the other. The Imhof altar-piece, at Nuremberg, is the finest work of a school transplanted thither about the middle of the fifteenth century, and which continued to work in the traditions of the earlier Nuremberg school (see vol. i. p. 418). This altar-piece was dedicated and placed in the Church of S. Lawrence, in memory of Dame Margaretha Imhof and her son Anton, who both died in 1449; the figures are natural and noble, the modelling round, and the colouring harmonious.

THE SALZBURG SCHOOL also held a place of some mark in the fifteenth century; four large panels, among others in the National Museum at Munich, show the progress it had made. They represent SS. George, Katharine, Elizabeth, and Wilhelm, within late Gothic borders. These figures are full of calm dignity, the colouring is bright and almost shadowless. The head of S. Katharine is rather sentimental with its courtly grace. Another subject often repeated by the Salzburg school is the Virgin in prayer,—a girlish figure in a blue robe with a pattern of ears of corn. A small altar-piece in the Salzburg Museum (from Hallein) resembles the work of the Cologne and Nuremberg schools; the figures have large heads and are short-legged and

clumsy; but the details are lovingly and delicately wrought. Other works of an allied character exist in the Museum at Freising; one of them, an altar-piece, dedicated by Johann Rauchenperger (Reichenberger) when Canon of Salzburg, must have been painted before 1429, since, after that date, the donor was archbishop there. It was brought from the Capuchin Convent at Salzburg. The same style and feeling are traceable in the miniatures of a Bible illuminated at Salzburg, now in the Munich Library (Cod. Lat. 1570). This was executed in 1430, as we learn from the dedication, which is an acrostic.

A very interesting and dated work of the SWABIAN SCHOOL exists in the altar-piece of the Church at Tiefenbronn, near Pforzheim, painted by *Lucas Moser* of Wil, in the year 1431.[6] The subjects are taken from the Bible history and the legends of S. Mary Magdalene; the story is in every case told clearly and with much animation, and the heads and hands are fairly well drawn; but the foreshortening is not happy. The heads are expressive, those of the women especially sweet and pleasing. A stronger bent towards realism is visible in a work in the collection of the Prince of Fürstenberg at Donaueschingen, representing the hermit saints Paul and Antony in the desert; it is dated 1445.

The Staufenberg altar-piece, in the Museum at Colmar, is a work of an allied school, strongly influenced by mediæval feeling, and not yet aware of the Flemish realistic tendency. Its style and colouring assign it to the middle of the fifteenth century. The centre panel is a *Pietà;* the insides of the wings have the Annunciation and the Birth of Christ. The backgrounds are gilt. The drawing of the nude is feeble and boneless; but the painting is good as to light and shade, with much delicacy of tone, and it must be the work of one of the best followers of the old traditions.

II. THE SCHOOLS OF THE RHINE PROVINCES AND WESTPHALIA under the influence of the Flemish Renascence.[7] Flemish influence and Flemish methods were meanwhile making their way in various parts of Germany. Still, the German and Flemish painters remained independent of each other in conspicuous differences of treatment. At first the Germans strove to imitate the Flemings as far as possible both in colour and execution, and sometimes they succeeded so far as brilliancy of tone goes; but they rarely show that perfect *pictorial sense* which is characteristic of the Netherlanders; nor—even in their best work—do they achieve the same lavish and exquisite finish of accessory details. They continued to outline everything with the brush, and this leaves a hard edge which is not lost in the painting. They lagged behind the Flemish school both in landscape and interiors—in poetical feeling, in aerial perspective, in effects of light, in texture, mellowness, and grace. They retained the traditional gold background, especially for the inside of triptychs, and as a substitute for landscape; where they introduced an interior, or its

equivalent, it was always extremely simple. In drawing, on the other hand, the realistic individualisation of the heads is evidently imitated from the Flemish painters; though, in the principal figures in sacred subjects, they remained more or less faithful to the meagre forms of the old ideal types, and the crisp angular drapery. But they failed to acquire the calm sweetness and repose that pervade works of the Flemish painters, more especially of *Memlinc* and *Gherard David.*

The German painters, on the other hand, have often much more to say than the Flemish masters; the situations they undertake to represent are more varied and eventful; but their theoretical knowledge and their study of form are ineffectual to render all they wish to express. The figures are not unfrequently stiff, angular, and forced; while the effort to stamp them with individuality falls into caricature, and their gestures are uncouth or extravagant. Kugler describes it exactly when he speaks of it as "a school as yet but half free and making the wildest efforts to cast off its fetters." The studied sweetness, the traditional standard of grace, the idealism of expression which, with all its defects, give genuine style to the best mediæval work, are lost, and an intelligent mastery of nature and free artistic handling are not yet gained. Thus the productions of this period remain far behind the Cologne *Dombild*, and other similar works, which are full of a pathetic beauty that transcends every effort of the next generation; it is true that, in that particular, hardly any advance is possible on the works of *Meister Stephan.* The compromise thus effected between mediæval idealism and the realism of the Renascence is not without charm in many cases; but it was *compromise* and not *progress.*

The most singular feature of German art at this time was its mechanical character. That enlightened love of art in which the Court and the towns of the Netherlands vied with each other was unknown in Germany. The princes and nobles had sunk into coarseness and ignorance, and though a better spirit survived in the citizens they were far behind those of Flanders in wealth and splendour; nothing, indeed, was left to give employment to art but the religious feeling of the people. The painters usually worked with, or under, the artists who carved the great altar-pieces, and nothing was expected of them but mechanical skill; they were paid simply as artisans; lofty feeling and delicate finish were neither demanded nor valued.[8]

Little is known as to the means by which Flemish influence was brought to bear on German art. Painters, like every class of artisan, after serving their apprenticeship, had their *Wanderjahre*; and the sudden revival of art in the Netherlands would of course tempt them thither; on their return they would diffuse some knowledge of the Flemish methods and taste. Hence it is quite intelligible that this diffusion should be most general and rapid in the adjacent provinces, and we find it strongly marked in the schools of the Lower Rhine by the middle of the fifteenth century.

Thus the COLOGNE SCHOOL after 1450 had struck out a new road, from which it could not deviate, though it lost some of its individuality. History tells us but little on the subject. Merlo's extracts from the town records give us a list of names of painters; but we have no means of coupling them with any of the unnamed pictures which still exist. We can, nevertheless, often ascribe several pictures with considerable certainty to the same hand, and in order to identify the painter to some extent it is customary to designate him after his best-known work; thus we speak of the *Master of the Lyversberg Passion.*

This is a series of eight pictures of scenes from the Passion, formerly in the possession of Herr Lyversberg, town councillor at Cologne, and now in the museum there. In these, Flemish feeling and Flemish types are strongly marked; but the action is occasionally forced. In the same collection is a large triptych by the same master which gives us the date 1480. The composition of the centre division, a *Pietà*, is somewhat artificial; but the heads—particularly those of Nicodemus, who supports Christ, and of *Magister Gerardus de Monte*, in whose memory this altar-piece was painted—are full of expression and not unworthy of the great Flemish painters. The sky only is gilt, and below it a distant landscape is very pleasingly treated. [The Presentation in the Temple by this master, a donation from the Queen, in the National Gallery (No. 706), also has the sky gilt. The figures, though rather stiff, are agreeably composed and the story well told. Waagen speaks of it as a very fine example.] It is probably safe to attribute to the same hand a series of pictures from the history of the Virgin, of which six are in the Pinacothek at Munich, and the seventh, the Death of the Virgin, in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Fig. 172) will give an idea of their style and character, which are very like those of the Flemish school. The architecture and perspective are less firmly handled than in the triptych of 1480, which we may infer was the later work; the colouring, however, is pure and vigorous.[9] [Waagen recognised the hand of this painter in a picture at Ince Hall, "a very charming Madonna," exhibited in 1884 (No. 279), as by "the Master of Cologne," and he identified him again as the painter of a small picture belonging to Mr. Fuller-Maitland. Though the heads are far from beautiful in a picture of the "School of the Lower Rhine" (No. 1085), in the National Gallery, the execution and the colour are very delicate; the landscape, sky, and a church lighted from within are particularly pleasing.]

We may also conclude that *Justus di Allamagna* must have been a disciple of this school; he is known to us as the painter of a fresco of the Annunciation in the cloisters of S. Maria di Castello at Genoa, dated 1451. The heads are well executed, with something of the old style of refined distinction; the draperies, too, in which gold has been freely used, have the mediæval flow;

but the late Gothic architecture and the abundant details of furniture in the room, with a view through an open window, betray Flemish influence.

A marked advance on the Master of the Lyversberg Passion is shown in an altar-piece at Cologne with the Holy Family in the centre panel, accompanied by S. Barbara and S. Katharine, on whose finger the Infant Christ places the mystic ring. This triptych bears the arms of the *Haquenay family*, and was probably painted very near the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the

Fig. 172.

sixteenth century. The style is full of character, and stands between that of *Memlinc* and that of *Gerard David;* the attitudes and gestures are easy, the colouring gorgeous in the draperies and tender in the flesh-tones. The gold background is done away with, and the landscape is diversified by miniature scenes in the distance, from the life of the Virgin.

Konrad Fyol is a name that we find attached to a few pictures in the Städel Institute, but on quite insufficient evidence. A painter of this name executed a number of altar-pieces—as we learn by records of payments—between 1466 and 1498; no work now extant can be proved to be by him.[10]

In WESTPHALIA again we meet with an offshoot from this Lower Rhenish

school. One of the principal works produced there was the high altar of the convent church at Liesborn, near Münster, finished in 1465; and two small pieces from the Kruger collection are now in the National Gallery in London,—a half-length of the Virgin between SS. Cosmo and Damian, and S. John with SS. Scholastica and Benedict (Nos. 260, 261). They originally stood beneath the Cross, which explains the melancholy expression of the heads. They are sweet and natural, and the colour, though feeble, is pure and harmonious. These betray the traces of the earlier school; in the great triptych from Soest[11] in the Berlin Museum, Flemish realism, stern and uncompromising, has fallen upon the painter, while the background is the old flat gold. One of the most pleasing efforts of the Westphalian school of the late fifteenth century is an altar-piece in the Kunstverein collection at Münster, whither it was brought from Corvey,[12]—a Holy Family in the centre, with saints on the wings. The heads are realistic, rather square; the painting is careful and colour clear. A Crucifixion in the same gallery is very similar in treatment. [A singular example of the "Westphalian School, Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century," is a Crucifixion in the National Gallery (No. 1049). The composition is crowded, and the heads coarsely realistic, though full of imagination; the quaintness and variety of costume are endless.]

III. ENGRAVING ON COPPER AND WOOD first became important in the history of art towards the second half of the fifteenth century,—especially in Germany, where technical and mechanical skill in printing were first developed.[13] The history of its progress does not strictly come within the limits of this work; still, so far as it contributed to improvement in drawing we must give some account of it here. Wood-engraving was invented long before the printing-press. Wooden blocks were used for stamping patterns, borders, and even pictures on woven stuffs as a substitute for embroidery or brocade, or as patterns to be embroidered over. The Sion tapestry, as it is called—a piece of Italian manufacture—suffices to prove that this process was employed, often on a large scale, so early as the fourteenth century.[14] By the beginning of the fifteenth impressions of wood blocks were printed off on paper. The lines of the drawing were left in relief, the lights being removed with the graver; the surface was coloured or inked and the impression taken. The actual printing was at first very ineffectually done, but the process was improved by degrees. The public, however, demanded coloured prints in preference to black and white, and they were commonly painted by hand from a copy. The block-engravers, with the card-printers and painters,[15] constituted a separate class of workmen, belonging, however, to the same guilds as the painters and allied artisans. Though their prints were often copied from pictures by masters, they remained rude and coarse even till the end of the fifteenth century. Still, pictorial arts had been regarded as an important vehicle of instruction

throughout the Middle Ages, and this was even more the case now that the press could diffuse its products through wider circles; thus engraving was the harbinger of type-printing not merely in a mechanical sense.

The subjects of these early blocks were principally figures of saints, which were sold at fairs and at the church doors, besides subjects from the Bible or legendary history; allegorical pictures of an edifying tendency, such as the "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*" or the "*Turris Sapientiæ;*" historical and other scenes of real life, with calendars, new-year's cards, caricatures, and particularly playing-cards. Then, instead of single sheets, books were printed in the same way, from solid blocks, before the invention of moveable type; and even afterwards, the cutting of book-blocks was for some time an independent branch of the engraver's industry. A considerable number of such books exist in libraries and museums. Prints from blocks found their way into every house and afforded the mental nutriment of the people.

The history of engraving on copper is very different; this process owed its origin to goldsmiths' work, and for a long time remained entirely in their hands. The art of engraving patterns on the surface of metal vessels and ornaments is of high antiquity, and was practised throughout the Middle Ages. Large brass dishes with engraved subjects (without any kind of relief) were common before the end of the mediæval period, and the mode of ornament known as *niello* on silver or gold is also a kind of engraving. The *niello* itself (*nigellum*, black) is the black amalgam of metal and sulphur which is rubbed into the engraved lines to make them more conspicuous. Very possibly impressions may have been occasionally taken from such patterns before the niello was filled in, to ascertain whether improvement or corrections were necessary; but copper-plate engraving, as an art by itself, only dates from the time when it was executed for the express purpose of multiplying impressions.

Goldsmith's work had originally been carried to great perfection in the workrooms of the monks, and it stood high among the occupations carried on by citizens. The artists who worked in the precious metal were required not merely to have mechanical skill but to have studied art, and above all to draw well. "Drawing is the father and mother of all the arts," says Vasari; and it is, in fact, the alpha and omega of inventive reproduction, and the bond of union of all the imitative arts. The goldsmiths who engraved on copper were masters of pictorial art; their designs competed on equal terms with those of the painters, and they usually engraved their own inventions, not copies of the works of others. This was more especially the case in Germany and the Netherlands, where copper-plate engraving existed even earlier than in Italy.

The earliest date that can be ascertained for engraving in Germany is 1446, which we find signed on the Flagellation (one of a series illustrating the Passion in the Renouvier collection at Montpelier); and next, 1451, with the initial P, on a print of the Virgin on a crescent moon. In the first the forms

are stunted, but the action is vigorous; in the second the drawing is good, the lines firmly traced, and the treatment not without dignity.

The *Master of* 1464—better known perhaps as *Le Maître aux Banderoles*—was a rather prolific engraver. The date 1464 occurs in the letter A of an alphabet designed and engraved by him. The mottoes and titles to two series, illustrating the Days of Creation and the Ages of Man, are in a Low German dialect, which proves him to have been a native of Westphalia in the Lower Rhine district. A great number of his works are known: Bible scenes and various single figures, a Judgment of Paris, an Allegory of Fortune, and many others. The technique is elementary and the subjects lack grace, but they reveal a vivid and realistic fancy.

E. S. is the signature of a master, also known as the *Master of* 1466; it is found on several prints of 1466 and 1467. Every attempt to identify a name with these initials has proved vain; the inscriptions on two large plates are in High German, probably Swabian, but Flemish influence is plainly discernible. The religious subjects are elegantly felt, the composition skilful, especially in the large plate of the Virgin *degli Eremiti* (Bartsch, 35); the drawing is firm, though the proportions are apt to be meagre and the heads large. In technical qualities an advance is perceptible; the graver is firmly handled, and though hatching is not yet introduced, the modelling is rounder, and the shadows stronger. Bartsch attributes 113 plates to this master, and Passavant so many as 212; but a strict revision of their lists is desirable, for several of these designs are not genuine works of the master, though they are of his time and taste. Among these, however,—groups of figures and *genre*—we find a variety of highly characteristic illustrations of the manners, morals, and *im*-morals of the period, represented with frank naïveté. An alphabet especially is remarkable for inventiveness and audacity; animals, knights, monks, nuns, and jesters are introduced, and Boccaccio himself could not have treated the friars more scurvily.

When once the art of engraving on copper had gained so firm a footing it soon struck out into two distinct styles of treatment. The *Lower Rhenish* or *pseudo-Flemish* and the *High German.* An engraver, known only as the *Master of* 1480 from a written date on a plate first described by Duchesne Aîné,[16] and whose few works are almost all to be found in the cabinet of engravings at Amsterdam, has stamped all his compositions with an essentially Flemish humour. His best plates are scenes of vulgar life characterised by the broad wit which afterwards reappeared in the works of Pieter Brueghel.

A fine plate by another artist of this school is the great coat of arms of Charles the Bold, in the library at Brussels; and a remarkable composition may also be mentioned as full of the spirit of Van Eyck,—a king playing chess with Death, while an angel holds an hour-glass.[17]

The *Master of the Boccaccio series* belongs to the end of the fifteenth century; his style is thoroughly Dutch,—full of character but clumsy, the

composition and perspective are faulty; towns and landscapes in the distance. *Alart du Hameel* engraved chiefly from the works of *Hieronymus Bos.*

The *Master of the Shuttle* is a name given to an engraver who signs J. A.,[18] with an instrument supposed to resemble a weaver's shuttle. He lived at Zwolle in Holland, some of his plates having on them the name of that town. He lacks taste and his realism is vulgar; still, he produced some grand compositions. *Franz von Bocholt,* whose name occurs in a list of engravings made at Nuremberg in 1618 by Paul Behaim, founded a school closely allied to this at Bocholt in Westphalia. His technical skill ranks high and the character and feeling of his figures remind us of Rogier van der Weyden; he signs F. V. B. *Israel of Meckenen,* first known in 1482, died in 1503, was a goldsmith; as an artist he is inferior to Franz von Bocholt, but his works are very numerous, and he frequently engraved copies from other masters. Franz von Bocholt had copied an engraving of Schongauer's, and Israel von Meckenen copied the copy, also some early prints by Dürer and Hans Holbein the elder[19] (B. 30 and 41).

THE SCHOOL OF UPPER GERMANY, which followed in the path laid down by the master E. S., found its most distinguished representative in *Martin Schongauer,* a painter and engraver, whose influence was wide and lasting; his immediate followers were his brother, Ludwig Schongauer, and a *Master using the monogram* , who very closely resembles Martin Schongauer in drawing and execution, and who also copied, or at any rate imitated, the humorous *genre* of the *Master of* 1480. At the end of the century we also know of a *Master signing* W. whom Bartsch supposes to be identical with the goldsmith *Wenzel of Olmütz,* whose name occurs on a copy, dated 1481, of Schongauer's death of the Virgin; he copied several plates by Schongauer, and some early ones by Dürer, working so late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.[20] A *Master signing* M. Z.—possibly one *Matthaeus Zasinger* of Nuremberg—is one of those who have perpetuated the manners and life of his time; his execution is good, though somewhat scratchy, and a feeling for the picturesque is very marked in his groups and landscapes. *Mair von Landshut,* of whom we have several plates dated 1499, is another of these *genre* engravers with a vein of irresistible humour.

One other artist must be named here, who, though he distinguished himself in other branches also attempted copper-plate engraving. This was the famous sculptor *Veit Stoss* of Nuremberg, who worked at Cracow from 1477 to 1496, and then in his native town, where he died in 1533, at the age, it is said, of ninety-five. His contemporary, Neudörfer, tells us that "he was not only a sculptor but could also draw, engrave, and paint;"[21] a few prints exist with his initials V. S., and the peculiar mark which also occurs on his sculptured work, as, for instance, the tomb of King Casimir at Cracow. His plates

are less remarkable for technical qualities than for invention and a happy picturesqueness of composition. In these, as in his great carved works, we meet with faults of taste, but they impress us by their power, pathos, and appropriate inspiration, as, for instance, in the Raising of Lazarus (B. 1). [The two early German pictures at Liverpool, ascribed to Zwoll and Stoss, seem more than doubtful.]

IV. THE SWABIAN SCHOOL, chiefly in Alsace (or Elsass), had at this period reached a high standard; few works of the school, however, remain, and absolutely none by the Strassburg painters. We know only the names of *Hans Hirtz*, who died before 1466, and of *Hans Tieffenthal* of Schlettstadt who in 1418 signed an agreement to paint a chapel at Basle, and who was living in Strassburg after 1433. We are better off with regard to *Caspar Isenman*, who in 1462 signed a contract to paint the high altar of S. Martin's Church at Colmar. Seven panels, dated 1465 on the back, and now in the Colmar Museum, were brought from that church, and are most probably the remains of the altar, which was destroyed in 1720. The influence of the Flemish school is very perceptible in these works, which represent scenes from the life of Christ, on a gold ground.

In Colmar, however, a much greater master was soon to arise, in whom the influence of the Netherlands worked on far superior natural gifts,—*Martin Schongauer*, one of the most remarkable artists of the time. He was born in Colmar, the son of parents from Augsburg, as we learn from a note written by Hans Burckmair on the back of Schongauer's portrait in the Pinacothek at Munich. Caspar Schongauer, his father, was made citizen of Colmar in 1445; it is probable, therefore, that he was born not long after, and his portrait, painted in 1483, shows him as a man of between thirty and forty; he died in 1488.[22] During his short life he executed works of such number and merit as to secure his fame for all ages, and his contemporaries called him "the glory of painters" and "Martin the beautiful" ("Hübsch Martin"). Lambert Lombard in his letter to Vasari says that he "remained faithful to the style of his master, Rogier;" and as Rogier van der Weyden died in 1464, he may very likely have worked under that master in his youth; his style justifies the hypothesis. His father was a goldsmith, and Martin was early familiar with the art of engraving for ornament and for reproduction. We know 117 prints executed by him; and in the Basle Museum there are nineteen silver plates with engravings on them not originally intended for printing from. The ornaments and decorations of various kinds designed by him are evidently intended for goldsmiths' work. He used the monogram on his engravings, but it does not occur on his pictures.

We learn from Wimpheling that seventeen years after Schongauer's death his pictures were known and valued in Italy, Spain, France, and England;

this seems to be a mistake so far as paintings are concerned, and can only apply to his engravings. Schongauer's pictures are very rare in Germany and hardly exist elsewhere; not one, indeed, can be proved to be by him. As,

Fig. 173.

however, Wimpheling informs us that he had painted pictures in S. Martin's and S. Francis in Colmar, we may with some certainty ascribe to him the famous "Virgin in the Rose-garden" in S. Martin's Church there (Fig. 173). It is dated 1473 on the back, and must be one of his earliest works. It has not the soft idyllic character of Master Stephan, but is solemn and grandiose.

The type of the Virgin's head, and the leanness of the figure-drawing, especially in the nude form of the Infant, remind us of Rogier van der Weyden ; on the whole, the drawing is less masterly and the colouring, though rich, is less harmonious than in the Flemish master ; nor has the painter quite got rid of his hard outline. In the museum at Colmar there are sixteen panels, originally forming the wings of an altar in the Dominican Church, which show occasional coincidences in detail with the well-known series of engravings of the Passion by Schongauer, some of which are very admirable. The outlines, however, are heavy and the handling hard ; they are pictures from his school, perhaps, executed by pupils or assistants. Two other altar wings in the same collection, brought thither from Isenheim, though there is no evidence of the authenticity, are more like the Virgin in the Rose-garden in treatment, and are in better preservation. Though here again we are strongly reminded of Rogier van der Weyden, the heads (especially of the Virgin and the angel Gabriel) have an elevation and purity of expression that the Flemish painter very rarely attained. The pictures were painted for the College of Antonites at Isenheim, and the donor's arms are those of Johann d'Orliac, who was *Preceptor* there from 1466 till 1490.[23] It is difficult to decide whether such works as these are actually by Schongauer, or only executed in his school. The probabilities are much greater in favour of a few quite small pictures ; as, for instance, two of the Holy Family—one in the Pinacothek at Munich, and the other in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. In this last especially the treatment is most graceful ; the Virgin offers the Child a bunch of grapes from a basketful at her feet ; the execution is very delicate. And even more charming is a half-length of the Virgin in the possession of Herr Klinkosch at Vienna. [A small Death of the Virgin in the National Gallery is "doubtfully ascribed," says the catalogue, to Martin Schongauer. Professor Colvin is of opinion that it is "composed by an artist of his school with considerable variations from his famous print of the Death of the Virgin." The feeling is devout, and a lovely little view is seen through the open window of the room. The shadows, however, are black and cold, and the figures thick set. Waagen speaks of a Virgin and Child in Her Majesty's private collection, from the Wallenstein Gallery, as "not only the only known picture by the master in England, but, with the exception of those at Colmar, in Europe."]

We should, however, know very little of Martin Schongauer as an artist if it were not for his drawings in the Museum at Basle, and especially his engravings. He followed in the footsteps of the *Master E. S.*, and excels him greatly both in technical skill, and in drawing and composition ; his modelling and shading are as firm as they are delicate. The modelling is effectively wrought by adapting the strokes of the graver to the contour of the surface ; textures are very skilfully distinguished ; his compositions are highly pictorial, and the landscape backgrounds are of a beauty and variety as yet quite un-

known to German art. With all the realism of his period, he nevertheless betrays a reminiscence of the ideal sentiment which characterised an earlier period ; though, when he endeavours to render the idea of reprobate atrocity by

Fig. 174.

physical deformity—for instance, in the men who mock or buffet Christ—he is only illustrating the spirit of his own time. His Passion series were popular and widely imitated, because they were intelligible to the popular mind ; but tender devotion stamps his virgins and saints, and in his finest works—for example, Christ bearing the Cross—his dramatic power in expression and

action are superior even to Rogier van der Weyden with all his energy and pathos. Deep feeling and solemnity characterise his Crucifixions (see Fig.

Fig. 175.

174); and his unbounded fancy has run riot in the well-known plate of the Temptation of S. Antony (Fig. 175). In his religious works we often detect a touch of cynical wit; but he represents scenes of domestic and popular life with a keen eye and strong sense of humour.

A school, immediately and strongly influenced by Schongauer, diffused itself throughout the Upper Rhine provinces, in Alsace and Breisgau, and by the Lake of Constance; but space will not allow of our studying the works preserved at Basle, Donaueschingen, Karlsruhe, and Berlin.

[The British Museum is extremely rich in block books, and in examples of the early German engravers. Among the former are two early copies of the *Illustrated Apocalypse.* In the print room the Master of 1466 is well represented, the collection including some extremely rare examples. There are numerous early anonymous plates, and typical works by Franz von Bocholt, the "Master of the Shuttle," and other early German and Flemish engravers. The collection of Martin Schongauer's work is nearly (or quite) complete; Israel von Meckenen and Mair von Landshut are well represented.

The Fitzwilliam Museum has a precious collection of engravings, of which the treasures were, so to speak, discovered by the late curator, Professor Colvin —now at the British Museum—and rare prints or exceptionally fine impressions exist dispersed through various private collections.]

At ULM, somewhat farther to the eastward, there was an important school of painting, and in 1473 a guild of painters was formed there, "bei den Wengen."[24] The wings and predella of the high altar of a church at Tiefenbronn were finished, as the inscriptions tell us, in 1469, by *Hans Schüchlin* of Ulm. The insides of the wings, painted on a gold ground, complete the carved centre-piece representing the Passion.

Bartholomäus Zeitblom would seem to have been a disciple of Schüchlin's school at Ulm; he mentions himself as having worked with Schüchlin on an altar-piece, originally at Mückenhausen in Swabia, and now in Hungary. He is mentioned in the records of Ulm between 1484 and 1517.[25] Zeitblom was one of the finest German painters of his time. He had felt the breath of Schongauer's influence, but lacks his delicate and infinite fancy. His conspicuous qualities are sincerity, simplicity, and purity of feeling, and "in these respects he is of all painters the most thoroughly German," says Waagen. It would be more exact to say "the most thoroughly Swabian." Indeed, with all his skill and thoroughness, he is almost too simple and reserved. In all his pictures we find the same type of head, with very light hair, and a long straight nose; the figures are well proportioned on the whole, the extremities somewhat meagre. In the calm and dignified flow of his draperies he is superior to all his German contemporaries; his carnations are delicate, and his colouring generally brilliant and harmonious. What is most remarkable, however, at a period when technical skill was so often dry and mechanical, is the firm and solid execution. A carved altar-piece from Hausen, near Ulm, now in the Museum of Antiquities at Stuttgart, has wings painted by Zeitblom, and dated 1488. In the same collection there is also an altar-piece, cruelly restored, signed and dated 1497, from the Church of the Hospice in the Kocherthal,—the

Birth of Christ and Presentation in the Temple; the portrait of the master is on the back of the shrine, with his name and the date. The latest year on any authentic work by Zeitblom is 1504, on a picture of the Pope-Saint Alexander at Augsburg; the companion picture represents the martyrs Eventius and Theo-

Fig. 176.

dulus. The remainder of his works were probably painted before the end of the fifteenth century—for instance, the large altar-wings from Eschach in the Stuttgart Gallery, much injured by restoration; the back of the triptych, representing the Miraculous Image, is in the Berlin Museum. The famous carved altar-piece at Blaubeuren, near Ulm, has wings by Zeitblom with a whole series of subjects: scenes from the Passion outside, and sixteen scenes from the legend of S. John

the Baptist within the outer wings and continued on to the inner ones. At the back of the shrine are large figures of saints. Four panels from the legend of S. Valentine in the Augsburg Gallery are fine specimens of the master. The lack of energy which is faulty in scenes of excitement, as the Martyrdom of the Saint, gives a mild dignity to less stirring transactions; and in the Examination of S. Valentine (Fig. 176) he displays a dramatic purpose and a sense of artistic fitness which make us overlook various naïve defects of drawing. Other works by this master are two altar-wings at Bingen, near Sigmaringen; eight fine panels from Pfullendorf in the collection of the Prince of Hohenzollern at Sigmaringen; and in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, the Pinacothek at Munich, and collections at Donaueschingen, Karlsruhe, and Stuttgart.

NÖRDLINGEN, at no great distance from the French frontier, was the seat of another school of which the greatest name is that of *Friedrich Herlin.* The place and date of his birth are unknown; he may be identical with a painter of the same name who is mentioned as living at Ulm in 1449 and 1454. He seems to have worked at Nördlingen in 1462 and 1463, and to have been at Rothenburg in 1466. In 1467 he was admitted to the freedom of the city of Nördlingen and died in 1499 or 1500, after which date his son *Laux,* is mentioned alone instead of second to his father.[26] The high altar of the Church of S. George at Nördlingen was dedicated in 1462; the paintings on the wings are evidently by Friedrich Herlin, and a votive picture in memory of a lady of the Müller family may be safely ascribed to him. It represents the Crucifixion, with the family of the donor; the date, 19th January 1463, was on a frame that has been removed. It was in 1466 that Herlin finished the great signed altar-piece in the Church of S. James at Rothenburg. We here at once detect the influence of the Flemish school. Waagen also discerns Herlin's hand in the wings of an altar in S. George's Church at Dinkelsbühl. The great church at Nördlingen, besides some others which may perhaps be attributed to him, has an *Ecce homo,* with several figures, dated 1468; and there are two altar-wings in the neighbouring church at Bopfingen, signed and dated 1472. But the most important of his works is the great triptych at Nördlingen, dedicated by the painter himself and bearing his monogram as well as his name in full, and the date 1488. The centre (Fig. 177) is the Virgin and Child, and on the wings are the Birth of Christ, and Christ disputing with the Doctors.

The Flemish influence, more particularly of Rogier van der Weyden, strikes us even more in Herlin than in Schongauer, not only in the drawing and drapery, but in the free use of various figures and details borrowed from Flemish pictures. In colouring, too, he is faithful to the traditions of that school, and shared Van der Weyden's predilection for gorgeous stuffs with gold patterns. He occasionally uses gold for the sky, but even then the landscape is more or less elaborate, and he is fond of introducing animals. His drawing is less skilful than that of the Flemish masters and the heads less characteristic; his

execution, too, is less delicate, particularly in his later works. As Waagen very truly observes, "he displays no strong individuality and is never equal to his masters, either in feeling or in conscientious finish." Herlin had several sons and grandsons who followed in his footsteps and worked his traditions somewhat threadbare. There are numbers of their works in the churches of Nördlingen.

THE AUGSBURG SCHOOL may hold its own by the side of those of Ulm and Nördlingen. A fine work finished in 1457 by *Peter Kaltenhof* is now in

Fig. 177.

the National Museum at Munich; it is the old panelled ceiling from the Guildhall of the Weavers at Augsburg, with pictures of kings and heroes. The original character of the work has been lost through restoration. In the Jacobskirche at Augsburg a large wall-painting of the Death of the Virgin is dated 1469; and a panel from the Abbey of Kaisheim in the Augsburg Gallery is dated 1477; Christ crucified and the two thieves.

Somewhat later two great families of painters raised the Augsburg school to the height of fame, the *Burckmairs* and the *Holbeins*. *Thoman Burckmair*, who compiled a Register of Painters in Augsburg, was by his own statement in that book an apprentice about 1460; he died in 1523. We know of no

duly authenticated work by him ; but his son *Hans* was one of the best masters of a later date, and will be discussed presently.

The founder of the *Holbein* family, again, belongs to a later period, and only his early career can be alluded to here. *Hans Holbein the elder*[27] was born about 1460, or rather later, and died in 1524. His father, Michel Holbein, was a leather merchant, who came into Augsburg from the neighbouring village of Schönefeld. Hans Holbein the painter is first mentioned in the rate-books of the town in 1494, but we have works by him dated 1493. There are too few authentic works remaining of the earlier Augsburg school to enable us to judge what he may have owed to its influence, and his earliest works suggest unmistakably that *Martin Schongauer* was his master and model; for instance, in the series of subjects from the Passion at Donaueschingen, the figure of Christ disrobing while the Cross is being erected, sitting with His head supported on His hand, is borrowed from a drawing by Schongauer now in the Basle Museum. At the same time, it is probable that he was familiar with the paintings of the Netherland schools ; we trace their influence in his earliest pictures, in the portrait-like heads, and in the peaceful calmness and dignity of action, a characteristic which is entirely absent from his later works.

These remarks are well illustrated by four pictures—the earliest known by this master—in the cathedral at Augsburg, formerly belonging to an altar-piece at Weingarten in Swabia, signed and dated 1493. The elder Holbein generally set his name or initials to his works with the date. They represent the Rejection of Joachim's Sacrifice, the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin, and the Presentation of Christ. The first is as full of power and expression as the second is of grace and naïveté, and the scenery and accessories are carefully treated. The sky is represented by gold. His large sacred works are always to a certain extent decorative in treatment, and his more pleasing works are on a smaller scale,—painted, it would seem, for private individuals. Two Madonnas at Nuremberg[28] are on gold and full of delicately-finished accessories, betraying the influence of Flemish methods ; but works of this class were always the exception in Germany. The ruling demand was for memorial and votive pictures, altars for cloisters and chapels ; and the elder Holbein produced many both at Augsburg and elsewhere.

In the Picture Gallery (formerly the Convent of S. Katharine) at Augsburg there is a picture by the elder Holbein with the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore in the background—one of a series—dated 1499. Here he is already more independent of Flemish influence, and this is increasingly marked in his later works. For example, see the seven scenes from the Passion in the Städel Institute (the eighth is in the possession of Herr Ed. F. Weber of Hamburg), which formed the wings of the altar in the Dominican Convent, and were finished in 1501 ; a Last Supper in the Church of S. Leonhard, and several pictures in the City collection. Another series from the Passion exists in the

Fig. 170.

gallery at Donaueschingen, painted in grisaille, with colour only in the flesh and hair; and a third, of eight pictures, was painted for the high altar at Kaisheim, dated 1502, now in the Pinacothek at Munich. All these plainly reveal the influence of Schongauer; the type of the Christ is identical with his, and many incidents are directly borrowed from him. The vehemence of action, the ugliness and coarseness of the faces, and the faulty drawing strike us at once

Fig. 178.

(see Fig. 178); but the vigour is remarkable, as well as the marked individuality of some of the heads. In the Munich altar-piece we recognise some of the heads from the master's sketch-book in the Basle Museum. The female heads are sometimes ideally innocent and sweet, and the colouring brilliant and harmonious. Two other works in the Augsburg Gallery show the master at his best: the votive picture of the Walther family, 1502; and the Basilica of S. Paul fuori le Mura, about 1504. The drawing is still defective, particularly of the feet, a late Gothic heaviness prevails in the draperies, and a certain

exaggeration in the action; still, the improvement in dramatic feeling, in clearness in telling the story, and in technical treatment are very remarkable. The master reveals his aptitude for a freer and less archaic style, such as he subsequently developed in a high degree.

V. THE SCHOOL OF FRANCONIA, of which Nuremberg was the centre, found its most famous representative in *Michael Wolgemut*,[29] born 1434, died 30th November 1519. He is first named in the records of the town in 1473. In 1472 he married the widow of *Hans Pleydenwurff*, a painter, in whose house he continued to work, and his step-son *Wilhelm Pleydenwurff* is mentioned as his assistant, but he died in 1495. The works now extant by Wolgemut are principally altar-pieces, some of which are well authenticated by tradition. He undertook a vast amount of such work in Nuremberg and elsewhere, and employed a number of pupils and assistants; the wood-carving seems in many cases to have been produced under his direction. Thus the work became to a certain extent a manufacture, at the same time it is evident that Wolgemut was a master of unwearied energy and high technical acquirements.

The earliest authenticated work by him bears the date 1465: four altar-wings from Hof, now in the Pinacothek at Munich. The lank narrow-shouldered figures are unpleasing and generally awkward, and the draperies angular, but the faces, if not handsome, have a certain nobility. Though marred by heavy outlines the colouring is powerful and effective, and the landscapes—against a gold ground—are very charming and true to nature. The high altar of the church of S. Mary, at Zwickau, was painted in 1479[30]—as an inscription, now no longer visible, formerly declared—by Meister Michael Wolgemut, and cost the large sum of 1400 Rhenish gulden. A far more important work, however, is the Peringsdörff Altar in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg (formerly in the Augustine church there). The church for which it was painted was finished in 1488. On the outside are four pairs of very dignified saints standing on Gothic brackets against a blue background—S. Sebald and S. George (fig. 179), S. John the Baptist and S. Nicholas, SS. Katharine and Barbara, SS. Rosalia and Margaret. The men's figures are really noble, the female saints unusually delicate and beautiful; the execution is very careful, and the drapery very rich. The inner pictures are not inferior. Waagen attributes the pictures on the altar-piece given to the convent chapel of Heilbronn by Margrave Friedrich IV. to Wolgemut. The inside is carved; the outside of the wings represent scenes from the life of the Virgin, a Crucifixion, and the Mass of S. Gregory, with the donor's family. The figure-drawing is more satisfactory, the heads more dignified, and the colour more powerful than usual. In 1501 Wolgemut had finished the pictures in the town-hall at Goslar: on the ceiling four scenes from the childhood of Christ, with prophets and evangelists; on the walls large

figures of Emperors and Sibyls, in tempera on canvas. One of his latest works is the altar in the church at Schwabach, finished in 1508; the agreement with the master is still extant, with some curious clauses providing for the event of the work proving "ill-favoured." As he grew older he left more of the work to his assistants, and it is probable that only the figures of the Baptist and of S. Martin are by Wolgemut himself.

Fig. 179.

He was particularly careful and successful in portrait painting, and never employed any pupil in this class of work. I do not hesitate to ascribe to him a portrait of a man and his wife, dated 1475, in the "Amalienstift" at Dessau (Fig. 180). The modelling is hard, but the vigour both of drawing and expression is very remarkable. Another work, beyond a doubt of the Nuremberg school, and most probably by Wolgemut, is a small half-length of Ursula, wife of Hans Tucher, 1478, in the Cassel Gallery. Three later portraits of members of the same family, in the Weimar Museum, dated 1499, have been ascribed to Wolgemut's famous disciple, *Albert Dürer;* they are probably, however, by Wolgemut himself, for they bear the same stamps of realistic individuality as his earlier work, while the drawing is angular and the colouring broader but less delicate.

[Pictures with the name of Wolgemut have not unfrequently been exhibited at Burlington House; two, in 1881, from the Liverpool Royal Institution, are esteemed fine and genuine works; they were also sent to

the Manchester Art Exhibition in 1857.[31] Mr. Fuller-Russell's Crucifixion was lent in 1877.]

An important feature remains to be noticed,—Wolgemut's skill and productiveness in wood-engraving.[32] He was one of the first artists who drew expressly for engraving, and the influence he exerted on this special branch of technique makes him the worthy precursor of Dürer. In 1491 the famous printer Anton Koberger brought out the *Schatzkammer der wahren Reichthümer des Heils und der ewigen Seligkeit.* The engravers employed by Wolgemut were not always equal to their task, but the subjects are some of them sublime and dignified, some full of dramatic vigour. This book was followed by a greater work, the *History of the World,* by Dr. Hartmann Schedel, published in Latin in 1493, and in German in 1494, and full of woodcuts which a note at the end informs us were executed under the superintendence of Wolgemut and *Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.* Their variety is amazing, and the book was extremely popular.

A contemporary Nuremberg painter of some mark was *Hans Traut,*[33] who is mentioned in the city rate-books in 1477. His principal work, mentioned by Neudörffer—the decorations in the cloisters of the Augustine convent, including portraits of many illustrious sons of Nuremberg—exists no longer; but a large coloured drawing by this master is preserved in the collection belonging to the University at Erlangen. This drawing, with the painter's name written upon it by Dürer, is like Wolgemut in style,—the nude fairly well drawn, the expression pleasing, and the finish careful.

Nuremberg was also the point whence art was diffused over Eastern Germany,—BOHEMIA and POLAND. Bohemia had been the seat of an independent art-life so early as the fourteenth century, but at this later date the works produced there bear a strong impress of the Franconian school. This is perceptible in the fine *Graduale* from Kuttenberg, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 15,501). Two panels in the collection of the Society of Amateurs at Prague, whither they were brought from the Church of Maria-Schnee, are evidently of the school of Wolgemut.

Krakau (or Cracow), which was a city of purely German colonists, in the Polish territory, had in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a school of art, which was a direct offshoot from that of Nuremberg, as we see from the fine monuments, carvings, and paintings of *Veit Stoss*, *Peter Vischer*, and *Hans von Kulmbach.* No easel pictures exist of the period we are now discussing, but the fine *Codex* of the rights and privileges of the city, drawn up by the *Cancellarius* Balthasar Beham, and dated 1505, contains some very beautiful illuminations; besides the arms of the town, there are twenty-five pictures, some of them being coats of arms and some scenes of daily life. At the end is the Crucifixion. The costume is German, of the end of the fifteenth century—with the exception of some figures of merchants in Oriental dress

—and the transactions are represented with great vivacity and humour. The character of the Nuremberg school is unmistakable. The name of the artist is unknown, but he was no ordinary illustrator; and I know no miniature painting at all to compare with this from the middle of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The volume is preserved in the University Library of Krakau.

Fig. 180.

The schools of SCHLESWIG, again, were intimately related to that of Franconia and particularly to Nuremberg. *Hans Pleydenwurff* of Nuremberg executed the high altar of the Church of S. Elizabeth at Breslau in 1462; at the same time there was a native school of art[34] and a painters' guild, of which several names have been handed down to us; many works of the fifteenth century still exist there in the churches and collections. The most remarkable is the altar-piece in the Church of S. Barbara, dated 1447, of which the wings have been removed to the Museum of Antiquities. The expression is good, the modelling excellent in spite of some weakness of drawing in the hands and feet, and a rich key of colouring is adopted. Flemish influence is

conspicuous in a triptych in the cathedral; it is dated 1468, and the donor is named as Dr. Petrus de Wartenberg. By degrees carving preponderated greatly in the decoration of altar-pieces; painting took a secondary rank and was often negligently handled, as in the Goldsmiths' altar in the Church of S. Mary Magdalene and the altar of the Virgin in that of S. Elizabeth. One of the best works of this school at the end of the fifteenth century is an altar in the Museum of Antiquities at Breslau, with carved work within, and on the wings four admirably painted panels representing the Holy Family.

VI. THE SCHOOLS OF BAVARIA AND AUSTRIA during this period are very little known. Though names have in many instances been attached to certain pictures, they are not authenticated. The names of *Ulrich Fütterer*, painter of Landshut, and of *Gabriel Mächleskircher* were known—the latter a citizen of Munich, who, between 1472 and 1479, painted several pictures and altar-pieces for the convent at Tegernsee—and were freely bestowed on various works in the Museums of Bavaria, indeed, they are still attached to some inferior pictures in the gallery at Schleissheim; there are no better grounds for ascribing a triptych in the Church of Blutenburg (near Munich) to *Hans Olmdorf*. The early art of Bavaria is, in fact, so far as we are concerned, anonymous; the remaining examples are few, and the best are in the National Museum at Munich. A triptych, dated 1492, from the old Franciscan convent, most resembles the Blutenburg altar-piece. The centre panel contains a rather crowded composition of the Crucifixion; the figures are almost life-size, and the background is a landscape with a town; the wings are of very inferior execution.

Finer than these panels are ten pictures from S. Peter's Church in Munich; they are perhaps the most important examples remaining of the Bavarian school of the late fifteenth century. Six have been removed to the Museum; four, much repainted, are still in the church: they represent scenes from the life of S. Peter and S. Paul, both of whom show a very dignified individuality; the subordinate figures are full of character, and the scene of action is always skilfully represented. The realistic treatment borders on exaggeration, but is full of vigour; and though the tone is heavy the execution is never coarse. A famous miniature painter—with more affinity to the Nuremberg school—was *Perchtold Furtmeyer*, who worked at illuminating for a prince of Bavaria between 1470 and 1472, and also painted a missal in five volumes for Bernhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, in 1481 (Town Lib. Munich; Cod. Lat. 15,708). He lived at Ratisbon, where his name occurs so late as 1501.

It is a very remarkable fact that we find in the Bavarian Alps and their immediate neighbourhood a quantity of paintings which bear no relation to the Munich work of the same period, nor, on the other hand, to the Salzburg school. At Grossgmain near Reichenhall there are four pictures on gold

ground, one of which is dated 1491, in which the light tender colouring, the portrait-like heads, and exquisitely careful execution remind us of the Swabian school.

Austrian work of early date still remains, both in pictures and in illuminations. The large missal of Friedrich III. at Vienna, dated 1447-48, though gorgeous, is poor as a work of art; in the Imperial Gallery there is a large Crucifixion dated 1449 and signed with the name *dPfenning* and *Van Eyck's* motto "ALS ICH CANN." It cannot be proved to be Austrian work, but probably is; it is highly realistic, but betrays no direct influence of the Flemish school. The colour is pale, and it looks as if it were painted in tempera. A more developed style is perceptible in an altar-piece, also dated 1449, in the church at Aussee, near Ischl; on the outer side are four scenes from the childhood of Christ. Several pictures of the same stamp are to be seen at Klosterneuburg, near Vienna; among them are an altar-piece with the legend of S. Ursula, of 1464, and a series of twenty-four scenes from the legends of the Virgin. Another, at Kornneuburg is even more Flemish. The name of *Rueland* occurs on one of the pictures in the Klosterneuburg collection, and a family of that name may be traced in Vienna.

The famous altar-piece in the church at S. Wolfgang, near Ischl, is finer than any other work of the Bavarian or Austrian schools of the period; it is perhaps the finest carved altar in all Germany, and was finished, as the inscription tells, by *Michael Pacher* of Prauneck, or Bruneck, in the Tyrol, 1481. This artist is mentioned in the records of his native town as early as in 1467 as having executed, two years previously, an altar for Ried, near Botzen, which is now in the Austrian Museum in Vienna; on this he has signed himself *Pacar*. In an agreement made by him in 1471 to complete an altar for the parish church of Gries, near Botzen,[35] he undertakes to execute the carving as well as the painting; and the most important portion of the grand altar at S. Wolfgang is the centre-piece representing the coronation of the Virgin, which is admirably carved and coloured; the paintings also are of the highest interest and merit. The work is elaborately decorative; the double wings or doors display twelve scenes from the life of Christ. The altar-front also has painted wings, and on the back of the shrine are two rows of saints; but these are probably the work of his pupils, for the date is 1479. Everywhere but here we recognise the work of a master's hand; the feeling for beauty is remarkable throughout, and has none of the overloaded style then common in German art. There is, here and there, a trace of affectation in the action and drapery, but on the whole the drawing is not only careful but good, even in the nude. Side by side with some reminiscences of Flemish work we detect traces of Italian teaching, both in the figures and in the architecture; the type represented in some of the youthful figures, and the attempts at decorative perspective remind us slightly of Mantegna.

A remarkable work remains to be mentioned,—a fresco in the cathedral at Gratz representing the Trinity surrounded by saints. Below, under a canopy, sits a Pope enthroned between S. Francis and S. Dominic; he is supposed to see the picture above in a vision. The Almighty is aiming an arrow at the reprobate world, but the Virgin intercedes, pointing to her own breast. A frieze below, much injured, shows the woes incident to mankind,—locusts, wars with the Turks, drought, and pestilence. The character of the work is essentially Swabian; it is dated 1485.

I have spoken principally of easel pictures; miniature painting and fresco were rarely practised. There are numerous remains, no doubt, of wall-paintings in Germany, though in very bad preservation, and not intrinsically precious as works of art. Their subjects, however, are sometimes curious and interesting, and by no means always sacred; sometimes didactic or symbolical, as the Tree of Life outside the choir at Wasserburg. We also find more and more frequently representations of the Dance of Death. We have already seen (vol. i. p. 402, and note 63, p. 500) that the terrors of Death were a favourite subject with poets and artists in the fourteenth century. But now, instead of the story of the Three Dead and the Three Living, which was then abundantly illustrated on walls and in MSS., another treatment of the theme becomes usual,—the Dance of Death. The French "Danse Macabre"—in Latin "Machabæorum chorea"—is a name which has never yet been satisfactorily explained, but is perhaps derived from the circumstance that, as a drama, it was performed on the day of the Maccabees. The legend was part of the literature of Germany, France, and even Spain,[36] as early as the fourteenth century, in the form of a dialogue intended for dramatic presentation. The MS. copies were of course illuminated; in print it was illustrated by woodcuts, and it was frequently painted on the walls of cemeteries, and in cloisters—especially of the Dominicans. A very few have been preserved, but a Dance of Death was discovered in the Marienkirche at Berlin in 1860;[37] another, at Lübeck (in the Marienkirche), has been entirely repainted; those at Strassburg and at Basle have perished. A few relics, however, of one of the Basle series painted in the sixteenth century are preserved in the Museum of Mediæval Antiquities.

The oldest form of the Dance included twenty-four couples, but the number was subsequently increased, and head and tail pieces added. The living were arranged in order of their rank, beginning with the Pope, and each paired with a figure of Death, not as a skeleton, as before the sixteenth century, but as a corpse, often wrapped in its shroud. The attitudes of the dancers were broadly satirical, corresponding in this respect with the popular feeling of the time.

In quitting for the present the subject of German art, which we have followed down to the end of the fifteenth century, we feel a certain dissatisfaction

in the retrospect, for we are conscious of having reached no definite goal. The Flemish school of this period was complete and perfect in itself; it had achieved all it could within the limits it accepted, while the German schools lagged far behind, though they received their first impetus from the Netherlands. All that they had produced under Flemish influence was of a primitive type, and oscillates between an earlier stage now sunk in decay and a later development struggling through a clumsy infancy. It was not till the great masters of the sixteenth century appeared — Holbein and Dürer — that German art was lifted beyond that stage.

CHAPTER II.

GERMAN ART DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY —ALBERT DÜRER AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

INTRODUCTORY—The connection between the arts and general culture—German painting during the first half of the sixteenth century—The influence of the Reformation—The reproductive arts of engraving on copper and on wood—ALBRECHT DÜRER—Biographical facts—His visits to Venice—His journey to the Netherlands—His treatment of sacred subjects; the Adam and Eve—The Adoration of the Trinity at Vienna—The four Apostles at Munich—His portraits—Of himself—His landscapes and water-colour drawings—*Woodcuts* designed by DÜRER; the three great religious series—*The Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian*—Etchings and engravings—His changes of style—His followers—*Schäufelein and Culmbach*—*Penz*—the Behams—The "Little Masters"—*Miniature painting* in Nuremberg; the Glockentons—*Altdorfer*.

THE later period of the great era of the Renascence does not differ in its main features from the earlier. The transition from one to the other is gradual; still, it may be said with truth that the movement begun in the fifteenth century was accomplished and crowned with success in the first thirty years of the sixteenth; and it is easy to follow the rapid advance of art to its last development of technical perfection and ideal inspiration, to the ultimate comprehension of the delimitations of each method of expression, and to their effective combination in an intelligible unity. Nor was this progress confined to the graphic arts; it was equally conspicuous in every other department of culture; a remarkable feature of the political action of the time is the striving for unification. Such an empire as that of the Hapsburgs, on which the sun should never set, was above the conception of the fifteenth century, till the discoveries of navigators and astronomers expanded the intellectual vision of the people. The impetus given by printing extended the taste for learning, and various schemes and tendencies of thought now first saw where their goal lay; for instance, the translation of the Bible and its wider distribution led to the emancipation of a large part of Europe from the ecclesiastical rule of Rome.

The systematic study of antiquity, which now extended rapidly in the north, gave the standard of taste in every branch of literature and art; and in the most advanced nations art constantly grew in dignity and in popularity. As art cast off—not always to its advantage—its intimate alliance with craftsmanship, and asserted its independence, artists took a higher rank in society. The strongly Greek proclivities of the Renascence were most unhesitatingly expressed in architecture; but the general tendencies of the age

were nowhere, as a whole, more plainly revealed than in painting, which ere long took the lead. The most famous artists of the time were painters, and painting became the leading "organ" of the intellectual movement of the epoch.

In comparing the fifteenth century with the sixteenth, we perceive that where the painters of the earlier period strove in vain to translate their knowledge into practice—where they frittered away their power in laborious details, and, in spite of their finished realism and deep spiritual feeling, remained angular, fettered, and hard—their successors found freedom and glow, marched with direct independence to the goal, and—finding a higher and broader law than could be deduced from the study of isolated cases—rose to the conception of Typical Beauty without being false to nature. At the same time they aimed at a loftier and more ideal treatment of the subjects they selected. The realism of the fifteenth century was objective: it dwelt on the individualisation of the persons represented. That of the sixteenth was subjective: it aimed at revealing the mind of the painter. Still, greatest of all were the great masters of the first generation of this century, who succeeded in individuality and realism of both kinds.

The great Italian and German masters of that time—a few of whom lived on till late in the century—are the really classical artists of the period. A few Flemish and Dutch painters, who succeeded in engrafting the "grand style" on their native independence, may rank with these; still, the Italians, beyond a doubt, were the leaders, the heroes, of the movement. Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian led the triumph of the new era, and ere long all Europe was at their feet. But then a slavish imitation of their style brought ruin on northern art, which had its roots in so foreign a soil; and the history of its decadence in the Netherlands, under Italian influence, has already been discussed (*ante*, p. 67). But during the earlier and more glorious years of the sixteenth century there were some truly great painters in Germany who remained faithful in the main to their national characteristics, still boldly adhering to much of the severity and dryness of the past century; and, in order to give due coherence and continuity to this review of the progress of the art, they must be considered before the Italians, who, in fact, led the way.

"No Medici smiled on German art," said Schiller with truth, and it does the German artists of the period the greater honour that they should have been able, unpatronised and unaided, to take a foremost rank. The German emperors Maximilian I. and Charles V. appreciated art highly no doubt; still, "the last of the Knights" favoured it only so far as it could promote his fame, and Charles V. chiefly encouraged foreign artists. Some German princes patronised native art—The Elector Frederick the Wise, John Frederick the Constant of Saxony, Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, and Duke William of Bavaria—but few in comparison with the long list of Italian princes whose

love of art was proverbial. German cities again were far behind the Italian municipalities as patrons of art. Four years before his death Dürer wrote to the Town Council of Nuremberg: "In the thirty years during which I have lived in this city I have not earned five-hundred gulden, truly a small and ridiculous sum." And Dürer certainly included private commissions in this sum; for these were on the whole more frequent than orders from the authorities. Altar-pieces were ordered by wealthy patricians for the benefit of their souls, and portraits for the maintenance of family traditions, rather than from any care for art. The love of beauty was swamped by abstract theological discussions, and though it can hardly be said that the Reformation of which Dürer, Holbein, and Cranach were adherents was baleful to art, it lost much influential patronage by the suppression of religious foundations. Besides this, art in Germany[88] was directed by the development of the national style of architecture into a different channel from that which it took contemporaneously in Italy. In a southern climate fresco-painting found its use and opportunity in public buildings, and the art assumed a monumental and public character, only condescending, as it were, to easel work; while in Germany, where Gothic architecture with its broken surfaces still prevailed, wall-space was rarely available for painting; and the instincts and habits of the people also led them to develop their tastes for private enjoyment rather than for public display.

One direct result was that artists sought to disseminate their works widely in the form of engravings; the delicate manipulation needed for this class of work reacted on painting, and although easel-painting went through a parallel and independent development, as it did in Italy, the more popular arts of reproduction to a great extent filled the place in the life of the people which mural decoration held in the south. A greater contrast can hardly be imagined; it is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of art. In treating of German art, engraving must be regarded as of equal importance in every respect with oil or tempera-painting. It is in striking confirmation of this fact that engraving on copper was less practised in those towns of Southern Germany where wall-painting in the houses was treated with as much success as in Italy; while wood-engraving, as an adjunct to book-printing, was as thriving in these towns as in other parts of Germany.

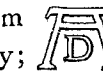
Without engraving, the Renascence in Germany would have left comparatively little for us to study. It is in the prints which abound that we find a genuine record of the life, costume, and manners of the German people, and a faithful reflection of their intellectual and spiritual struggles, of their nature and their moods.

I. ALBERT DÜRER[39] stands forth, beyond a doubt, as the most original, thoughtful, and imaginative German artist of any period. His greatness was

fully recognised by his contemporaries, and his fame was proclaimed throughout Europe. The Italians appreciated him as the greatest foreign artist of his time, admitting that he might have been as great as the great Italians if fate had granted him to be born in Florence or Rome and to study the antique. It cannot be denied that Dürer lacked that purity and simplicity of beauty which gives the greatest Italians their higher rank; but if we are to estimate the importance of an artist's influence by the independence of his genius—under the inevitable conditions of his life and period—Dürer's very peculiarities made him what he is to German art.

No man ever struggled more earnestly than Dürer to master his ideal of truth and beauty; his writings prove this as plainly as the vast mass of studies and finished works that he left to posterity. We see the traces of this struggle in the variations of style resulting from foreign influences; but the independence of his mind and his vehement nationality constantly triumph — the force of his individuality is always stronger than the influence from outside. While he inherited the characteristic angularity and ungraciousness of the school in which he grew up, we shall see that the freedom and purity of style which were achieved by his Italian contemporaries left their mark on his work. But it was his distinguishing merit that he never was an imitator; all that he derived from others he absorbed and assimilated; he made it his own before he availed himself of it. We see this in his somewhat fruitless speculations on the value of numbers in the proportions of the Figure; and, on the other hand, in his unlimited reverence for nature, which made him one of the most realistic artists that have ever existed, in spite of the intense idealism of his conceptions. "Art," said he, "lies hidden in nature; those who can have only to tear it forth." No draughtsman perhaps ever drew every stroke with such conscientious forethought as Dürer in his best time;[40] hence many of his compositions to this day impress us as being the best—nay, the only—way of treating their subject; hence his sketches and studies, especially of landscape, give us a feeling of absolute originality; hence everything he touched is stamped alike with his own individuality and with an unmistakable nationality; hence, too, engraving commonly satisfied his needs, or even the slight record of a pen and ink drawing or a coloured sketch on parchment.

The origin of the Dürer family is a matter of dispute, but his father was a goldsmith and settled at Nuremberg, where his son, the painter, was born, 21st May 1471.[41] After working with his father for a time he was sent, in 1486, to learn painting of Michael Wolgemut, with whom he studied for three years and a half. After visiting various towns in Germany, it seems probable that he went to Venice,[42] if we may trace the results of *Mantegna's* influence in some copies from engravings by Mantegna, dated 1494, now in the Albertina Collection at Vienna, and a drawing in the Hamburg Cabinet of Engravings, of the same year. Drawings in various collections prove that he had at this

time opportunities of studying from the antique,[43] while he constantly endeavoured to get at nature under every form. It was in 1497, after his return and his marriage, that he adopted the well-known monogram  and set up a studio of his own.[44] From this time he progressed rapidly; his intimate and lasting friendship with Willibald Pirkheimer contributed to raise and enlarge his mind, and Anton Koburger, the great printer, was another of his friends. About this time we detect the influence of Messer Giacopo de' Barbari—the somewhat Germanised Venetian known as "the Master of the Caduceus;" a great number of Dürer's paintings and engravings, both on wood and copper, were produced at this period. In 1505 he again visited Venice;[45] but, though keenly alive to the "greater beauty" of the Italian feeling for form, he returned home in 1507 with instincts more deeply rooted than ever in their native soil—the naturalism of the German Renascence. He found in Venice less than he might have seen in Rome or Florence to teach him the value of the antique as an element of the movement in Italy, and he never thoroughly appreciated it as one of the two great elements of the Renascence; but he understood that the antique could be of no value to himself excepting in so far as he had mastered it and made it his own. On his return to Nuremberg followed the most productive years of his life; he painted his most important pictures, published woodcuts in the form of books, and perfected the technique of copper-plate engraving. From 1512 he was employed by the Emperor Maximilian, who showed him great favour.

In 1521-22 Dürer made a journey in the Low Countries, of which we have a full record in his diary; his wife accompanied him. He was everywhere received with honour, but especially at Antwerp. From this journey Dürer returned home the richer in experience and impressions, but bearing with him the seeds of the disease which proved fatal to him. He was devoting himself to collecting and publishing his theoretical treatises[46] when he died, 6th April 1528.

In considering Dürer's work as a painter we find him in one negative point essentially German, inasmuch as he never painted a fresco decoration, though he sketched a design for the wall of the great Town-hall of Nuremberg after his return from the Netherlands. Here, on the right, is a picture of Calumny, from the description by Lucian (see vol. i. p. 59), for which a pen and ink sketch dated 1522 is to be seen in the Albertina Collection, Vienna. It is full of vigour and figurative purpose, though the old Greek allegory is freely translated, so to speak, into German; Truth, for instance, is richly dressed as a Princess of the period, with a long train and a broad-brimmed hat and feather. The decoration on the right represents the Triumph of Maximilian, with some variations from the well-known woodcut. The whole wall was coarsely repainted with oil colours in 1618; by whom the designs were originally executed is not known—possibly by Georg Penz.[47]

The master himself painted only easel-pictures—on wood, canvas, and parchment—in oil, tempera, or mixed vehicles. The subjects he painted were very limited, and only three pictures are known which are not religious or portraits. In 1500 he executed the water-colour picture—lately restored—in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg, of Hercules and the Stymphalides. In 1507 he sketched an allegorical head of Avarice, as an old woman, probably merely as a jest, on the back of a portrait of a man, in the Vienna Gallery, Finally, in 1518, he painted the figure of Lucretia standing by a bed and thrusting a dagger into her breast (in the Pinacothek at Munich), from a sketch made as early as 1500.

After the year 1497 a series of large altar-pieces were produced in Dürer's studio, partly the work of his pupils; the earliest of these paintings, which is indeed no doubt by his own hand throughout, is the Dresden altar-piece—not ascribed to him in the Dresden catalogue—of which the centre picture represents the Virgin adoring the sleeping Infant, with half-length figures of Saints, of life-size, on the wings. It is executed in pale-tinted tempera or water-colour. The Pietà in the Pinacothek, on the other hand, shows little trace of Dürer's hand, at any rate in its present condition. The Pietà in the Germanic Museum, and the altar-piece, now in the Archbishop's palace at Ober S. Veit, near Vienna, are also mere studio works. I must, however, differ from Thausing in regarding the famous Baumgärten Altar, from S. Katharine's at Nuremberg, now in the Pinacothek, as the work for the most part of Dürer himself; and the centre panel of the Jabach altar-piece, formerly belonging to the great Cologne banker of that name, but now lost, seems also to have been by his own hand. The wings exist, but have been sawn down; the inner sides, with figures of saints, are in the Pinacothek, but betray the touch of an inferior hand; while the outer sides—the sufferings of Job (in the Städel Institute), and the drummer and piper (in the Cologne Museum)—are good enough to be by the master himself.

Barbari's influence may perhaps be detected in an unfinished picture—sentimental in feeling—of the Saviour holding a glass globe, in the possession of Herr Eugen Felix at Leipzig; in a small triptych, also unfinished, in the "Kunsthalle" at Bremen; and in the small but finely and broadly finished Virgin and Child of 1503, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.

In 1504 the master executed a splendidly finished religious work, so replete with beauty and the best kind of German individuality, that criticism is silent before it; this is the splendid Adoration of the Kings, painted for Dürer's patron, the Elector Frederick the Wise. It was presented by a later Elector to the Emperor Rudolf II., but was finally acquired, by exchange, for the Uffizi at Florence (Fig. 181). The Virgin, fair-haired and purely German, sits robed in blue and presents the lovely infant to the eldest of the three Kings, who kneels before him, while the two others stand patiently waiting with their

offerings in their hands; to the right is a charming landscape, and the perspective, though not absolutely accurate, is intelligently felt. The figures are grandly composed and stand out well from the background, and every head is thoroughly thought out and finely painted; though every detail is carefully finished, the whole effect is massive and harmonious, and the spiritual feeling

Fig. 181.

that animates the work is at once tender and profound, solemn and yet cheerful.

It was in Venice that Dürer painted the great work which probably prompted his journey thither, in 1505—the Festival of the Rosary, painted for the German Merchants' chapel at Venice; after many vicissitudes it is now in the Abbey of Strahow, near Prague, but it is in a melancholy condition and almost entirely repainted. We can only guess at what were once its beauties of execution and colour, but we can still admire the richness and at the same

time the simplicity and symmetry of the composition and the sublime conception of the subject. The Virgin sits enthroned in the midst of a landscape; two flying cherubs hold a tapestry up behind her suspended over a rope; two others bear a crown over her bent head, and at her feet an older angel—reminding us of Giovanni Bellini's angel-boys—strikes a lute. The whole landscape is crowded with figures, head above head, adoring the Virgin Queen. Nearest to her and in front of the others kneel Pope Julius II. on one hand, in magnificent pontifical robes, receiving the rose garland from the hand of the Infant Christ; and on the other the youthful Emperor Maximilian I., on whose flowing locks the Virgin lays the wreath. Two figures which stand aside under a tree are portraits of the painter and of his friend Pirkheimer. The scroll in Dürer's hand is inscribed "Exegit quinquemestri spatio Albertus Dürer Germanus MDVI." While this picture proves Dürer's mastery of invention, care, and finish, another picture, said in the inscription on it to have been executed in five days—in Venice, 1506—displays his skill and facility in rapid workmanship. This is Christ disputing with the Doctors, an ill-preserved work, in the Barberini Palace at Rome; half-length figures, with the hands admirably expressive in gesture, and the hair finished with the delicate exactitude that is conspicuous in all

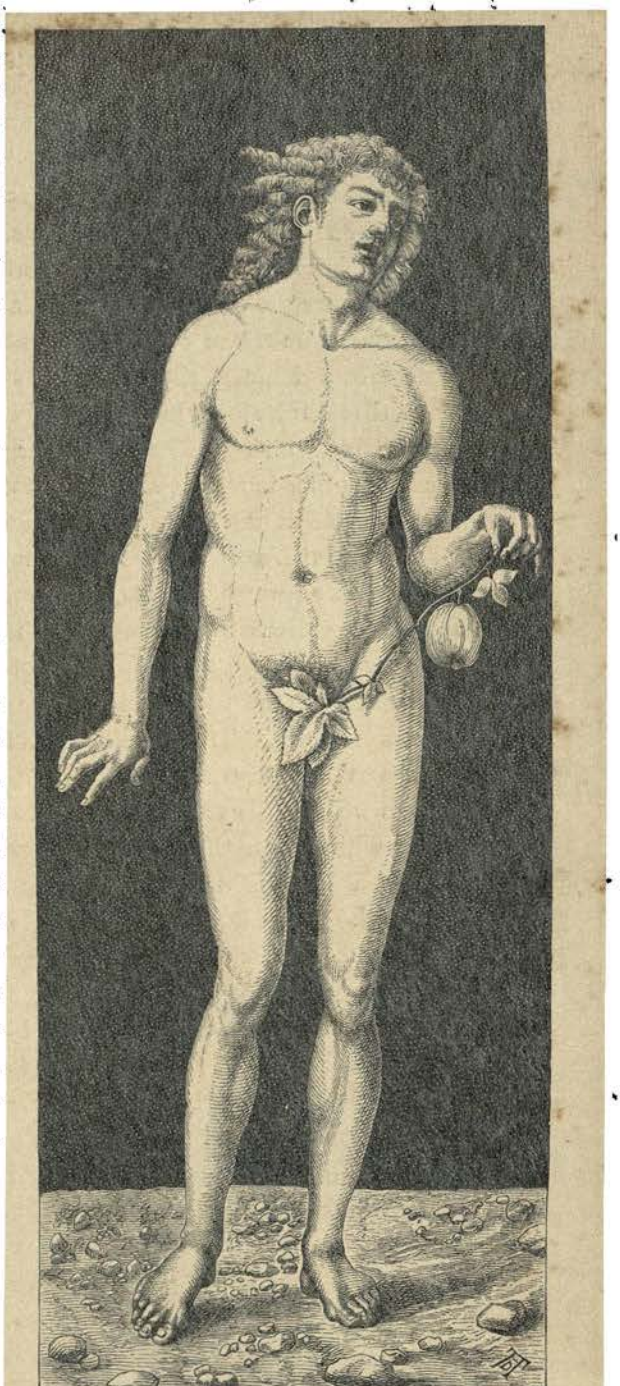


Fig. 182.

Dürer's works. Other works of this date are a large Madonna in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian, and the small but exquisitely beautiful Crucifixion in the Dresden Gallery, in which Dürer has revealed his mastery of effects, hitherto unattempted, in the solemn tone lent by the darkened atmosphere and the gleaming landscape.

On his return to Nuremberg he produced the grand religious works which show him at the height of his powers. In 1507 he painted the life-size figures of Adam (Fig. 182) and Eve, which, in the sixteenth century, were hanging in the town-hall at Nuremberg. Where those original pictures now are is a matter of dispute; Florence, Madrid, and Mainz, all claim that they possess them. The pair at Mainz, united in one frame, bear the stamp of the imitator too plainly to deserve a doubt in their favour. On behalf of those at the Pitti, it may be said that they alone have a landscape background with beasts and birds, for some of which studies by Dürer undoubtedly exist. The Madrid examples on the other hand are signed and dated, and the painting is worthy of the master, while it distinctly betrays the influence of the early Venetian school. To them, therefore, I give the preference;[48] they are noble, finely-drawn figures with expressive heads, and Dürer's studies for them, dated 1506, scattered through various collections, show that he had worked at them from fine Italian models.

Dürer's next great work, in 1508, is the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, in the Vienna Gallery. The myriad small figures suffering every form of death are a striking contrast to the dignity of the Adam and Eve; the thoroughness with which every attitude and foreshortening has been studied, and the skill with which the crowded scene is composed, are very admirable. In 1509 he painted the once famous "Heller" altar-piece, by command of a wealthy cloth-merchant of Frankfort. Numerous studies for the heads, hands, and drapery, which exist in various collections, prove that he never took more pains with any work than with this; and Dürer wrote to Heller himself, "It is done with the best colours I could procure. It is under and over painted, and retouched five or six times with good Ultramarine, and even after it was finished I painted it twice over that it might stand a long time."[49] It originally graced the Dominican Church at Frankfort, till the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria bought it and carried it to Munich, where it was burnt in 1674. The wings still remain at Frankfort, and the centre picture is replaced by an excellent copy by Jobst Harrich; it represents the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 183). The figure in the background with a tablet is the painter himself. The spiritual fervour combined with dramatic power that characterise this work are very remarkable; the wings are not entirely the work of Dürer himself.

In 1511 he painted the Adoration of the Trinity, at Vienna. God the Father, wearing the papal crown, sits above, holding up the cross on which the Redeemer hangs; over them soars the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; round

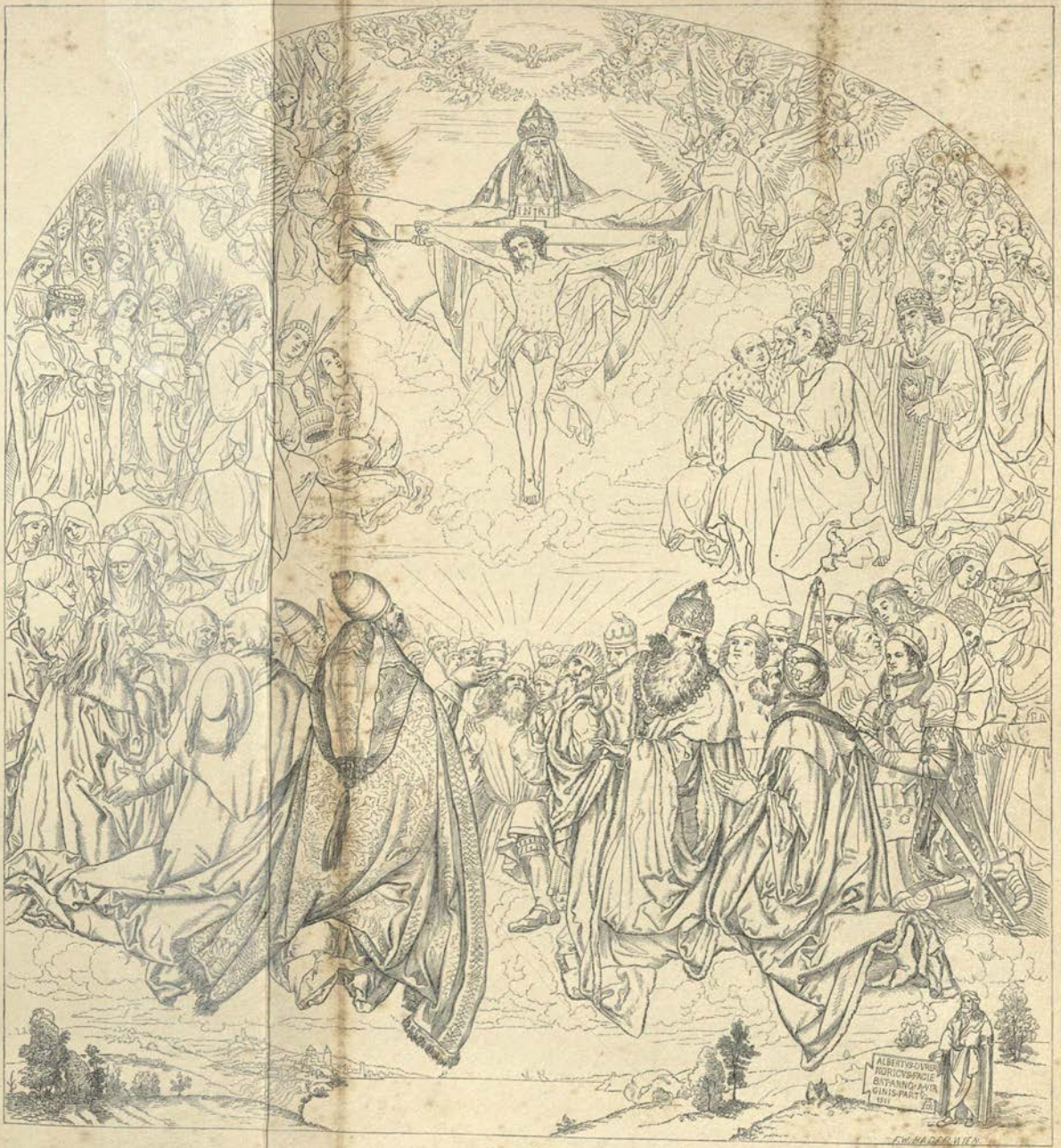

INRI
ALBERTVS·DVRER
NORICVS·FACIE
BAT·ANNO·A·VIR
GINIS·PART·
1511
F.W.HADER WIEN

Fig. 184.

Fig. 183.

the Trinity kneel the companies of the Blessed; below are the saints on earth, the Pope and the Emperor at their head. Even these, however, float in the air, above a landscape where, to the right, the painter himself is standing, holding a tablet (Fig. 184). This is the best preserved of all Dürer's large pictures,

and the devout sentiment and dignified composition are no less admirable than the brilliant atmosphere and delightful colouring. The Virgin, with an iris, at Prague, is only a studio picture; but a small Madonna, dated 1512, and known as the Virgin with a cut pear, is one of the gems of the Vienna Gallery.

For some years after this Dürer was too much occupied with engraving to devote much time to painting, and the pictures he produced were often hard and cold. To this period belongs a half-length figure of "the Man of Sorrows," in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, of 1514; and a very doll-like Virgin, lately acquired for the Dresden Gallery from the Capponi Collection, 1518. There are, however, two heads of 1516—S. Philip and S. James—in the Uffizi, of noble character and execution; they are in water-colour on linen. It was his journey to the Netherlands that first gave new impetus to his religious painting. The Madonna in the Uffizi, dated 1526, in which the child holds a corn-flower in his left hand, is mannered and dry; but the four figures of men, of life-size, commonly designated the Four Apostles, are the finest paintings he ever executed. They were done expressly as a bequest to his

Fig. 185.

Fig. 186.

native town of Nuremberg, to which he presented them, receiving, it is true, a gift in return of a hundred gulden. For a century they remained the pride of the city and one of the ornaments of the town-hall there; then, as the glory of Nuremberg waned, she parted with them to the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, and they are now among the treasures of the Pinacothek at Munich. Dürer worked for years at these panels, which were finished in 1526, devoting to them the best of his knowledge and skill. They simply represent four men against a black background, but what character and feeling are infused into their figures and heads!—S. John facing to the right, with S. Peter behind him (Fig. 185), and in the other panel S. Paul looking to the left, and S. Mark; this is perhaps the finer of the two (Fig. 186). S. Paul is a grand and priestly figure, holding a book in his left hand and a sword in his right. He is wrapped in a voluminous white cloak which almost conceals his red robe; this drapery has the grandeur and simplicity of the antique, while the fire and dignity of his expression recall Michael Angelo's Moses. An old tradition says that in these four wonderful heads Dürer intended to illustrate

the four temperaments, as universally recognised by the science of the time. They are all the more striking by contrast with the grand simplicity of the draperies; it would seem as though now, at the close of his life, Dürer had at last mastered the secret of being at once simple and grand—of stamping his figures with individuality while painting with the most perfect technical finish. It is the profound thought which pervades these pictures rather than any direct glow of feeling that is so essentially German.

[One of the very few pictures by Dürer in England is the Coronation of the Virgin, exhibited at Burlington House by the Marquis of Lothian in 1870,—"a very interesting but unfinished work," says a critic, "said to have been sold out of Holyrood Palace, of exquisite beauty and learned drawing; the Italian feeling suggests the influence of Bellini."]

Throughout his life Dürer was constantly employed on portraits; in these he is unsurpassable; they are as remarkable for their keen observation as for their fidelity of rendering. In execution they are unequal, and on the whole he does not rival the dignity and truthfulness of the younger Holbein.

Portraits of his parents were very naturally among the earliest that he attempted, and one of his father in the Uffizi Gallery was probably executed before he first left home. It is a shrewd head, in strong relief, against a dark-green background. There is also a fine portrait of his father at the age of seventy, in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland [exhibited at Manchester 1857]—engraved by Hollar—of which copies exist in the Städel Institute and in the Pinacothek. Another portrait at Munich, evidently the work of his own hand, would seem to be that of his hollow-cheeked brother Hans. Oftenest, however, Albert Dürer has painted himself. A naïve satisfaction with his own person—highly characteristic of the time—was strongly marked in him, and he studied his outer man as minutely as he observed and recorded his thoughts and feelings. We have seen that he introduced his own figure, quite isolated, in his great religious works far more boldly than his Italian contemporaries ever did; and he has also represented himself again and again, on paper or parchment in water-colour, on panel or canvas in oil. A portrait on panel that has become additionally famous through Goethe's description is in the possession of Herr Felix at Leipzig, having come from the Beireis Collection at Helmstedt; it is dated 1493.[50] Another, a master-piece of free and finished execution, is one of 1498, in the Madrid Gallery, of which there is a copy in the Uffizi. The master sits in the bloom of manhood—aged twenty-seven—on a balustrade; he is fashionably dressed, with long fair hair; a landscape seen through a window fills the background. The portrait of himself which he painted to send to Raphael has unfortunately been lost.

The most famous of these portraits, though it is not the best preserved, is the half-length in the Pinacothek, dated 1500; it was in fact probably

sketched in that year, but not finished till later (Fig. 187). He has painted himself bareheaded, in full front face; we see a Christ-like head of the type which Dürer himself created—doubtless studying it from himself—an artist's

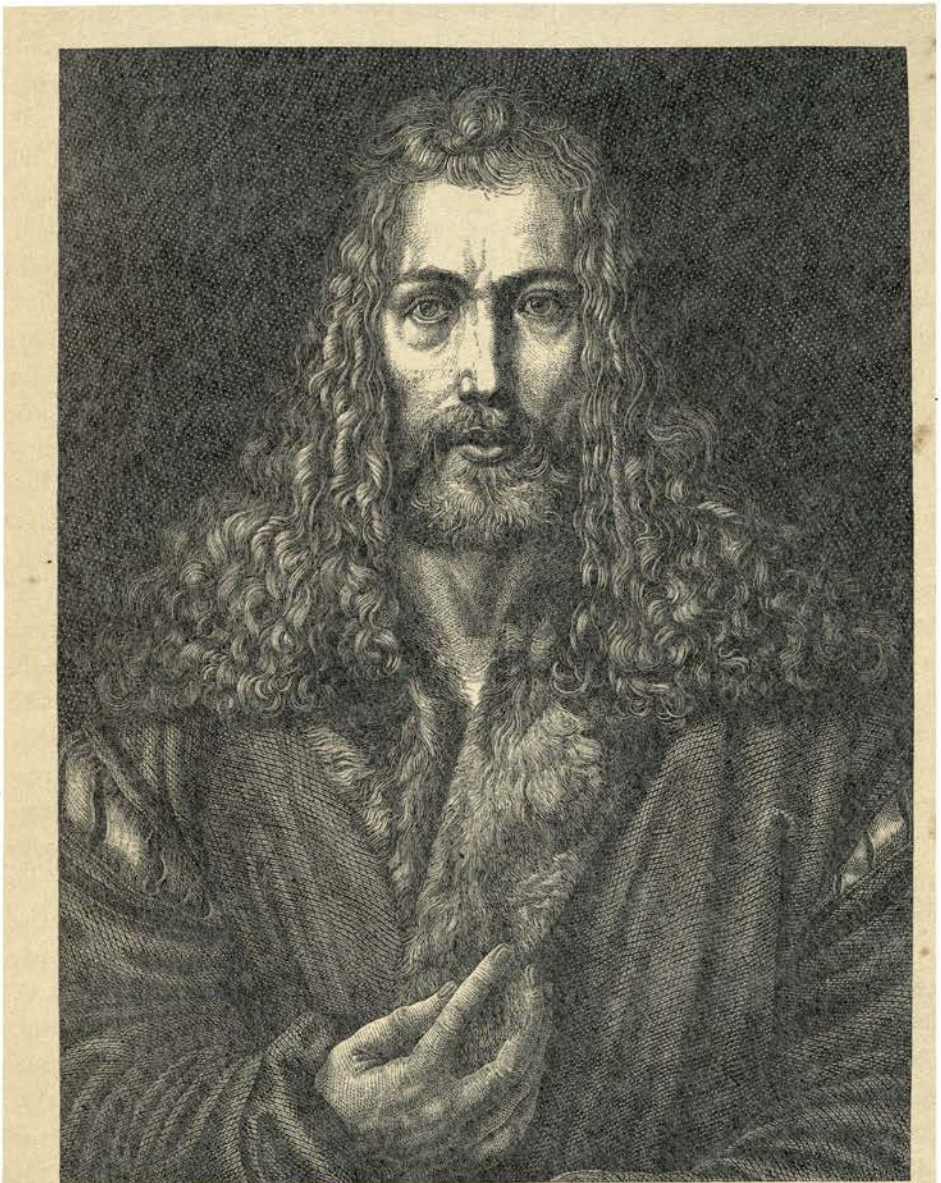


Fig. 187.

head with an expression of lofty self-possession and transcendent aim. At the same time it is a characteristic portrait, full of life and individuality. Among the worthies of Nuremberg whom Dürer painted we may name Michel Wolgemut, his master, of whom there is a good portrait in the Pinacothek,

of 1516, though the drawing in the Albertina gives perhaps a better idea of the old man's intelligent head; Oswald Krell, also at Munich, 1499; and Oelhafen, of whose portrait only copies exist. A portrait which is one of the gems of the Madrid Gallery is perhaps that of Hans Imhoff, 1523. Three others were executed in 1526: Joh. Kleberger, a curious experiment in arrangement of colour, in the Vienna Gallery; Jak. Muffel, in the possession of M. Narischkine at Paris; and H. Holzschurer, a fine old head, somewhat cold in colour but exquisitely painted; this is still the property of the family, but is to be seen in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. There are two copies of a portrait by Dürer of Jakob Fugger of Augsburg—one in the Berlin Museum and one in the Pinacothek. A picture of a young man is in the Palazzo Brignolesale at Genoa in a very bad state; and the portrait of a young man, apparently a German, in the Belvedere at Vienna, seems to have been painted in Venice in 1507. Two later works are a portrait in the Dresden Gallery of Bernhard von Ressen (or, according to Ephrussi, B. von Orley), and a large portrait of a smooth-haired beardless man in the Czernin Collection at Vienna, painted in 1515, with the almost metallic hardness that Dürer at that time affected. It is remarkable to note how few distinguished or royal personages figure in this list, but the master engraved several of his more illustrious contemporaries on copper or wood. He once painted a portrait of the Emperor Maximilian in oils; this picture, dated 1519, is in the Vienna Gallery; but even more impressive is the large charcoal drawing in the Albertina, from which the portrait was painted after the Emperor's death. Dürer also painted the Emperors Charlemagne and Sigmund—not portraits of course; they are in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, but in a very bad condition.

These, it will have been observed, are all portraits of men. Dürer, however, painted females occasionally, but only one remains—a picture of a woman in prayer, in the Augsburg Gallery. It has been doubted whether this ought to be regarded as a likeness or classed with his Virgins; it was painted in 1497, and is the original picture of a female head with flowing hair known as the "Fürlegerin with long hair" (a lady, that is to say, of the Fürleger family). This and the "Fürlegerin with plaited hair" were both engraved by Wenceslas Hollar, at which time they were in England, but the original of the latter picture seems to be lost.[51]

Durer's paintings can only be duly understood through a study of the mass of drawings for them which the master has bequeathed to us. Examples are distributed throughout the museums of Europe, and one of the most valuable services rendered by Thausing in his work on Dürer is the research he has devoted to investigating and dating them. To this the reader is referred.[52] [Pictures by Dürer are rare in England. One was acquired in 1854 for the National Gallery—a portrait of a man with a gray beard, dated 1514

"Although this is one of the less finished works of the master, it is still, considering the extreme scarcity of his pictures, a valuable acquisition"—*Waagen.* There is a portrait of a young man at Hampton Court (No. 589), dated 1506. Waagen puts a query after the name of Dürer attached to two pictures in the collection of Lord Folkestone (in 1870), but speaks of a fine portrait of his earlier time at Belvoir Castle.]

By far the most important collection of Dürer's drawings—many more than a hundred—is in the Albertina Gallery at Vienna, and next in order is the collection in the British Museum. There are numerous examples in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings, at Bremen, Florence, the Louvre, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Ambras Collection at Vienna, at Milan, Dresden, Frankfort, Hamburg, Oxford, and Windsor, besides others in smaller and private collections. In the execution of these sketches and studies Dürer made use of every imaginable method and material, as opportunity or his fancy directed, excepting the red crayon of his Italian contemporaries, which he seems never to have used; we have drawings by him in silver or metal point, in chalk or in charcoal, in pen and ink, and in fine lead-pencil. He not unfrequently filled in his outlines with water-colour, or executed finished water-colour studies on paper or on parchment in body-colour; but for finished drawings he preferred to use a coloured paper ground, and put in the lights in white. Many of his compositions show a combination of methods, the master having worked with pencil, pen, and brush to produce the desired effect. The Madonna in the Augsburg Gallery, 1516—a figure as large as life on a pale green ground, executed on parchment,—has the effect of an easel picture; the charming infant Christ in the Albertina is more like a miniature. The drawings in body-colour on parchment are for the most part studies, but so elegant in composition and so exquisite in execution that the master evidently made them for love of the work. Among these may be mentioned the Lion at Hamburg, the Jay's wings in the Berlin Museum, and the celebrated Hare in the Albertina. [In the collection of the late Mr. Bale were three of these highly-finished studies on parchment; the finest, a Stag-beetle, is now the property of Mr. J. P. Heseltine. In 1879 a study of this kind—a jay's wing—was exhibited by Mr. Morrison.]

Of the water-colour drawings on paper the most remarkable are the landscapes. There is an interesting series of examples which illustrate Dürer's travels south of the Alps—for instance, a view of Innspruck, in the Albertina, and one of Trient, at Bremen. In these Dürer, by the truthfulness of his observation and technical facility, reveals himself as one of the founders of the modern school of landscape-painting. The mill (Drahtziehmühle, Fig. 188) is a finished work in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings; and similar drawings exist in London and Paris. [There is a fine example in the British Museum: the Weierhaus.]

Fig. 188.

Between these finished water-colour drawings and the slightly-washed pen and ink drawings—which Dürer himself spoke of as done in half-tints—we find every grade of transition. In the Albertina there are some interesting studies of costumes of Nuremberg in 1500. These are slightly sketched with

Fig. 189.

the pen and tinted. Of more fully coloured drawings I may mention the Women Bathing, at Bremen [58] [and several of remarkable beauty in the British Museum, particularly a singer playing the violin—Apollo (?) dated 1507, and a Venus with Cupid stung by bees, 1518].

One of the earliest signed and dated works of the master is the pen and

ink drawing, uncoloured, of the Virgin enthroned, with two musician angels, at Berlin (Fig. 189). [There is in the British Museum a black chalk study of a lady with a falcon, on which an inscription by the original possessor says that Albert Dürer executed it for him before he went to Wolgemut's house to be a painter—*Waagen*]. On the other hand one of the latest is the fine Adoration of the Kings in the Albertina, 1524; the drawing is admirable, the composition simple, dignified and natural; Dürer himself hardly ever did anything more masterly. The most interesting of his drawings with the silver point is the portrait of himself in the Albertina as a lad of thirteen—an amazing work for a mere boy. He himself wrote on it later: "I copied this from myself in a mirror in 1484, when I was but a child." He made other studies of heads in silver point; but we must turn to two more important works. One of these is the Green Passion, as it is called, in the Albertina, a series of twelve drawings of somewhat elaborate execution in grisaille, with the pen and brush on green paper; the high lights are touched in with white. The first drawing represents the Adoration of the Kings; the other eleven are scenes from the Passion. For masterly style and intensity of pathos they are worthy to rank with the engraved series on copper and on wood. The second great work is the famous prayer-book made for the Emperor Maximilian, now in the Munich Library;[54] the text is printed on parchment, and the borders of forty-five of the pages are decorated by Dürer with drawings in red, green, and violet ink. He never displayed more genius and fancy, or more brilliant and unerring skill, nor do any of his works reveal more clearly his keen sense of humour (see Fig. 190). There are, besides these forty-five pages by Dürer himself, eight by one of his pupils.

["In the British Museum there is a large bound album of drawings, originally, it is believed, in the collection of the famous Lord Arundel. In this priceless volume are pasted a number of portraits, landscapes, and studies of all kinds, principally by Dürer, but a few by Hans Baldung Grün and other lesser artists of Dürer's time or the time immediately following." Some of these Professor C. Colvin describes at length, regarding them as sketches by Dürer in pen and ink from engravings by North Italian artists of Padua or Verona, followers of Pisano and Jacopa Bellini. Mr. Comyns Carr dwells on Dürer's system of landscape as illustrated by several studies of nature contained in this album, and on a comparison between two drawings by Dürer in the Albertina and some examples here.]

From the consideration of his drawings we are naturally led to the engravings and woodcuts by which his fame was first and most widely known.[55]

The inventive draughtsman and the actual engraver of woodcuts were as a rule two different persons; and it was Dürer's practice to draw on the block with the pen or brush, and entrust the cutting to persons skilled in

that particular technique. The name of one engraver employed by him in his later time has been handed down to us as *Jeronymus Andreae*. Thus, when we speak of Dürer's woodcuts, we allude only to the drawings. At the same time Thausing has pointed out that Dürer, by his skill in adapting his designs to the conditions of the material and technique, was in fact a reformer in this branch of art. Before him wood-engraving had been restricted almost exclusively to outline, not unfrequently coloured afterwards by hand; Dürer, by introducing light and shade, gave it colour —or, more accurately, *tone*—instead of colouring. It would be impossible of course to speak here of all Dürer's woodcuts, of which there are more than 200. Only the most important can here be pointed out; the most famous are the larger series: the Apocalypse, on sixteen pages; the Larger Passion, so called in

Fig. 190.

contradistinction to a Smaller Passion, twelve pages; and the life of the Virgin, twenty pages. Dürer published the three series combined in 1511; indeed, the two last were not complete till then; the Apocalypse was brought out in 1498 perfect, with the exception of the title-page.

The Apocalypse series was the first great work that made Dürer famous after his return home from his first journey. Simple faith qualified by a keen reforming spirit—the evident precursor of Luther's Reformation—here reflects the religious feeling of all the best men of Germany of his day. It is amazing to see how Dürer has found means to give form—and appropriate form—to ideas that might seem formless; how his pen has lent substance to the vaguest visions of the writer, and how he has brought the supernatural into close relations with his fellow-men and his own time by his startling realism and bold and practical applications. The rendering is not faultless in details, as is at once evident. The fourth plate is the most powerful, representing the four riders of the Apocalypse spreading death and terror as they rush on to destroy the fourth part of the earth (Fig. 191). There are fine details again in the sixth print, representing the Angels holding the four winds, and the sealing of the 144,000. The loosing of the four Angels from the river Euphrates (Rev. ix. i. 15), in the eighth print, is no less terrible than the four riders. The Angel in the tenth plate, "clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow upon his head, and his face as it were the sun, and his feet pillars of fire," whom Dürer had drawn with naïve accuracy, stands before us so living and so majestic that we could believe in his reality. Indeed, all the later illustrators of the Apocalypse have found it impossible to escape from Dürer's influence.

The first seven sheets of the Large Passion series were executed, as Thausing has fully demonstrated, about 1500; the last four and the title-page not till it was published in 1510-11. The difference in style is very striking; the early plates, done before the master's first visit to Italy, are often hard and ugly in details of form, notwithstanding their power and grandeur of composition. The later ones, executed after that journey, clearly prove by the softer and more southern type of the figures that it is an error to try to dispute the influence of Italian art on Dürer's development. We need only compare the treatment of the hair in the different plates.

The life of the Virgin is the most comprehensive of these series. Sixteen of these plates were likewise executed as early as 1504 and 1505; only the last three—the death of the Virgin, her Ascension, her Coronation, and the beautiful title-page of the Virgin and Child—were added when it was brought out in 1511.

The fourth series is that known as the Little Passion, consisting of thirty-seven plates, which follow the order of the gospel history. They are all of the master's best time, between 1509 and 1510. It is really amazing to see how

Fig. 191.

variously he was able to conceive of the same scenes! Looking at the Binding of Christ to the Cross we marvel at the composition of this crowded subject in so narrow a space; again, compare the Entombment in the Larger and the Smaller Passions. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, possesses a copy of the

Apocalypse. The Life of the Virgin and the Great Passion are in the British Museum—*Waagen.*]

Last of all we must mention the large woodcuts, intended for wall decoration, which Dürer executed in honour of the Emperor Maximilian, after 1512. These are the Triumphal Arch, a composition on ninety-two blocks which, when fitted together, form a picture of nearly ten feet high and about the same breadth. It then represents a triumphal arch in the Roman style, but the classical architecture has become Teutonic. Every part is covered with emblematical ornaments and figures, coats of arms, and laudatory inscriptions in honour of the Emperor. The Triumph of Maximilian is a series to be arranged as a frieze, the central object being the Emperor's Triumphal Car, preceded and followed by a long procession of historical and allegorical figures. The larger number of these plates were executed by *Hans Burckmair*, the Augsburg master, whose works are presently to be discussed. Twenty-four of them are, however, according to Thausing, to be regarded as the work of Dürer; among them the chief subject—the car in which the Emperor and his family are riding; they are all in fact full alike of fancy and of beauty.[56]

It is impossible to enter into details on the almost inexhaustible subject of Dürer's single woodcuts. Biblical scenes and Madonnas are the most frequent, and one of the finest is the Trinity, of 1511. The early block of Men Bathing (Bartsch, 128) is unique in its subject; as is the mythological print of "Hercules Fighting" (Bartsch, 127). There are two woodcut portraits of the Emperor Maximilian, a large one of his Privy Councillor, Ulrich Varnbüler, of 1522, and the elegant small likeness of the poet, Eoban Hesse, of 1523.

To conclude, we must speak of Dürer's engravings on metal, and these plates—not less than a hundred executed by his own hand—are an even more direct record of his personal impressions and method than the woodcuts. In them we best can study the master's many-sided genius, his profound mind, and at the same time his original reading and rendering of life. Dürer's work as an engraver also forms one of the most important and interesting phases of the history of the method of art. He had no doubt made acquaintance at an early age in his father's workshop with Schongauer's engravings, remarkable for their delicate execution and skilful modelling; in his travels he would have seen Mantegna's works, distinguished by their pure and masterly treatment of form. Neither of these engravers, however, strove after any truly pictorial quality. The objects they represent stand out against a white background—in effect, if not actually. Dürer's first works are also in this style—such, for instance, are the Virgin with the grasshopper or dragon-fly, in spite of the rich landscape in the background (Bartsch, 44), the Love Offers (B. 93), the Prodigal Son (B. 28), the S. Sebastian (B. 56), and others.

Another very interesting group consists of works which are almost identical with those of another master, excepting that they are generally reversed and

signed with Dürer's monogram instead of the letter W. Such are the graceful Knight and Lady (B. 94), the moral allegory of the Dream (B. 76), the naked women commonly known as the Four Witches (B. 75), the Madonna with the Monkey (B. 42), and the Little Courier (B. 80). One of the most eagerly disputed questions of its kind is who this master W may have been, and what relation Dürer's plates bear to his. At the present stage of the discussion I cannot regard it as established that the plates signed by Dürer are the later, though it seems highly probable, and the W no doubt stands for Wolgemut, who was Dürer's teacher. At the same time the compositions may have been originally Dürer's, left by him on his return from his first travels to be engraved in his master's studio, but subsequently reappropriated by engraving and improving them with his own hand.[57] Some of these plates begin to show a transition to a fuller and more richly toned treatment.

The print of Adam and Eve (B. 1) shows this new method in its earliest stage; the whole background is worked with the burin, and the figures stand out in light relief against the darker trees. Dürer often repeated similar effects, as in the charming street-scene called Christmas (B. 2), in the splendid Family of Satyrs, of 1505 (B. 69), and the sixteen plates of the Little Passion, of 1512-13. Then he was no longer satisfied with this method of workmanship; he exchanged the graver for the etching needle, so as to command greater freedom of line and a softer effect. We find him in 1515 in full possession of all the secrets of the etcher; but he now applies them no longer to copper but to steel plates. The engravings thus produced —as the small "Man of Sorrows," sitting (B. 22), and the large Christ on the Mount of Olives—do not, however, appear as improvements on his former works; their coarse execution makes them look more like woodcuts than copperplates, and Dürer soon abandoned this process in favour of a combined method. "Finding the dry point insufficient he subordinated it to the graver, of which he had long had experience, and to which he henceforth gave the principal *rôle*, contenting himself with merely etching the plates lightly first, and then going over every line with the tool."[58]

Hence Dürer's later plates only, display that perfection of delicate pictorial, and sympathetic charm, and tender equable silvery tone, which we admire as the crowning beauty of his engravings. Characteristic examples of his best period are the Virgin crowned by two Angels (B. 37), with its visionary effects of light and shade; the Virgin with the swaddled Child (B. 38), in which the illumination proceeds from the Infant, after the manner of Correggio; and the well-known interior with the figure of S. Jerome (B. 60).

A study of Dürer's engraved work enables us better than anything else to follow the progress of his development in style and drawing. We see him begin with the ungracious forms of Wolgemut's school; betraying the influence of Mantegna after his first visit to Italy—see, for example, the Genii (B. 66 and

77); then, after his return, throwing himself headlong, as it were, into a bold naturalism, as in the Large Fortune (B. 7). Under the influence of Jacopo de' Barbari we then find him eagerly studying the laws of proportion, as in

Fig. 192.

the Adam and Eve (B. 1), and finally allowing his own feeling for nature and sense of style to lead him to an independent conception and a truly German Renascence. Besides this, in Dürer's engraved works we find interpreted all the mind and feelings of his time, which indeed he contributed

to enrich. Religious subjects, it is true, occupy the first rank: there are two fine Madonna's of 1511 and 1513 (B. 41 and 32), besides those already mentioned. He more often chose mythological subjects in his earlier time than in his later years: the Amymone (B. 71), the Great Hercules, also known as Jealousy, and the Smaller Fortune, are examples. Barbari's influence is traceable in the Apollo and Diana (B. 68), and the Family of Satyrs, 1505. Closely allied to the mythological subjects are the allegories, in which Dürer shows himself as a true son of his time. To his early period belong the

Fig. 193.

Dream (B. 76) and the Four Witches (B. 75); but the most remarkable perhaps of all, and the most interesting, is a later work, the Melancolia (B. 74), of the year 1514, of which the aspect is enough to plunge us into reverie (Fig. 192); and the purely German Death and the Knight, of 1513, in which the idea is evidently in diametrical contrast to the mighty Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo at Pisa (see vol. i. p. 474); its magic effect is lost in description, but once seen it dwells in the fancy and memory.[59]

Dürer also availed himself of etching for portraits; two of the most famous are those of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, the larger and the smaller (B. 102, 103), that of the Elector Frederick the Wise (B. 104), and those of

Pirkheimer, Melanchthon, and Erasmus. The mention of these three names also suffices to show how intellectual a circle Dürer lived and moved in.

I must here particularly emphasise the fact that Dürer's work as an etcher may be regarded as the foundation of *genre* in art. Such plates as the Knight and Lady (B. 94), the Love Offers (B. 93), the Lady on Horseback (B. 82), the Little Courier (B. 80), the Cook and the Hostess (B. 84), prove that Dürer had anticipated Goethe's advice—

> "Lay a firm hand on all that's life, and human,
> Where'er you turn 'tis full of interest;"

and the Three Peasants (Fig. 193), with many others, prove that in this respect Dürer's art, throughout his life, preserved its essential northern character.

The oftener we return to the study of Dürer the more we love him and delight in him; his beauties rarely lie on the surface; but the deeper we penetrate into the sanctum of his art the grander does he appear. Any one who contemplates his work as a whole, and has absorbed it into his mind as a permanent intellectual possession, cannot fail to feel that, in spite of much superficial ruggedness, Dürer is one of the few great masters of all time.

II. DÜRER'S CONTEMPORARIES AND FOLLOWERS IN NUREMBERG AND RATISBON.[60]—The influence of Dürer's printed work was soon felt throughout Germany, and almost every master of the German Renascence worked under its spell till it gradually yielded to the encroachments of Italian taste. The artists of Franconia, and more especially those of Nuremberg, were the first to imitate their master; and yet, widely as his influence was spread, the names are few that can be quoted as those of his immediate pupils or assistants. *Hans Dürer*,[61] the youngest of the three brothers—born 21st February 1490—learnt to paint in Albrecht's studio; we know that he was still working under him in 1507-9, while the Heller altar-piece was in progress; hence it is not improbable that Hans Dürer may have painted some portion of the wings. The martyrdom of S. James and the S. Catherine, in the museum at Frankfort, Waagen attributes to him, and no doubt rightly, and a bright and cheerfully coloured Holy Family, signed H. D. 1518, in the gallery at Pommersfeld; we learn, too, that he was living at Cracow in 1529-30 as court painter to the King of Poland, so he doubtless did something there.

Hans Springinklee lived with Dürer, as we learn from Neudörfer, who calls him an "illuminator," and adds, "he there acquired the skill in drawing and painting for which he was famous." Nothing of his remains, however, but some woodcuts, which betray a close following of Dürer. Thausing traces his hand in those borders for the Emperor Maximilian's prayer-book, which Dürer himself did not execute.

Hans Leonhard Schäufelin—one of the most noteworthy figures of the artistic world at that time—was probably an apprentice in Dürer's studio before

his master's second visit to Venice, since he helped him in the altar for Ober S. Veit (see *ante*, p. 129). Schäufelin's parents were from Nördlingen, but he was born at Nuremberg in 1490, and educated there. In 1512 he was working at Augsburg, but in 1515 went to Nördlingen, where he painted several pictures, and died in 1539 or 1540.[62] His monogram is H. S., with a shovel—a pun upon his name. He did not etch, but drew for woodcuts and for painters. One of the books he illustrated is the *Theuerdank* of the Emperor Maximilian (a work executed by the command of Provost Melchior Pfinzing). The thirty-five plates of a Passion series, printed in Nuremberg in 1507, are among his finest woodcuts; but in this, as in everything he did, he shows that he is but a planet borrowing all his light from the sun of Dürer's genius. His pictures have survived in great numbers. A Last Supper in the Berlin Museum, with the group singularly arranged at a round table, is dated 1511; but his great altar-piece is in the convent church at Anhausen, 1513. In this important work there are 291 heads, and it is on 16 panels. His work is, however, best studied at Nördlingen; in the town-hall there is a large wall-painting by him in tempera of the history of Judith and Holofernes; the figures wear the costume and arms of the painter's time, and Bethulia is defended with cannon. There is in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg a small replica or finished sketch for this picture. His finest works were for the most part executed for the Church of S. George at Nördlingen, where now only the centre subject of the Ziegler altar-piece, 1521, is to be seen, the rest having been transferred to the town-hall. There are examples of this painter at Nuremberg, Munich, and the Castle of Schleissheim —a dispersed series of ten scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, in his best style; and specimens of the master are to be seen in many of the Bavarian collections. Although his work is often very mechanical, he frequently

Fig. 194.

captivates us by his well-considered composition and characteristic originality ; and in spite of his having allowed his pupils to paint largely for him, which has helped to render his work very unequal, he is always recognisable by certain mannerisms of his own. These are the high, flat foreheads and the projecting beards of his heads, with the bloodless hue of his faces, and the softened, sometimes warm golden tone of his general colouring.

Certain pictures—too weak to be by him, though signed with the same initials—may be the work of his son, *Hans Schäufelin* the younger, who quitted Nördlingen in 1543, or of *Hans Schwartz*, his widow's second husband. Another but very inferior imitator of Dürer and Schäufelin was *Sebastian Deig.* (or *Taig*), whose pictures are to be seen at Nördlingen, Nuremberg, and Schleissheim. [The Duke of Northumberland has a portrait, which Waagen ascribes to Schäufelin, which is additionally interesting if, as he says, it represents one of the early navigators and discoverers, Martin Behaim. He also saw a portrait by this painter in a private collection at Edinburgh.]

We find a more important artist in *Hans Suess* of *Kulmbach*,[63] though few of his works are known. He was probably but little younger than Dürer, and was a scholar under Jacopo de' Barbari, whose teaching many of his works plainly betray. According to a recent inquirer he died before Dürer, in 1522 at the latest. He must undoubtedly have worked often and long in Dürer's studio, and have always kept up his connection with him. That he occasionally executed orders given to Dürer's studio is evident from a drawing by him, corrected by Dürer, for one of the blocks of the triumphal procession, in the Berlin Cabinet, and from the allegorical picture in the Chapel of S. George at Anspach, representing Christ treading the Wine-press, while God the Father turns the wheel, which was a commission to Dürer's studio, since the sketch by Dürer has lately been acquired for the Berlin Gallery of Engravings. Sandrart, indeed, tells us that Dürer supplied *Meister Hans* with the drawing for the grand Tucher altar-piece in S. Sebald's Church at Nuremberg ; and this drawing does in fact exist at Berlin, with Dürer's monogram and the date 1511. This triptych, completed in 1513, is a masterpiece by Hans von Kulmbach, and indeed of German art. In the middle is the Virgin enthroned with the Infant Saviour, under an arch in the taste of the Renascence ; angels crown her, while others make music in the Venetian manner at the foot of the throne ; SS. Barbara and Catherine stand on either side ; on the wings are other saints ; a mountain landscape forms a continuous background to all three pictures. The character of the heads is at once marked and tender ; the composition is simple, distinct, and dignified ; the colouring pleasing and harmonious. Dürer's influence is no less plainly stamped on Hans von Kulmbach's other great work, the Adoration of the Kings, in the Berlin Museum, dated 1511 (Fig. 195). Less stern than Dürer, the master here shows himself to have been influenced by Jacopo de' Barbari in the brilliancy of his colouring and the

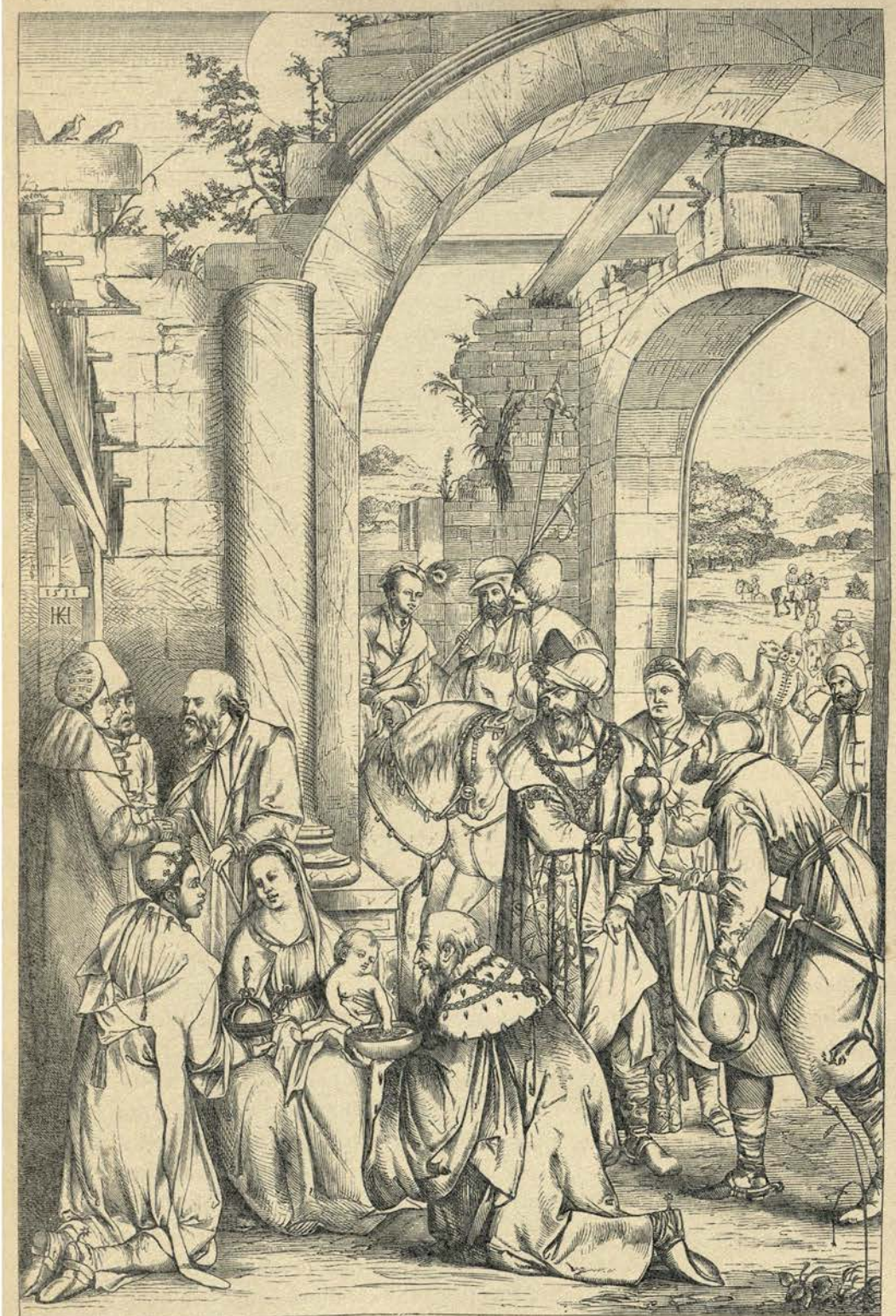


Fig. 195.

smooth quality of the brushwork. He adhered more to the traditions of his master in the eight powerful pictures from the histories of SS. Paul and Peter in the Uffizi, and there attributed to Schäufelin, and again in some figures of saints in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. The series in the Church of the Virgin at Cracow, on which he has signed himself Hans Suess, represents scenes from the history of S. Catherine. There are other examples of this master at Cracow, at Hamburg, at Berlin, Schleissheim, Bamberg, and Leipzig; and we find him always a painter who, though he does not startle us by his originality, touches us by his tenderness and warmth. [A portrait, "assuredly of the school of A. Dürer and recalling Hans von Kulmbach," is in the possession of Her Majesty, being one of the Wallerstein Collection acquired by the Prince Consort and carefully catalogued by Waagen.]

Georg Penz, *Sebald Beham*, and *Barthel Beham*[64] form a distinct group of Nuremberg masters of that day. It cannot be proved that they studied under Dürer; but they undoubtedly felt his influence. Their independence of mind is amply proved by the fact that they were all three banished from Nuremberg as free-thinkers and communists.

Georg Penz is first heard of in 1523, in a list of Nuremberg painters; and in 1524 he was expelled with the other two "godless painters." However, in 1525 he was permitted to settle in Windshein, in the vicinity, and in 1532 he was appointed painter to the town of Nuremberg; but he never was flourishing, and died in penury in 1550.

It is at least likely that he at some time worked under Dürer, and highly probable that he painted the wall-decorations in the town-hall at Nuremberg from Dürer's designs. Sandrart tells us of another and extremely interesting decorative work by Penz: he painted the upper part of a room in a garden-house, belonging to Herr Volkamer, in such a manner as that it looked as though it were not yet roofed in, but that the masons were still at work on the scaffolding, and the sky, with clouds and birds, was visible beyond. This realistic effect corresponds very well with what Neudörfer tells us of Penz—that "he was very skilled in transparencies and images in glass, water, fire, and mirrors, and very learned in perspective." Most of the historical pictures which are ascribed to him—even those that are signed—have been painted by other hands from his engravings. Three fragments of a panel in the Dresden Gallery, representing the Adoration of the Kings, are genuine, as well as a series of half-length figures, mostly representing mythological personages, which are treated in a cold, pseudo-classical manner that justifies the opinion that Penz must have made a journey into Italy. Examples of these exist at Pommersfelden, 1545, and in private hands at Vienna, 1544; a S. Hieronymus in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, 1544, bears a more German stamp. His portraits are full of individuality; in them the handling is freer and has more of the cinquecento feeling than in Dürer's; they combine a striking realism with

careful painting, and an uniformity of tone which is highly characteristic of the master—a peculiar warm grayish brown. Three capital examples are to be seen in the Berlin Gallery. One of his finest portraits is at Carlsruhe (Fig. 196), and there are others in the Uffizi, and at Vienna and Gotha. [A portrait by Penz of Erasmus is in the royal collection at Windsor. There is one at Hampton Court (No. 805), and Waagen speaks of a portrait of a lady

Fig. 196.

with a pink in her hand, in the Glasgow Museum, as "a fine but unfortunately over-cleaned picture, . . . probably by George Penz; the name of Holbein given to it is false."]

Penz's chief glory rests, however, on his engravings. He and his fellow-workers are, in fact, known among collectors as "the Little Masters"—a name derived, in the first instance, from the small size of their plates. In technique Penz goes on where Dürer ends. Using the burin with a freedom worthy of the brush, he executed several sets of illustrations. One is here reproduced

to show the style of his workmanship (Fig. 197)—Joseph sold by his Brethren ; the feeling is realistic rather than religious. [The British Museum possesses examples of his engraved work, and two drawings which Waagen attributes to him.]

Of the two brothers, *Beham Sebald* was the elder.[65] He was born in 1500; in 1525 he was banished, but, as it would seem, was pardoned at the same time as Penz. He led a wandering life till 1534, when he settled at Frankfort-

Fig. 197.

on-the-Maine, where he died in 1550. His wild and restless spirit is plainly legible in his portrait of himself—a pen and ink drawing in the Albertina, dated 1549 (Fig. 198). Pictures, properly speaking, by this master are unknown ; but there are eight miniatures executed by him, 1525, in a prayer-book that belonged to Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, now at the castle of Aschaffenberg : these are dainty little scenes illustrating Confession and the Mass. It was for the same prelate that he painted the top for a table, now in the Louvre, with scenes from the life of David.[66] Poverty seems to have made him industrious, for above twenty of his drawings, 250 engravings, and 500 woodcuts are known. Most of the woodcuts were done after 1534, to illustrate

books for Christian Egenolff, a printer of Frankfort. It was on copper that his versatile genius best displayed itself (Figs. 199 and 200). His feeling for form is sometimes at fault, but his fancy and observation seem inexhaustible,

Fig. 198.

and the execution is always clear and skilful. The Marriage at Cana and the Prodigal Son are the most remarkable of his works; his scenes of low life were the most popular. They were constantly copied on to pots and objects of artistic manufacture, and were the direct precursors of the Dutch *genre* of a later date. He, too, is one of the "Little Masters" whose nickname does no

dishonour to their real greatness, and who are an indispensable link in the chain of our history.

Sebald's younger brother, *Barthel Beham*, was born in 1502. He did

Fig. 199.

not return to Nuremberg after his exile, but entered the service of Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria. We hear of him in Munich in 1527, and he died in Italy, whither the Duke had sent him to pursue his studies, in 1540. A con-

Fig. 200.

siderable number of his pictures have survived. In the gallery at Schleissheim are fifteen portraits of princes of Bavaria, painted by order of the Duke. They are now much injured, and from the first were hasty and careless in execution, though signed. A better work, also signed, was hanging till lately in a lower

room at Schleissheim; and a well-preserved oil-painting of the Elector Palatine Otto Heinrich, in the Augsburg Gallery, 1535 (Fig. 201), shows him at his

Fig. 201.

best. It was in the service of Duke Wilhelm that he painted the picture of the Finding of the true Cross, in oils on wood, which is now in the Pinacothek at Munich (Fig. 202). As this is the only known work signed with his name in full—1530 BARTHOLOME BEHEM—it is the only standard by which to estimate him as a master; and it is by comparison with this that it has been ascertained that it was he who painted for the Count of Zimmern. Examples

Fig. 202.

of this master exist at Messkirch, at Würzburg, at Donaueschingen, in the Berlin Gallery, and at Prague. In all we perceive that Barthel Beham was one of the most important German masters of his time, uniting the characteristics of his nationality with an Italian feeling for form, but without mannerism; his colouring is cheerful and varied, not unfrequently relieved against a gold background.

As an engraver Barthel Beham also holds an important position among the "Little Masters." Ninety-two plates by him are known to exist, of which five are portraits and twenty-six groups of children and genii. In these last the spirit of the German Renascence is seen at its best; even his brother Sebald copied several of these plates, which are a vivid reflection of the thought and life of his time (Fig. 203).

Fig. 203.

Allusion must here be made to the family of *Hirschvogel*, who distinguished themselves as painters on glass. *Veit Hirschvogel* the elder (1461-1526) is known by repute as the painter of the "Maximilian window" (1514), and the "Markgraf's window" (1527) in the Church of S. Sebald. His sons *Veit* and *Augustin* (*circa* 1503-54) were at once designers on wood and engravers; the latter was the more famous. He seems to have been an imitator of *Altdorfer*, and the same may be said of *Hans Sebald Lautensack* (1524-63), though his works, of which specimens exist, are very inferior. Other contemporary artists or engravers in Nuremberg were *Erh. Schön* the "painter," *L. Krug* the "goldsmith," *Meldemann*, *Wolfgang Resch*, and *Peter Flötner*, highly praised as a sculptor.[67]

Miniature-painting was still a flourishing branch of art in Nuremberg at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and we hear of many artists who were famous as illuminators. Besides *Hans Springinklee*, we may here mention *Jakob Elsner* (died 1546)—a portrait by him is in the Augsburg Gallery—and *Virgilius Solis*, of whom more will be said later; but especially the family of *Glockenton*. *Georg Glockenton* the elder (died 1515) illuminated hymnals and prayer-books in the old style on a gold ground. Of his sons, *Albrecht*, "an industrious illuminator and verse-maker, nay, half a poet," is spoken of also as a wood-engraver in 1530 and 1542; but his more famous brother *Nicolaus* (died 1534) worked in close intimacy with Albert Dürer, whose woodcuts he adapted to miniatures; two books illuminated by him are preserved in the castle of Aschaffenburg, and a New Testament, of 1524, is in the library at Wolfenbüttel. He lacked original inventiveness, but his execution is admirable.[68]

[A MS. prayer-book in the Bodleian at Oxford, formerly belonging to Bona Sforza, wife of Sigismund, king of Poland, is dated MDXXVII. and signed S. C. These initials evidently are not those of Nicolaus Glockenton, "but the taste and execution closely resemble those of the Aschaffenburg prayer-book." Another very fine prayer-book, executed for Sigismund himself, is in the British Museum; and Waagen ascribes a large proportion of the miniatures to Nicolaus Glockenton.]

To return to the painters on a grander scale, we must, before studying Dürer's followers, speak of one of his contemporaries who in many respects may be regarded as a rival rather than as an imitator. This is *Albrecht Altdorfer*.[69] He was born probably not later than 1480—where, is not known—and he no doubt developed under the more or less direct influence of Dürer. In 1505 he was made a free citizen of Ratisbon, where he lived as painter, engraver, and architect till 1538, when he died. Thus he is the Ratisbon master *par excellence*, and sometimes even called himself so. His architectural work was practical rather than artistic, but in painting and etching scenery his peculiarly imaginative treatment led to his being occasionally designated the Father of landscape-painting. Even his landscapes seek their justification in the introduction of groups of figures in the foreground, and only ten of his etchings are landscapes pure and simple. His paintings with figures display a Düreresque character, and, in spite of slightness in drawing and a want of depth in the expression, the powerful colouring commands our attention. His landscape backgrounds are arbitrary arrangements of scenery, but the details are delightfully studied; still they betray the master's romantic fancy rather than any careful observation of nature, and Dürer's landscapes are far more purposeful and accurate than those of Altdorfer, who fails in the reverence for nature and mental discipline which might have entitled him to rank with Dürer.

His pictures are not rare in the collections of South Germany. There is an altar-piece by him in the church at Aufhausen, near Ratisbon, and a Crucifixion, dated 1517, in the Augsburg Gallery which, singularly enough, has not a landscape background (Fig. 204). Though he, too, took part in the movement of the Reformation, he painted several pictures of the Virgin; the earliest dated example of his work is a Crucifixion in the Germanic Museum, 1506, which is unusually full of expression for Altdorfer. The date 1540 on a riposo in the Berlin Gallery is a mystery, as Altdorfer died in 1538. Meyer and Bode think he must have painted it in mistake for 1504 or 1510; Rosenberg supposes that the date was added by his relatives after his death. [A good picture by this master, "fresh and glowing in tone and romantic in composition, with steep rocks, grand pine trees, and a fine distance," is now in the Glasgow Museum; it represents S. Hubert adoring the Crucifix on the head of a stag. A panel from the collection of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell

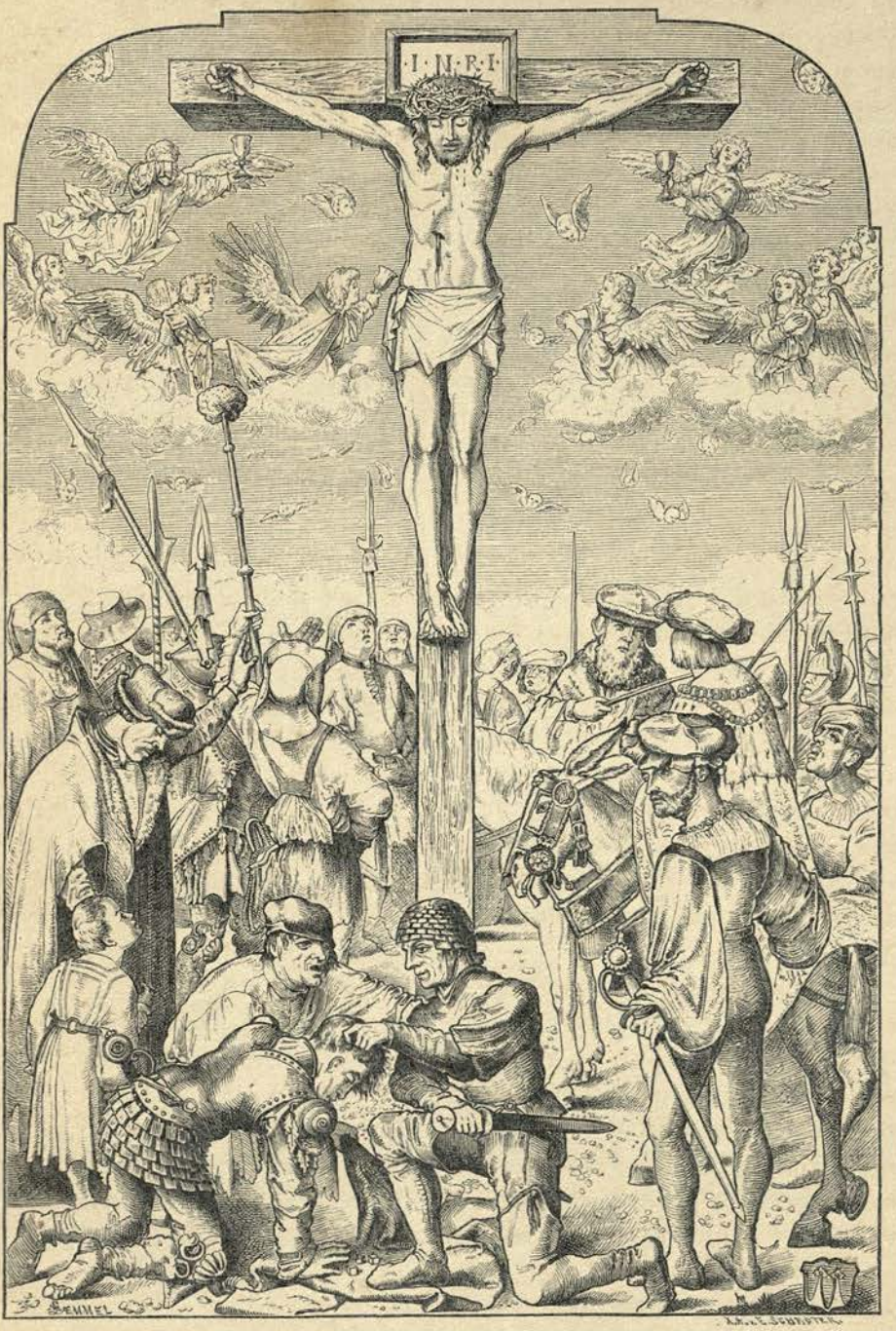


Fig. 204.

was exhibited at Burlington House in 1877—the parting of Christ and the Virgin before the Crucifixion.]

Altdorfer's exuberant fancy is conspicuous in many of his drawings, and manifests itself in eccentricities of method; he is fond of grounding his paper with a dark tint, and drawing on it with a fine brush and a pale colour; the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings is rich in such examples.

As an etcher Altdorfer is reckoned as one of "the little masters"; about a hundred plates by him are known. His technique is less delicate, and his drawing less correct and sure than Dürer's; his mythological subjects are particularly unsatisfactory (Fig. 205). On wood he restricted himself almost exclusively to religious subjects. Among the few exceptions, this Judgment of Paris is curiously *baroque*.

Fig. 205.

Of his brother, *Erhard Altdorfer*, little is known; he is mentioned between 1512-70 as court painter to Duke Heinrich the Peaceable at Schwerin, and is said to have been influenced by Lucas von Cranach. No pictures by him are known to exist, and only a few wood engravings—those, for instance, in a low-German bible printed at Lubeck in 1533.

It has already been remarked that Altdorfer's feeling for landscape influenced *Aug. Hirschvogel* and *Hans Seb. Lautensack* of Nuremberg; but his most direct follower was *Michael Ostendorfer*,[70] who lived in Ratisbon from 1519 to 1559 as an industrious painter and draughtsman on wood. There are works by him in the Historical Society's Collection, Ratisbon, at Munich, Schleissheim, and Cologne, and some landscapes in the Pinacothek at Munich, ascribed to *Altdorfer*, seem to be really by *Ostendorfer;* he also painted portraits. He was, however, on the whole but a feeble representative of the independent German school.

There is in the Ratisbon Gallery a picture of the Apotheosis of S. Mary of Egypt from the hand of *Melchior Feselen*, who may be fitly mentioned in this place; he seems to have been born at Passau, and to have lived at Ingolstadt, where he died in 1538. His early works have a peculiar softness and serenity, but he afterwards became a somewhat close imitator of Altdorfer, as we see in his two battle-scenes in the Pinacothek. Other works by this master, who is by no means to be despised, exist at Ingolstadt, Nuremberg, and Bamberg.

CHAPTER III.

LUCAS CRANACH AND THE SCHOOLS OF SAXONY.

LUCAS VON CRANACH—The pseudo-Grünewald—Lucas Cranach as an engraver—His Protestant sympathies—*Lucas Cranach* the younger—Their scholars and imitators—*Matthias Grünewald*, Hans Baldung Grien and the masters of the Upper Rhine Provinces—The Isenheim altar-piece—Hans Baldung's altar-piece at Freiburg in Breisgau—His later style.

I. LUCAS CRANACH the elder[71] was a Franconian master who settled in Saxony and became the founder and leader of a school of painting there. His family name was Müller, and he took that of Cranach from the little town where he was born, in 1472. We hear of him in 1504 as already married, and settled in Wittenberg as court painter to the Elector Frederick the Wise. He there set up an extensive workshop in which every kind of painting and decorative work was executed; he also subsequently established a printing press, and even purchased an apothecary's business in 1520. In 1519 he was elected a member of the Town Council, and was Burgomaster in 1537 and in 1540. Nor was he less in favour with princes than with his fellow-citizens. In 1509 Frederick the Wise sent him to the Netherlands "to make a show of his talents," as Scheurl has it; at any rate to see the Emperor Maximilian, who was there at the time, and who commanded him to paint Charles V., then only eight years old. Frederick's successor, John the Constant (1525-32), also kept Cranach as court painter, but his personal relations were closest with the next elector, John Frederick the "Magnanimous." At an advanced age the painter accompanied this prince into captivity at Augsburg, after the battle of Mühlberg, and returned with him to Weimar when he was liberated in 1552. It was at Weimar that Lucas Cranach, at the age of eighty, began one of his most important pictures, but he died before it was finished, 16th October 1553.

It is very difficult to estimate this painter justly. To class him with Dürer or Holbein is to rank him too highly; and yet, when we survey the sum total of his work, we are forced to regard him as little short of a master of the first eminence in his way—a way that was thoroughly original, thoroughly German, and thoroughly popular. His merits as a painter are all the more hard to determine because dozens of pictures are ascribed to him which, though they were marked in his studio with his emblem—a small winged serpent or dragon—were the work of apprentice hands. A knowledge of his early training is

above all indispensable to our appreciation of him; and I must at once express my entire concurrence in the view that certain pictures which were long attributed to Grünewald, at that time little known, and afterwards to a pseudo-Grünewald, whose existence was altogether hypothetical, are partly the work of Lucas Cranach in his earliest time, and partly that of his assistants at that period.[72] These pictures show, however, that he was a disciple of the school of Franconia, familiar with Wolgemut, or perhaps, indeed, with Grünewald. He had not yet set up the typical pattern, especially of female heads, which he subsequently adopted, and his treatment of the figure, though often clumsier, is grander and more dignified than in his later works; and in the altar-pieces on a large scale, which he painted chiefly at this early period, the expression is correspondingly earnest and solemn. A transition is also observable from a decidedly golden tone at first to a brownish tone, and finally to a cold and sober scheme of colouring. His first style is very generally perceptible in pictures dated earlier than 1520; the last in those painted after 1530; and transition stages are to be found dated in the ten intermediate years. He remained faithful to his first traditions longest in his large church pictures, introducing gold leaf occasionally. The following are a few of his more important and instructive works, and include the best of those which have been ascribed to the "pseudo-Grünewald":—A splendid *Riposo,* formerly in the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome,[73] and now the property of Dr. Fiedler of Munich; a large picture belonging to the Church of the Virgin at Torgau, dated 1505, with half-length figures of the fourteen patron saints; an altar-piece, severe in style, in the principal church at Halle, with Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg as the donor,[74] and others at Lübeck, Bamberg, Wörlitz, and elsewhere. At Munich, in the Pinacothek, there are the wings, with figures of saints, by Cranach, to an altar-piece representing the conversion of S. Maurice by S. Erasmus, which is really by Grünewald. These wings having been also ascribed to Grünewald were in fact what led to a more perfect recognition of that painter; but there is no reason for attributing them to a false Grünewald rather than to Cranach. Portraits by Cranach exist at Nuremberg—that of Chr. Scheurl is signed and dated 1509; at Dresden, two fine works of 1519; and at Darmstadt. A long list might be added of later but still early works, which have always been recognised as Cranach's, and which by their style cannot be distinguished from those just enumerated, nor from those lately attributed to the "pseudo-Grünewald."

The style of Cranach's later work, in which he found many imitators, and by which he is most widely known, though more graceful, is by no means always more pleasing. His drawing and application of colour are indeed marvellously sure; but the unfailing repetition of the same types renders them not unfrequently conventional and mannered. He is a realist without Dürer's depth and thoroughness, and he does not always compensate for the lack of

charm by striking truth or individuality; nor can he, when he neglects the model, achieve the creation of a high type of beauty. His drawing of the nude, though intelligent, is hard and angular, and if his ideal heads of men are fine and dignified, the features of those of a lower type—such as Christ's accusers—verge on caricature; and his women, graceful in effect, answer to no recognised standard of beauty. There is a singular squareness about their heads, and, as Otto Eisenmann has remarked, an almost Chinese obliquity in the way their eyes are set; indeed, the small value he gives to the shadows and to aerial perspective, with the excessive smoothness of his finish, have sometimes a remote affinity to Chinese painting. Cranach's method was to under-paint with pure colour, and tone or shade by glazing; he is conspicuously defective in the rendering of texture. Still, with all his faults, there is much in his work to make us love and admire it. Thoughtful in his graver moods, or exuberantly gay, he can tell his story clearly and intelligibly, without extravagance or exaggeration; while the rich landscape background frequently lends the charm of poetic sentiment to the scene. Even in mythological subjects, so long as they are on a small scale, he infuses a fresh grace and the romance of chivalry, in spite of the quaint costume of his time. He succeeds best in subjects with few figures; and some of his finest works are portraits, though they cannot compare with Dürer's for apprehension of character, or with Holbein's for pictorial charm. Cranach is a many-sided master. He opened his mind frankly and simply to all the influences of his time and of the busy university of Wittenberg, where he lived. Thus he learned to regard antique and Christian subjects as of equal worth and dignity; and after Luther's appearance as a reformer, his treatment of sacred subjects betrays a marked protestant tendency. At the same time he follows the more general direction of the North German Renascence in frequently depicting scenes which have no historical import whatever—*genre* and landscapes. Though he never represented landscape without figures, it not unfrequently predominates. His hunting scenes, and those of his son, are among the earliest of their kind.

Kugler's remark that Cranach is the Hans Sachs of painting is in some respects a very happy one; still the Nuremberg *meistersinger* is on the whole an even more democratic, a more thoroughly homespun representative of his own art. Though the more intelligent of his contemporaries, while they called him the Apelles of Germany, ranked Cranach below Dürer, not even Dürer rose by his art to such a high civic position or made so much money as Cranach. No other German artist of the time, it is true, was so laboriously prolific. Contemporary notices speak of him as "the most rapid painter;" and though this did not detract from the care with which he worked, it has left its mark on his character as an artist. His works never betray any strong mental effort, and for this very reason they do not rouse us to any higher feeling than an easy and pleased satisfaction.

Besides being a painter, he was an engraver, and drew upon wood. His copperplates are, however, few and rare; indeed, besides a few portraits of royal personages and the three portraits of Luther, of 1519, 1520, 1521, only one is known—the Penance of S. Chrysostom, 1509, and this, in spite of its

Fig. 206.

interest and picturesque fancy, betrays a hand unpractised in the technique of the work. The woodcuts that issued from his studio, especially in his earlier years, are very numerous; the subjects are of the greatest variety, and his

portraits of the famous men of the time became known throughout the length and breadth of the land. His more important series are the twelve sheets of the Martyrdom of the Apostles; the fifteen of the Passion; fourteen full-length figures of Christ, the apostles, and S. Paul; and a hundred and nineteen plates known as the *Wittenberg Heiligthumbuch.* The artist betrays himself as an ardent partisan of the Reformation in the famous *Passionale* of Christ and Anti-Christ, of which the original designs were no doubt by him. In this series the history of Christ and of the Pope are shown in contrast; thus in plate 23 Christ drives the money-changers out of the temple, while in plate 24 the Pope, enthroned in the church, is selling indulgences; in plate 25 Christ ascends into heaven; plate 26, the Pope goes down into hell. This vein of satire is even more broadly expressed in the very rare small woodcut of 1545, for which Luther himself wrote the verses.

Drawings by Cranach are by no means excessively rare; for the most part they are studies for designs on wood, or for pictures, but some are independent compositions. To enumerate them here would be impossible; it must suffice to observe that the master is rarely seen to such advantage in any of his works as in his sketches or sometimes slightly tinted drawings. A highly characteristic work is the Family of Fauns, in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings (Fig. 206).[75]

With regard to the numberless—or at any rate never yet numbered—paintings by Cranach, it may first be noted that nearly all, if not all, those that have been preserved are in oils and on panel, some on lime-wood, and others on beech. His sacred subjects may be divided into three classes, the first including those which are still essentially catholic in feeling, though some of them were painted after Luther's first demonstrations. Among these are a number of graceful Madonnas, almost reminding us of those of the Umbrian school in spite of their German flaxen hair. One of these, in the Church of S. James at Innsbruck, has been credited with miraculous powers; there is one, more domestic in feeling, in the Pinacothek at Munich, the Virgin with the grapes, 1512; and others at Königsberg, Petersburg, Carlsruhe, and in the cathedral at Erfurt. Nor was he in any hurry to cease painting these graceful devotional works, as we may see from a Madonna at Halle, dated 1529, from some figures of Saints at Bamberg, a Magdalene at Cologne, and the very sweet fair-haired Virgin in the Pinacothek, which is altogether one of the master's most elegant and tender compositions (Fig. 207). [A Virgin and Child in Cranach's "domestic" manner was exhibited in 1881, the property of Sir William Abdy.]

A second class of religious pictures consists of scenes from the Old and New Testament histories; these lie outside the realm of party controversy and belong to every period of the master's life. The figures of Adam and Eve occur again and again, evidently as an excuse for a study of the nude; there

are two small examples in the Berlin Gallery, while at Dresden there are two repetitions of the single figures of Adam and Eve of the size of life. The most beautiful examples of this kind are, however, in the Uffizi at Florence. The history of Judith seems to have had a special attraction for its master; there

Fig. 207.

are two charmingly composed pictures at Gotha, dated 1531, one representing Judith and Holofernes at supper, and the other the moment when she has cut off her enemy's head. Judith is also represented as a single figure with the head of Holofernes, and her name is not unfrequently given to a study of a lady of the period, and then Lucretia is the companion study. "The Man of Sorrows" is the New Testament subject which Cranach treated oftenest; a particularly fine example is in the Cathedral at Meissen. One of his best pictures is the Woman taken in Adultery, in the Pinacothek, which, though it is an early work, comes very near to Dürer in the conception of the nobler heads (Fig.

208). Another subject that he treated with much feeling is the text, "Suffer little children to come unto me." There is a beautiful example in the church at Naumburg, tender in sentiment and brilliant in colouring; and another, scarcely inferior, at Leipzig. The series from the Passion at Berlin (six in the palace, and three in the Museum) are not perhaps all by the master himself. The Magdalene anointing the Saviour's feet, in the same collection, is more

Fig. 208.

pleasing, though the perspective is not quite satisfactory. [Waagen mentions a picture by Cranach in Lord Northbrook's Gallery, of Christ and little children, which he pronounces to be one of his best; in the Duke of Hamilton's collection there was a Judith with the head of Holofernes, signed and, in Waagen's opinion, a good example of the painter.]

In the third class I include the protestant religious pictures, as contrasted with those I have called catholic in treatment. These, besides their value as works of art, are an important testimony to the fact that Luther, under whose eyes they were painted, did not, like Calvin, hold such decorations in abhorrence. The most important, though executed in part at least by his pupils, is the altar-picture at Schneeberg, in the Hartz Mountains. The centre panel represents the Crucifixion—Christ between the two thieves; on the predella is

the Last Supper. On the double wings, which have been separated and hung by themselves, there are eight pictures, including those of the donors on the inmost face. This particular series of sacred allegories would seem to have had a very special evangelical import to the reformers of Wittenberg, since they are frequently repeated in varying arrangement: 1. A naked man is driven into the fires of hell by death and the devil; 2. Moses and the prophets are seen standing under a tree; 3. S. John points out the Saviour on the cross to a naked man; 4. Christ victoriously thrusts a crystal spear into the devil's throat. This cycle, with various additions, frequently occurs with the title, Law and Grace, or the Fall and Redemption.[76] There is a fine example, painted throughout by Cranach himself, in the Gotha Gallery, 1529; but the best—also signed and dated 1529—is in the Ständ collection at Prague. The master's last great work, the altar-piece for the church at Weimar, which was finished by his son, must be included in this class. Here again several scenes are represented as taking place in one landscape; but the central figure of Christ on the Cross dominates the whole, and S. John, to the right of the spectator, points him out—not, as usual, to a naked man, but to Luther and Cranach himself, who stand by—two admirable portraits. To the left we see the Redeemer piercing the devil with his crystal lance. The life-like figures of the two mortals have a singularly striking effect in the midst of their visionary surroundings; Cranach's head is baptized by the blood of the Saviour. On the wings we see, within, the Elector John Frederick and his family, and outside, the Baptism and the Ascension of Christ. The altar-pieces at Wittenberg and at Naumburg are of the same character, but cannot be regarded as the work of the master himself.

His mythological compositions are more often the work of his own hand. The Berlin Gallery has two delightful examples in the Venus and Love, and in the half-romantic and wholly fantastic, but simply executed picture of Apollo and Diana. There are many replicas of the idyllic subject, from Anacreon or Theocritus, of Cupid stung by bees; there is a small one at Weimar and a larger one in the Liechtenstein collection. [Waagen mentions one as being in the possession of Lord Northwick, and speaks of it as "more animated in motive and more speaking in expression than the pictures of the subject that I know, inscribed with his known dragon and 1573."] Other favourite subjects of which more than one replica are known are Diana sleeping[77] and the Judgment of Paris. The most pleasing (Fig. 209) is in the Kunsthalle at Donaueschingen. [An example at Hampton Court (No. 588) is considered genuine—E. Law, *Historical Cat.*] Hercules spinning, and the Death of Lucretia are often repeated subjects; the Lucretia especially was painted again and again in his studio. The best small Lucretia, 1532, is in the Vienna Academy; the best large one is in the Pinacothek, 1524. [A "Lucretia" was exhibited in 1882 by Mr. F. R. Leyland. This, a half-

length figure with a landscape seen through a window, was signed and bore the painter's device—a dragon, and the date 1529.]

Cranach also painted allegorical pictures in the taste of his time; one of

Fig. 209.

these with several figures is the Fount of Youth in the Berlin Museum, wrongly attributed to the younger Cranach in the catalogue of 1878—a mistake that has since been rectified. On one side women are stepping into the pool, decrepit and ugly, and emerging young and lovely on the other; the composition is of no particular merit, but the details are quaint and charming.

A *genre* picture, in the true sense of the word, is the well-composed Death-bed, 1518, in the Leipzig Museum; the priest, the physician, the lawyer, and the heirs are all shown, and each figure tells its own story. This is one of the master's most careful and interesting works. A less pleasing subject is the "Rich old man making love to a poor girl;" one in the Academy at Vienna, and one in the Ständ Gallery at Prague. Hunting scenes, again, form a distinct class of Cranach's pictures; the only example, however, which can be confidently ascribed to the elder Cranach is the Stag-hunt in the Burg

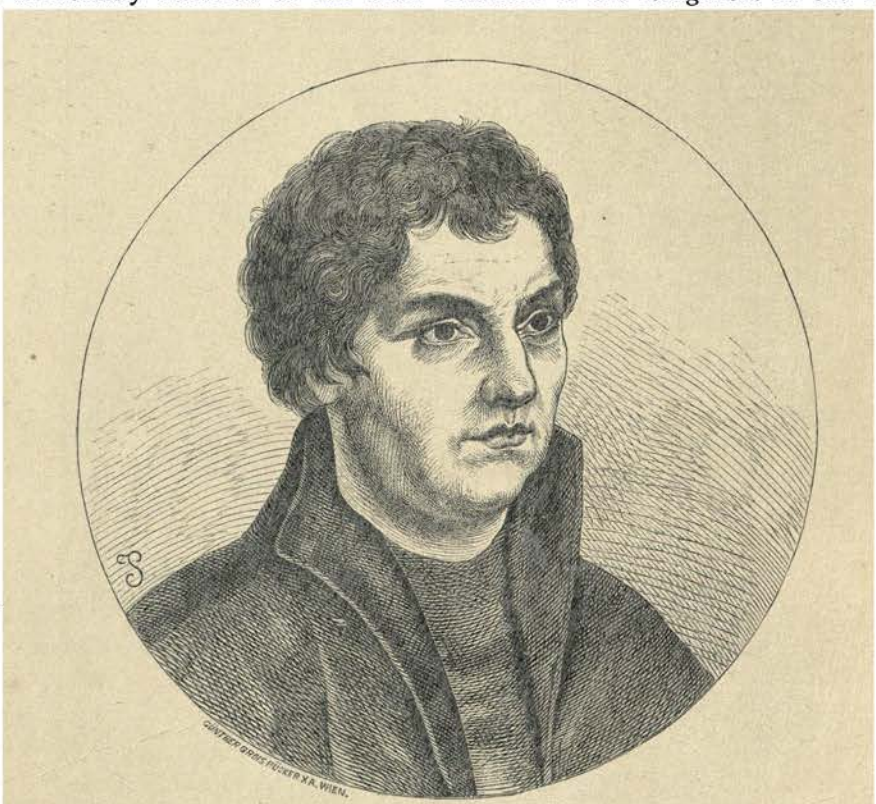


Fig. 210.

at Prague, 1529. [Waagen speaks of a stag-hunt, the property at that time of Mr. Labouchère at Stoke, near Windsor, as a "genuine and very delicate miniature in oil."]

Last of all we come to his portraits, some as small as miniatures, and some of the size of life. Of course he painted the three electors whose court painter he was, and all their families, and many of the sovereign princes of the houses of Saxony and Brandenburg. The portraits of Frederick the Wise, John Frederick the Constant, Luther, and Melancthon are innumerable, for they were so frequently repeated in his studio as to be quite a manufacture. There are, however, many admirable portraits painted by his own hand, particularly at

Berlin, where, among others, are two of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg—one life-size in his crimson robes, and one, 1527, as "S. Jerome in the desert," where he sits writing, with beasts playing round him. The Cardinal was again painted as S. Jerome, but in a room; this picture is at Darmstadt. The portraits of Luther and his wife here reproduced are in a private collection at Augsburg. They are interesting for their spirit and vigour, and as showing us the famous couple still young and not long after their marriage (Figs. 210, 211). The portrait of himself in the Uffizi is also a fine painting.

Fig. 211.

[Most of the portraits by Lucas von Cranach that have at different times been exhibited at Burlington House are replicas of these well-known heads, and, in the opinion of critics and experts, of very various merit. In 1873 there were portraits of Frederick the Wise and John the Constant with inscriptions; in 1876, again, one of Luther and one of his wife. These pictures, both small panels lent by Colonel Markham, were dated 1545. The only example of Cranach in the National Gallery is a "Portrait of a young lady," richly dressed, but anything rather than a beauty; in the Royal Institution at Liverpool there are two examples; one, an undraped female figure, "a genuine picture, dated 1534"—(*Waagen*).]

The list could be almost indefinitely extended, but the works here mentioned will suffice to illustrate the master. The painters who had been in the service of the Saxon court before Cranach's time seem to have been *picture makers* rather than artists, though the names of two or three have been handed down to us. But the studio established by Cranach continued to flourish for some years after his death, though his strong personal influence left so deep a mark that nothing new in style or feeling was ever produced there, and it gradually degenerated. Cranach's sons were his first successors. *Johannes*, the eldest, died at Bologna long before his father in 1536. Luther speaks of him in his *Table Talk*, and contemporary poets sang the praises of his art; but Schuchardt's attempt to prove his identity as the painter of several pictures produced in the Cranach studio are but futile.[78] *Hans Cranach*, the third son of Lucas, may, however, very possibly be the painter of a replica of the Hercules signed H. C. with the dragon between the initials; this is in a private collection at Weimar. The most important personage of the second generation of the Cranachs is *Lucas Cranach the younger*, his second son, 1515-86. He succeeded his father as head of the business and as burgomaster of Wittenberg. Although it is certain that dozens of the pictures commonly attributed to his father were actually painted by him, there is the greatest difficulty in distinguishing their works. Schuchardt's theory that the elder Cranach's device of a dragon had outspread wings, while the son gave it folded wings, is not universally correct. The form of the monster varied as time went on, and at a later period seems to have been used as a sort of trade-mark by all who worked in the Cranachs' studio; and, as a matter of fact, the slender dragon with closed wings is not the special mark of Lucas Cranach the younger, but a very curly dragon with broad wings. All works dated after 1553, the year in which the elder Cranach died, must of course be ascribed to his son; and they are fairly numerous. There are several, for instance, in the church at Wittenberg, of which one is remarkable for its subject—often called the Lord's Vineyard: on one side we see the Roman priesthood striving to destroy the vines which the Protestant Church is engaged in planting and tending. This is dated 1569; other works by this master may be seen at Dresden, Leipzig, Nordhausen, and Vienna. Judging from these examples, he is a less accomplished draughtsman than his father, weaker and smoother in his brushwork, and more hazy in his tone; his colouring, which in early pictures is brownish, is lighter and even rosy in his later works. It is quite possible to identify pictures painted by him before his father's death. One of the finest is John the Baptist preaching, in the Gallery at Brunswick, 1549; and the hunting scenes of 1544, at Madrid and Vienna, show his hand. There are a number of his works at Dresden: a Conversion of S. Paul in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, and at Vienna a Betrayal that I think may be by him, 1538. One of the best pictures he ever painted is a portrait of a man in a

black fur cap, in the Berlin Gallery. He also finished his father's altar-piece at Weimar, adding the finely painted portraits of the princes.

Of Cranach's other pupils and followers a few names are worthy of mention. *Peter Roddelstedt*, known as *Peter Gottland*,[79] was court painter at Weimar in 1540-50. His monogram occurs on paintings, engravings, and woodcuts; he is seen at his best in an engraving representing Christ as a youthful knight riding forward to conquer a dragon with three heads, one of which wears the papal crown. The best pictures of the Cranach school—as, for instance, a Last Judgment, 1528, at Dessau, and a Judith and Holofernes, 1555, at Darmstadt, are signed W. K., the initials, as it would seem, of *Wolfgang Krodel*,[80] a member no doubt of a family of artists of that name of whom we first hear in Saxony.

Franz Tymmermann of Hamburg was Cranach's pupil from 1538-40, and *Crispin Herranth* was court painter after 1529 to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, but no pictures by them are known to exist. The initials H. K. on the Christ on the Mount of Olives in the Cathedral at Königsberg probably stand for *Heinrich Koenigswieser*, who studied under the younger Cranach after 1552, though they may stand for *Hans Krell*, a Leipzig painter. The letters G. L. are those of an artist commonly but inaccurately designated as *Gottfried Leigel;* they more probably stand for *Georg Lemberger*, a citizen of Leipzig in 1523, known only by his woodcuts. A more remarkable master in woodcut, engraving and painting is *Hans Brosamer*,[81] who died at Erfurt, and whose art shows a marked affinity to the Wittenberg school, though it cannot be proved that he studied under Cranach; there are signed portraits by him at Vienna and Carlsruhe. But neither he nor Cranach's other followers ever succeeded in asserting their independence.

[There is in the British Museum a drawing of "Adam just Created and Blessed by the Holy Trinity, . . . a very finished drawing in a stiff and somewhat minute pen," which Waagen agreed with the late Mr. Carpenter in assigning to Brosamer.]

Painting seems to have flourished in Leipzig even earlier than in Wittenberg, though as the work of craftsmen rather than of artists; the statute of 1516 in that town was only a reform of an earlier law. The archives of the town have preserved the record of many names, but only a few have been made famous by the works to which they belong. The following, however, deserve mention: *Heinrich Schmidt*, whose name occurs from 1501-41 as having painted many altar-pieces; and *Moritz Schreiber*, from 1539-56, when he died, who not only worked with Schmidt, but seems to have executed the more artistic portions of his works; and last, not least, *Hans Krell*, mentioned 1533-73, well known as a portrait painter, and called by his contemporaries the princes' painter. There are portraits by him of the Elector John Frederick and his future bride, 1534, in the library at Leipzig.[82] The decorative

and easel pictures which are to be seen in and near Leipzig without any names do not tempt us to any more detailed study of this school.

The influence of the school of Saxony extended even into Schleswig, where the history of painting can be followed to a certain extent through the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, chiefly by means of the epitaphs in the Church of S. Elizabeth at Breslau. (For painting in Schleswig in the fifteenth century, see *ante*, p. 119.) Here again, however, we only have names of painters, among whom it is difficult to distinguish the real artists from the mere artisans; *Jakob Beinhart*, mentioned 1482-1522, *Leonhart Hörlen*, 1494-1513, and *Jeronimus Hecht*, 1513-29, seem to have had some pretensions to be regarded as artists. The most interesting of the works that remain are a very good picture of the Virgin and Child in the sacristy of the Church of S. Adalbert,[83] and a few paintings in the Museum of Antiquities at Breslau, especially a series of scenes from the Passion, characterised by an almost Mongol type of heads; this is dated 1520, and after this the decline of art was rapid in that part of Germany.

Fig. 212.

A more distinguished master than any of these flourished at Eimbeck early in the sixteenth century in the person of *Johann Raphon*, called by contemporary writers a second Apelles. We know that he held high office in the Convent of S. Alexander at Eimbeck after 1507, and died there in 1528.[84]

His most famous work is the altar-piece in the Cathedral at Halberstadt, with a crowded central panel of the Crucifixion. This, however, betrays no connection with the Wittenberg school; it reminds us rather of a composition for woven tapestry, and fills the space very well, though somewhat overloaded. The round full faces have much individuality and expression (Fig. 212); the colour is bright, the painting careful.

II. THE SCHOOL OF UPPER ALSACE, which in the fifteenth century could boast of the greatest master in Germany, Martin Schongauer, had still in the beginning of the sixteenth two representatives who, though they were not natives of the province, lived and worked there. Until within the last few years much confusion prevailed both as to themselves and their works, the

one often being mistaken for the other. *Matthias Grünewald*[85] was born at Aschaffenburg, but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. He

Fig. 213.

Fig. 214.

is mentioned by his contemporaries as *Matthes of Aschaffenburg* (Aschenburg or Oschenburg). Joachim Sandrart was the best informed of those who have

written about him; but even he, writing in the seventeenth century, knew nothing of his biography, stating only that he had lived chiefly at Mainz a retired and melancholy life, and had married unhappily. He fully appreciated him as an artist, however, speaking of him as an "exalted and marvellous master," adding a hint full of truth, and too long ignored, when he called him "the Correggio of Germany." It is indeed marvellous to note how Grünewald, unlike all his predecessors in his own country, suddenly developed on the soil of his own and the national character a style, which for animation and movement, for soft and plastic treatment, but above all for charm of colour and luminous chiaroscuro, runs parallel with the contemporary efforts of the great Parma master. Grünewald is the first of those naturalistic painters who instinctively see the phenomena of colour, tone, light, and atmosphere, rather than the narrower truths of detail. For example, his treatment of hair is in the strongest contrast to that of Dürer and Cranach; they—at any rate in most cases—paint each hair, or each strand, with the minutest care; Grünewald, on the contrary, paints it with a soft broad touch, treating it in masses. Hand in hand with this freer use of the brush we find a broader conception of form; at the same time he preserves an impression of dignity and unity, in spite of a lively play of movement both in his figures and his draperies. Most of his pictures described by Sandrart are unfortunately lost; two, however, in the Museum at Frankfort are authenticated by him and signed with Grünewald's monogram. They are the wings of an altar-piece—S. Lawrence and S. Cyriacus—and though only in monochrome show the peculiarities of the master. His most important work—the high altar from Isenheim, painted between 1493 and 1516, for Guido Guersi, preceptor of the convent of Antonites, who presented it to the foundation—is also mentioned in writings of the sixteenth century. This is now in the Museum of Colmar. It is in fact a shrine, enclosing a relief in carved and painted wood—even the narrow side panels have on them little subjects which are among the best preserved of Grünewald's paintings. These are the figures of S. Anthony and S. Sebastian, each lighted from a window, so as to give strong relief to the limbs and drapery (Figs. 213, 214). The shrine was closed by two pairs of wings, each painted on both sides. The innermost pictures illustrate the life of S. Anthony; on closing these inner doors one picture extended over both the outer sides—the Virgin and Child sitting in front of a picturesque and richly-coloured landscape, and above a descending glory of angel musicians proceeding from the very gates of heaven to do homage to the Holy Infant (Fig. 215). A rapturous sentiment pervades this work, and the radiant colour carries it out. The inner face of the outer wings begin and complete the story; on one we see the Annunciation, on the other the Resurrection. Finally, when the whole was closed, the outermost panels displayed the Crucifixion; in this, however, the painful naturalism leads us to suspect that it was not entirely the work of the

Fig. 215.

master himself. Another interesting picture by Grünewald is the centre panel of an altar-piece in the Pinacothek; the wings of this altar-piece are painted by *Lucas Cranach*, and it was a comparison with these which first led to a due recognition of Grünewald's place in art. It represents the Conversion of S. Maurice; the figures are of life-size, broadly and smoothly painted—S. Maurice in sheeny silver armour, and S. Erasmus in a bishop's cope of cloth of gold. The attribution of other pictures to this painter—irrespective of those by Cranach, in which it was formerly supposed that his co-operation could be detected—needs reconsideration.[86] [Waagen attributes an altar-piece in the possession of the Queen to Grünewald; it is a triptych with whole-length figures about three-quarters life-size. "This is one of the most remarkable of the now very rare works of this great master. The heads of both the female saints—SS. Catherine and Barbara—are elevated in form and dignified in expression; those of SS. Nicolas and George of very true and portrait-like conception. The outer sides are by the hand of a skilful assistant."]

Hans Grimmer is regarded as a disciple of Grünewald's in Mainz; sundry devotional and votive pictures in the Städel Institute and some portraits in the Germanic Museum and in the Belvedere are ascribed to him, but on insufficient grounds; but Waagen reports a portrait, painted and signed by him, in the Kraenner collection at Ratisbon.[87] An interesting art-pedigree is traceable through Hans Grimmer. *Adam Elzheimer* was a pupil of *Ph. Uffenbach*, who studied under Grimmer, and thus was the descendant, in the third generation, of Grünewald himself; and *Rembrandt*, the sovereign painter of chiaroscuro, worked with *P. Lastmann*, who was a disciple of Elzheimer's. May we not refer the whole tendency of the North German school of colourists in the first instance to Grünewald?

We now come to one of the most important of the great masters of that time; one who, though he was not indeed a disciple of Grünewald's, was evidently influenced by him. *Hans Baldung*,[88] surnamed *Grien* or *Grün*, was born in 1476 at Gmünd, in Swabia, and settled at Strassburg; indeed, though he worked from 1511 till 1517 at Freiburg, in Breisgau, he is, strictly speaking, the Strassburg master of the century. He was elected to the Council there in 1545, and died the same year. It was the peculiar vivid green that he was fond of introducing in the drapery of his figures—and not only in his portraits of himself—which procured him his nickname. It is interesting to trace the successive stages of the development of a painter who was so evidently susceptible to the influence of others. It is at least probable that Baldung came to Alsace at an early age, and this would account for his having felt the influence of *Schongauer*, which is very conspicuous in two panels, 1496, originally the doors of an altar, and now used as separate altar-pieces in the chapel of the convent at Lichtenthal, near Baden-Baden. The saints on a gold ground are a reminiscence of the Colmar master; the

picture of S. Mary Egyptiaca borne to heaven by angels has Hans Baldung's monogram and all the characteristics of his workmanship.

His next signed work is dated 1507, and here he is so visibly under the spell of *Albert Dürer* that we are forced to conclude that he had been working for some time in his studio. Indeed, Dürer's style is so constantly reflected in Baldung's that we might be tempted to class him out of hand as one of his scholars; this, however, would be inaccurate, though we know that they were friends. Ample evidence of this connection with Dürer is to be found in a picture of the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, dated 1507, in the Lippmann collection at Vienna. A very Düreresque feature is the introduction of his own portrait in a green dress. There is a corresponding work in the Berlin Museum, an Adoration of the Kings; here, though the arrangement and heads are like Dürer, the rich harmony of powerful colouring is Baldung's own. His clear green is seen in the garments of the Moorish king, in the cap of another, and in the sward of the distant landscape. A Crucifixion, 1512, also at Berlin, is as richly gaudy as an Oriental carpet, but not inharmonious, notwithstanding the variety of hues; the green appears in the Virgin's mantle. In this there is an effect of sky—blue below with heavy clouds above—which reminds us of *Grünewald*, and two similar pictures of the same year, one at Basle and one in the Castle of Aschaffenburg, show that at that time Baldung had been deeply impressed by the works of the Aschaffenburg master. His influence is most plainly revealed in a large altar-piece painted between 1511 and 1516 for the Cathedral at Freiburg, in Breisgau. It has twofold wings, enclosing a picture, now somewhat faded but originally brilliant, of the Coronation of the Virgin, between the twelve apostles figured on the inner side of the doors. When the inner doors are closed they and the inside panels of the outer doors have four scenes from the life of the Virgin. It is noticeable that in the picture of the Birth of Christ the light proceeds from the Holy Child, as in Correggio's treatment of it. Outside are figures of saints, and on the back of the shrine there is a Crucifixion with a portrait of the painter. The predella shows us the donors, with the Virgin between them. In Baldung's later works this influence of Dürer alternates with that of Grünewald, while we can occasionally detect that of *Barbari*. With all his admirable pictorial power, it cannot be denied that his effects of colour are sometimes harsh and inharmonious.

Paintings by this master are not extremely rare; about fifty are to be seen in various collections in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Of his religious works the most noteworthy are the Annunciation, in the Cathedral at Freiburg, in Breisgau; a very pleasing Repose in Egypt, in the Academy at Vienna (Fig. 216); a fine Death of the Virgin, in the Church of S. Maria in Capitolio, at Cologne, 1521;[89] a very beautiful Martyrdom of S. Dorothea, in the collection of the Society of Amateurs at Prague, with a well-rendered winter

scene, 1516; the Stoning of S. Stephen, in the Berlin Museum, 1522; and a large picture of the Baptism of Christ, in the Town Museum at Frankfurt-on-the-Maine—a late work.

Hans Baldung seems only once to have selected a subject from antique mythology; this—the struggle betweeen Hercules and Antaeus—is now in the Gallery at Cassel, in the Habich collection. Two small pictures in the Basle

Fig. 216.

Museum exemplify him as a painter of allegory; both representing Death in the act of seizing a young woman to cast her into the grave, 1517 (Fig. 217).

Portraits fill an important place in the list of Baldung's works, especially those of Christoph, Markgraf of Baden, with whom the painter was intimately connected. Very good of its kind is one in the Carlsruhe Gallery; but a picture of the whole family of the Markgraf kneeling before S. Anne, in the same collection, is harder and stiffer in style. In the Pinacothek, however, there is a portrait by Baldung of 1515, which is simply and firmly painted, and very charming in colour. [A picture at Hampton Court (No. 593), is said to be by Baldung, "an interesting and genuine work, signed and dated 1539," and

another (No. 808), is less confidently ascribed to him—(E. Law, Historical Catalogue, 1881). A portrait, signed H. B., 1520, was exhibited at the Old Masters in 1884—a small half-length portrait of a gentleman with a flower in one hand. Waagen speaks of a picture in the Liverpool Royal Institution, then ascribed to Antonello da Messina, and described by Mr. S. Scharf "as coarse and vulgar," as unquestionably a German picture of the style of Hans Baldung. It is now ascribed to him in the catalogue.]

Fig. 217.

Our knowledge of this master would, however, be incomplete were it not for his numerous and admirable drawings. His lively imagination and careful study of nature, in the nude, in draperies, and in animal life, are revealed in the examples which are to be seen in almost every important collection, particularly at Vienna, Berlin, and Basle (Fig. 218). A volume of his sketches in silver point is preserved at Carlsruhe. Baldung's known engravings are but four; they show him in direct competition with Dürer, and in many ways not to his disadvantage. His utmost versatility is displayed in his woodcuts,

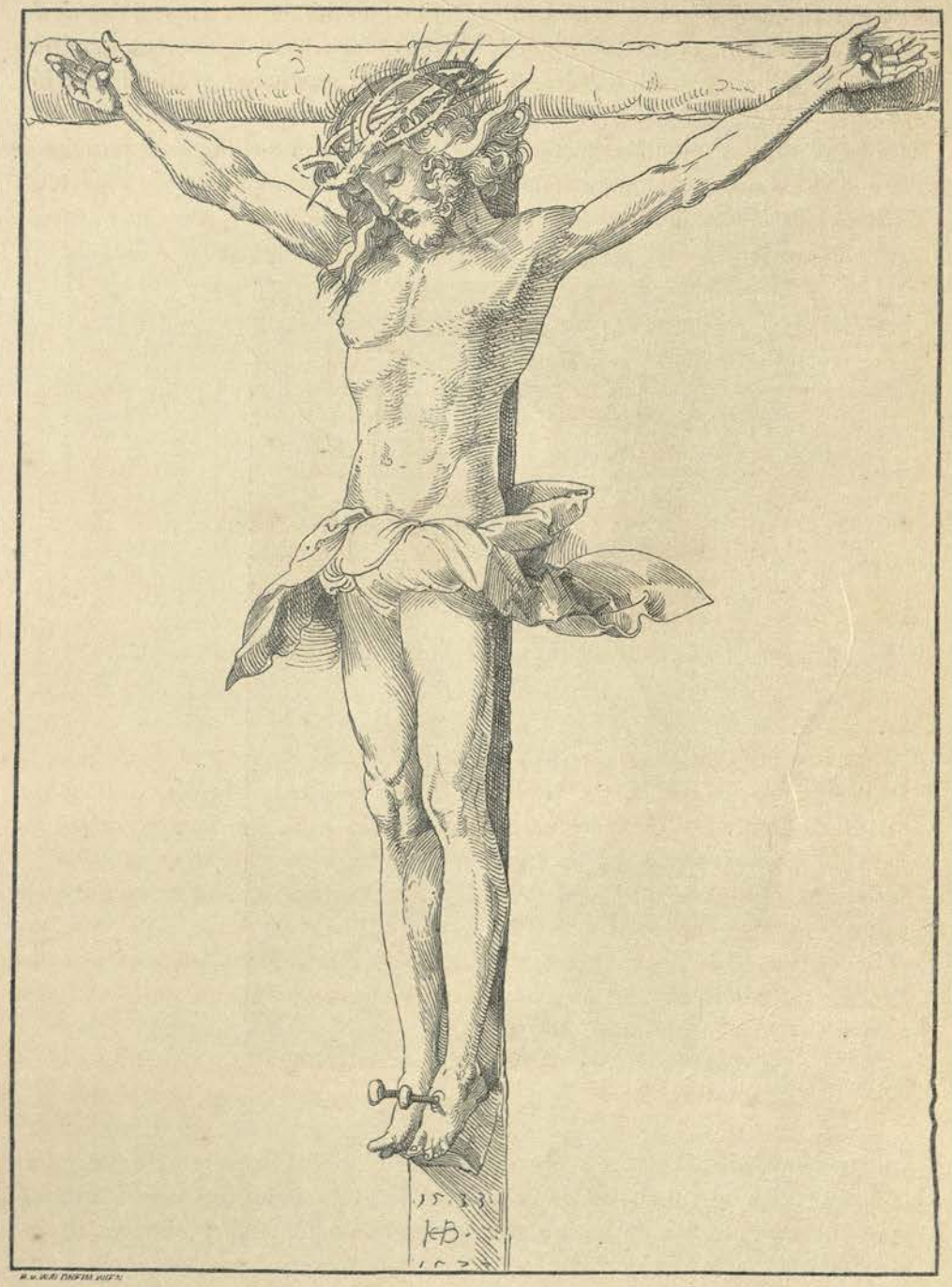


Fig. 218.

above 150 in all. Even an approximate enumeration is impossible here; we can only remind the reader that they display him at his best: in sacred

subjects—Christ in death borne to heaven by angels; in allegory of the most fantastic and demoniacal description—the Four Witches; in mythology—the Fates; as a master of the antique feeling of the Renascence, and as a staunch reformer—Luther as an Augustine monk; as a student of animal life—the Horses in a wood; and always as a faithful observer of nature. In technique also Baldung's drawings for woodcuts are brilliant examples of a mastery of light and shade, in effects intended to reproduce the tones of drawing in black and white on bluish or gray paper, a method which he frequently employed.

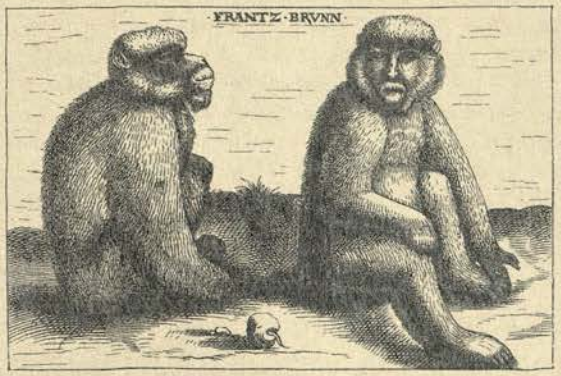


Fig. 219.

This particular technique was brought to a high pitch of perfection in Strassburg, as we see in the prints from the woodcuts of *Johann Wechtlin*, who was admitted to the freedom of that town in 1514 as "*Hans Wechttel the painter.*" No paintings by him can be identified, but his work on wood is known by a mythological subject and a S. Sebastian studied from the nude model. A less important artist is *Heinrich Vogtherr*, with his son of the same name. But *Franz Brun* of Strassburg was a skilful engraver of the middle of the sixteenth century who formed himself on Dürer, and is included among the "Little Masters" (Fig. 219).[90]

CHAPTER IV.

THE SWABIAN SCHOOL, WITH THE HOLBEINS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

THE SWABIAN SCHOOL—*Hans Burckmair*—His paintings and woodcuts—Martin Schaffner—Bernhard Strigel—THE HOLBEIN FAMILY—Hans Holbein the elder; sacred pictures and portraits—The Augsburg sketch-book—Ambrosius Holbein—Sigmund Holbein—HANS HOLBEIN the younger—Designs for decorating the fronts of houses—Sacred subjects at Basle—*The Solothurn and Meyer Madonnas*—His early portraits—Woodcuts illustrating the Bible—The Dance of Death—First visit to England—The drawings at Windsor—The Basle town-hall—Return to England—Polemical satires—Journeys by the King's command—His death in London—PAINTING IN SWITZERLAND—Nikolaus Manuel—The Berne Dance of Death.

I. THE SCHOOL OF SWABIA, even if we exclude the Holbein family, appears as the most purely representative of the German Renascence, strictly speaking; distinguishing itself by greater uniformity and keeping in tone; superior modelling in brush-work, and roundness in drawing; less angularity in the draperies; and a stricter style of architecture in the backgrounds. Its most illustrious disciple was *Hans Holbein the younger*, a master who made it famous throughout the world and for all time. But before studying his works and influence we must consider his predecessors and contemporaries in Augsburg and the other towns of Swabia.

From the end of the fifteenth century Augsburg had begun to outstrip Nuremberg in importance; it could boast of wealthier citizens, handsomer streets, and finer houses. And it is important to note that Augsburg rivalled Verona and the other cities of northern Italy in the decoration of the fronts of her houses; though next to nothing remains of these mural decorations, a certain simple and dignified style of architecture in the paintings of the Augsburg school—a monumental style, so to speak—to this day bears witness to this decorative tendency.

The leader of the Renascence in Augsburg was HANS BURCKMAIR *the elder*, as he is called, to distinguish him from his less famous son; he was the son of *Thoman Burckmair*[91] (see *ante*, p. 113), and was born in 1473. He studied under his father and was certainly influenced by Dürer, but not to the extent of any sacrifice of originality; in 1498 he was Master of the Augsburg Guild of Painters. There is no direct evidence that he ever visited Italy, but it may be inferred from the conspicuous suggestion of Italian feeling in his backgrounds and ornament after 1507. He died in 1531. His earliest dated

works are some pictures of the Basilicas of Rome, of which he, with the *elder Holbein*, and a third master, painted a whole series in the cloisters of the convent of S. Catherine at Augsburg. These panels are now in the Augsburg Gallery. In these the upper portion, filling the arch itself, is a scene from the Passion, and the picture of the Basilica occupies the central division below; these are splendid pieces of fanciful architecture, with figures. Three are by

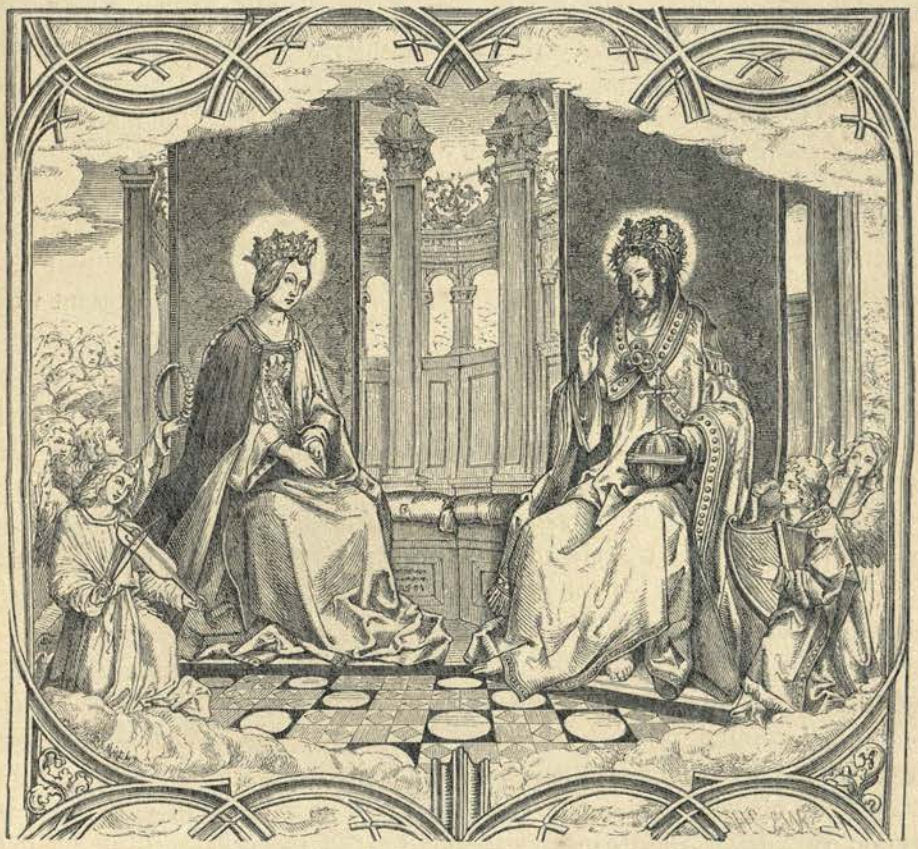


Fig. 220.

Hans Burckmair: that of S. Peter, 1501, with the Pope distributing indulgences from his throne; S. Giovanni in Laterano, 1502, with a representation of the martyrdom of S. John the Evangelist; and Santa Croce, 1504, with a procession of pilgrims. These pictures are carefully composed and, notwithstanding the introduction of gold leaf after the old method, we can already detect a more modern though still somewhat heavy technical handling, a warm harmonising tone, and certain unmistakable forecasts of the spirit of the Renascence. Another early picture by this master is the S. Ursula altar-piece in the Dresden Gallery. In the pictures of Saints in the Germanic

Museum, 1505, we see a much stronger infusion of this feeling in the distinctively North-Italian sense of the Renascence; and again in the picture of 1507, in the Augsburg Gallery (Fig. 220). The painted border is, to be sure, of a late Gothic type; but the alcove in which Christ and the Virgin are enthroned is decorated with pilasters, while on the wings, the Gothic decoration divides the choir of saints into three groups.[92] Though this master no doubt lays himself open to criticism on the score of drawing, we forgive him for his strict—though, sometimes rather crude—realism, elevated to dignity by the introduction of architecture, by the well-considered action of the figures, and by the calm flow of the drapery. At the same time it may be noted that the landscape backgrounds display a knowledge of perspective and an accurate observation which entitle this master to rank very near to Dürer as an originator of true landscape painting. As examples of his mature style we have the gorgeously-coloured Madonna, 1509, and a small Virgin in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, 1510; a *Pietà* at Carlsruhe, and a very characteristic Holy Family in the Berlin Museum. In the absence of any important work, Burckmair undertook more mechanical tasks, and, as Sandrart tells us, aided in the external decoration of his native town. Of these house-paintings one set only remains, defaced almost beyond recognition, on a house nearly opposite the Church of S. Anna. An interesting example of his later time is an altar-piece in the Augsburg Gallery, 1519; the outside of the wings when closed (Fig. 221) have two broadly-conceived and boldly-drawn figures of the Emperor Henry II. and S. George. Then there is a picture in the Pinacothek of S. John in Patmos, with a delightful landscape, "a woodland fairy scene," as Kugler calls it. Towards the end of his life, however, Burckmair's outlines grew harder and his colouring heavier. Of this period there are a few portraits of himself; one of Duke William IV. and his duchess, 1526, in the Pinacothek, painted perhaps by one of his pupils; and a fine Holy Family, 1529, in the Belvedere at Vienna. In this he has painted the portraits of himself and his wife. The wife holds a mirror in which, instead of a true reflection, two death's heads grin at them. One of the best works of his latest time is Esther before Ahasuerus, 1528, in the Pinacothek; but the Battle of Cannae, 1529, in the Augsburg Gallery, though full of interesting details, is unsatisfactory as a whole. [A "good picture, of about 1520, by Burckmair" is spoken of by Waagen in the Queen's private collection; examples are very few in England. A portrait was exhibited by Viscountess Clifden in 1877; and a S. Adrian, in the Glasgow Galleries, is ascribed to him.]

It is by a consideration of his designs for woodcuts that we learn the full importance of Hans Burckmair in the history of art. Augsburg was one of the great centres of printing in Germany. Hans Burckmair worked principally for H. Steiner, a contemporary publisher, and the best cuts of his designs are executed by Jost Dienecker or de Necker. Of the numerous detached plates

Fig. 221.

drawn by him one of the earliest and most remarkable is that named by Woltmann "Death Choking a Warrior" (Fig. 222). It is striking, not merely for

Fig. 222.

the treatment of light and shade, and as an instance of the persistent imagery of mortality that prevailed throughout Germany at that period, but for the strong swift action it so vividly sets before us. That Burckmair deserves to

be called the Dürer of Augsburg is sufficiently proved by the share he took in the execution of the great woodcuts which commemorate the vainglory and the love of art of the Emperor Maximilian. Still, and in spite of their unequal merit, his most valuable works, on the whole, are the illustrations to the *Weisskunig*, a life of the Emperor written by Trautzsaurwein.[93] In these—more than 200 designs—he reveals his genuinely German feeling in the domestic scenes, his gift for variety in the battle-pieces, and his knowledge of the world in the pictures of state ceremonies and proceedings. He was in fact a secular artist; sacred fervour was not in him; but by his very worldliness he was the child of his time, and a champion of its new tendencies.

Of his disciples his son *Hans Burckmair the younger* must be first named; he lived till 1559, and carried on his father's business. To him we may ascribe with certainty all the woodcuts signed with the Burckmair monogram that are dated later than 1531; also the *Tournirbuch* in the possession of the Prince of Hohenzollern at Sigmaringen; and many, no doubt, of the earlier woodcuts which are known as his father's work may be regarded as his, though it is impossible to discriminate them. Of the pictures later than 1531 which have been called by the name of Burckmair, some perhaps are by the son; on this point much remains to be ascertained.

In near connection with the Burckmairs we may mention *Gumpolt Giltlinger;* an Adoration of the Kings, signed by him, is in the possession of Dr. Hoffman at Augsburg, and, to judge from that, a similar work in the Louvre and another in the Augsburg Gallery—there described as probably by *Amberger*—may be attributed to him. *Georg Breu* or *Brew* may also have been a student under Burckmair; he is mentioned in the Book of Painters, among the archives of Augsburg, as dying in 1536, and must not be confounded with another, younger man of the same name who died in 1547, or with a third, possibly, who, however, would have been the oldest. He was a painter and designer on wood. His pictures remind us of *Burckmair*, but also of *Altdorfer*. In spite of an evident striving after the cinque-cento development, his drawing of the figure is defective; but his feeling for atmospheric effect lends charm to his landscape. His pictures are rare. The most interesting are a Virgin with angels and saints in a fine landscape, 1512, in the Berlin Museum, and the Battle of Zama, which was painted for Duke William as a companion picture to Altdorfer's Battle of Alexander, Burckmair's Battle of Cannae, and Feselen's Sieges of Alesia and of Rome; it is in the Pinacothek.

Christoph Amberger was possibly a disciple of Burckmair's. The dates of his birth and death are unknown; he was made a member of the Augsburg guild in 1530; his style is akin to that of the Augsburg school, and he died about 1561 or 1562. Of his wall-decorations in Augsburg nothing, unfortunately, is left; there are, however, a few religious pictures by him in the churches of the

town. His altar-piece in the cathedral, dated 1554, belongs, in its quite Italian feeling for beauty, to the latter half of the sixteenth century; and this is even more conspicuously the case with the still later pictures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and the Transfiguration, with its marvellously visionary effect of colour; both in the Church of S. Anna. It is in his portraits, which are not unfrequently attributed to *Hans Holbein*, that we recognise his true place as an artist; they are in fact admirable. Though he fails somewhat in deep or spiritual apprehension of character, he charms the eye by his simple and lucid rendering of natural truth with a broad, frank treatment and a warmth of tone in his earlier works which grew colder in his later portraits. He painted a famous picture of Charles V., 1532, of which two examples exist—one at Siena, which Scheibler regards as a copy; but Woltmann takes it to be the original, and the second, in the Berlin Gallery, to be the copy. This last is in fact authenticated by an inscription on the back. Many portraits in many collections are ascribed to Amberger on insufficient grounds, and some of the pictures really by him have other names tacked on to them. There are, however, genuine portraits by him at Augsburg, Stuttgart, Dresden, and Vienna. Waagen identified that of Christoph Baumgärtner in the Belvedere Gallery, and three especially fine ones are Hieronymus Sulzer, 1542, at Gotha; Martin Weiss, 1544, in the Belvedere; and Sebastian Münster, in the Berlin Gallery, 1552; in the last-named the old man's head, with his black cap, red dress, close-fitting white shirt, and black hood, lined with light-coloured fur, stand out bright and fresh against the green background.[94]

II. MARTIN SCHAFFNER[95] is conspicuous as the leading representative of the new tendencies in art at Ulm, as Burckmair was at Augsburg. We have no dates to guide us in placing him, beyond the fact of his being mentioned in the town archives from 1508 till 1535. His fellow-townsman, *B. Zeitblom*, was his senior, and his superior in gravity and dignity of conception and in splendour of colouring; but Schaffner is more graceful and freer in composition, and his drawing is more facile and attractive. His powers, however, are limited; with the exception of a few capital portraits, we have only sacred subjects by him, and these often verge on *genre*. The scenes from the Passion, 1515, in the galleries at Augsburg and Schleissheim, are rather mechanical in treatment. The wings of the carved altar-piece in the cathedral at Ulm are more interesting: on the outside there are figures of saints, and within the families of Christ's Ancestry—mothers with children riding hobby-horses or reading in hornbooks. His finest work, in which neither dignity nor beauty of colouring are lacking, is in the Pinacothek—the wings, namely, of the organ-case from the convent of Wettenhausen, near Ulm. One of the panels, representing the death of the Virgin, is justly celebrated (Fig. 223). The Virgin is not lying in her bed, as she is generally shown in the treatment of the subject adopted by

Fig. 223.

the masters of Franconia and the lower Rhine provinces; she is sinking to the ground, supported by the apostles, who stand round her—an arrangement which

recurs with the Swabian masters, and in a picture by Zeitblom. The physical movement is truly and elegantly rendered, and the feelings of the apostles well expressed in their faces. There is a signed but undated altar-piece in the Germanic Museum, and four large pictures in the Gallery of Antiquities at Stuttgart, dated 1510, 1516, and 1519. In his maturer works we see how deeply Schaffner was penetrated by the Italian feeling for form in architecture and ornament, though in his treatment of the human figure he belongs essentially to the German Renascence; in his use of colour too—deep and subdued in the shadows, and pearly in the lights—he betrays the tendency of the masters of that time to subordinate it to a definite end and feeling. [Waagen speaks of several pictures by this painter in private collections. There is a "very sweet example at Buckingham Palace—the child Christ learning to walk, supported by an angel with peacock-wings."]

A painter of less importance is the master whose name, being unknown, is designated by Eisenmann as *the master of Sigmaringen*, from an altar-piece with scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the collection of the Prince of Hohenzollern, in whose catalogue he is called "Schühlein." There are pictures by him at Donaueschingen, Stuttgart, and Carlsruhe.

In the same rank with Schaffner we must here name another master—somewhat earlier perhaps—whose existence has only recently become known to us. A. Woltmann first discriminated and classified a considerable number of works as being by one hand, and named the painter, from the collection in which he found the greater number of his paintings, the *master of the Hirscher Collection.* W. Bode, by a happy accident, discovered that he was one *Bernhard Strigel,*[96] and a native of Memmingen; and I have since assured myself, by a renewed inspection of a picture in the Belvedere (ascribed in the catalogue to Grünwald), that the two painters are identical. This picture has, in front, the portraits of the Imperial family, which absolutely agree with other portraits by Strigel, and on the back a Holy Family, which exactly corresponds with the works of the master of the Hirscher Collection. He was born in 1460 or 1461, and, after working for some time in Memmingen, and subsequently in Augsburg, he seems to have settled at Vienna in about 1517. He was a favourite protégé of the Emperor Maximilian, and seems to have enjoyed the exclusive privilege of painting the sovereign, like Apelles at the court of Alexander. As a portrait-painter Strigel was in fact one of the first masters of his time, weak perhaps in arrangement and modelling, but admirable in his fidelity and expression. This is amply proved by the picture of the Imperial family in the Belvedere, and another of Cuspinian (a member of the Imperial Council) and his family, in the Berlin Museum, signed and dated 1520 on the back; one almost worthy of Holbein, of Konrad Rehlinger and his children, 1517, is at Munich; and others at Donaueschingen, Rovigo, Schwerin, in the Liechtenstein Gallery and elsewhere. His sacred pictures are

also numerous; he seems to have been influenced by *Zeitblom*, though his figures are clumsier in form and attitude, and his draperies less soberly disposed; his chief merit is as a colourist, especially in decorative effects. In his earlier works he was particularly happy in his use of full colour on a gold ground; and afterwards no less so in his distant landscape backgrounds, which are full of sentiment. Several of his most characteristic pictures are in the Berlin Gallery: four pairs of saints on a gold ground; four altar-wings of 1515; two pictures of Christ's parting from the Virgin, and Christ before the Crucifixion, in a particularly lovely landscape; again, I may mention the two pictures engraved by Förster, and examples at Nuremberg, in the Pinacothek, and at Stuttgart. At Carlsruhe, in the Kunsthalle, are an Annunciation, and Christ washing the disciples' feet, with a Christ crowned with thorns and a *Pietà*, which are among the finest of the master's works. By the identification of Bernhard Strigel German art has learnt to recognise a master whom she will hold in due honour.

III. Of the HOLBEIN FAMILY[97] four masters are known to history: *Hans Holbein the elder*, and his brother *Sigmund; Hans Holbein the younger*, and his brother *Ambrosius*. These two were the sons of Hans Holbein the elder, who was at the beginning of the sixteenth century the most highly-esteemed master of Augsburg, next to Hans Burckmair. Taking *Schongauer* as his guide, and influenced by the art of the Netherlands, the earlier and busier half of his career fell within the fifteenth century, and some of his works have already been discussed in their appropriate place (*ante*, p. 114). After the year 1508 we perceive a radical change in his conception and treatment. To that year belongs the votive picture of the family of the Burgomaster Ulrich Schwartz, now the property of Herr Karl von Stetten of Augsburg. Below we see the kneeling family, above is God the Father, sheathing his sword at the entreaty of Christ and the Virgin Mary. In this work, though the execution is somewhat mechanical, the master has abandoned his earlier type in favour of a freer realism, quite in the taste of the new era; and the same tendency is evident in two altar-wings, with large figures of saints in monochrome, in the collection of the Society of Amateurs at Prague. His feeling for the architecture and ornament of the Renascence seems to have been aroused by the influence of *Burckmair*, and he has applied it at once with a bold and competent hand in the upper portions of four pictures, originally two wings of an altar-piece, but now separated and in the Augsburg Gallery. S. Anna with the Virgin and Child[98] (Fig. 224), the Crucifixion of S. Peter, the Miracle of S. Ulrich, and the Decapitation of S. Catherine are here represented by the master—now more than fifty years of age—with a freshness and an apprehension of the new impulse in art, even in the movement and modelling of the figures, that are really amazing. And our surprise increases

when we see the advance which he made during the few succeeding years. A little pair of pictures, formerly a diptych, now in private hands, dated 1513,

Fig. 224.

show progress in this direction, though a picture of Christ bearing His Cross, at Carlsruhe, 1515, might disappoint us in this respect if we did not know that the masters of that time undertook various works merely as a manufacture,

and were paid accordingly. A portrait of a young man, on the other hand, signed H. 1515. H., in the Darmstadt Gallery, which Woltmann finally

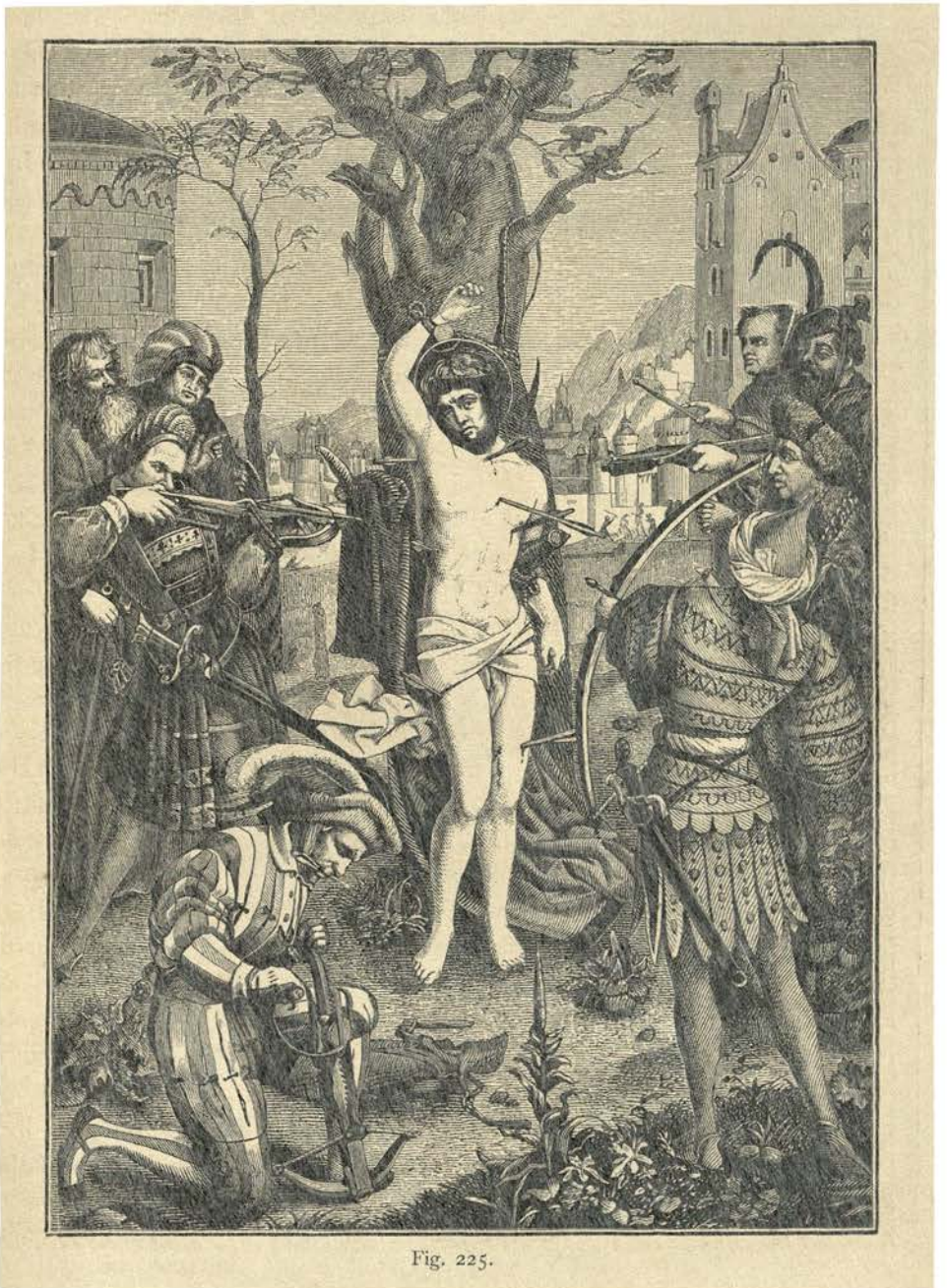


Fig. 225.

attributed to the elder Holbein,[99] is admirable. Another fine work is the altar, with S. Sebastian (Fig. 225), in the Pinacothek, which is of about the same date. Outside the Annunciation is represented; within, the middle

panel has the Martyrdom of the saint, who is bound to a tree. The composition is not overcrowded, natural but symmetrical, the action well balanced, and the expression adequate. The landscape in the background is continued on to the wings, on which we see S. Barbara on the left, and on the right S. Elizabeth bestowing alms (Fig. 226). One of the beggars is a portrait of the painter himself. The grandeur of the conception, the simplicity and purity of the drawing, and the breadth of technique here show us the master at the summit of his mastery. German truthfulness and sentiment are expressed in the classical forms of the Italian Renascence. Not inferior to this fine work is the magnificent Fount of Life, belonging to the King of Portugal, at Lisbon; it is signed and dated 1519, and is the last work by the elder Holbein of which we have any knowledge.[100]

Fig. 226.

Hans Holbein the elder was as great a draughtsman as he was a painter; the studies of heads in his several sketch-books reveal great precision of hand and keen powers of observation and presentment. They show us a series of Augsburg notabilities of the time, from the Emperor down to the stonemason. One of these sketch-books—an early one, dated 1502—is in the Basle Museum; but the larger number of his later sketches are in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings.[101] He enlivens his delicate and sure-handed use of the silver point by that of the red pencil and white lights, and the simple means by which the striking look of individuality is given show that the father had found the road afterwards trodden by his greater son (Fig. 227). In 1517 pecuniary difficulties compelled him to quit his native town; he settled at Isenheim, and died in 1524.

His brother, *Sigmund Holbein*, also left Augsburg a year after Hans, and went to Berne, where he rose to wealth and importance. None of his works are known. [The picture No. 722 in the National Gallery is, says Waagen, a

rare example of a German master of the fifteenth century; in the catalogue it is ascribed to Sigmund Holbein. It is one of those presented to the nation from the collection of the late Prince Consort.]

IV. HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER and his brother *Ambrosius* had left Augsburg before their father; Hans can be traced in Basle as early as 1515, and Ambrosius is mentioned there in 1516. He, the elder of the two, was no genius; but he worked for some few years with his brother at Basle, and not without talent. He seems to have died young, but at what date is not known; we lose all trace of him after 1519. He is seen at his best in studies in silver point or pen and ink; the Basle Museum is rich in them. They are chiefly designs for title-pages, initials, and illustrations for the publishers Froben, Petri, and Gengenbach, and are characterised by a pleasing humour and inventiveness. His oil-paintings are but few, and all on panel; they are portraits, with the single exception of a picture of Christ as Intercessor, an inconsequent adaptation of Dürer's Man of Sorrows, from the Greater Passion (woodcut). This is in the Basle Museum, where also there are the attractive portraits of two boys dressed in yellow, authenticated by the old Amerbach catalogue; that of a young man in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg is identified by a corresponding sketch signed by this master. Five large scenes from the Passion, in the Basle Museum, are commonly regarded as being a production of the two brothers, or of their studio, principally because they are not fine enough in composition or colour to be attributed to Hans Holbein the younger.

Fig. 227.

Hans Holbein the younger is in fact a glory not only to Germany but to Europe, and ranks with Dürer as one of the great masters of the world and of all time. To ask which of these two was the greater would be folly; in spite of a common nationality and epoch they were radically different. This may be in part accounted for by the distinct tendencies of the Franconian and Swabian schools, and of their centres, Nuremberg and Augsburg; partly too, no doubt, by the fact that Holbein was born a quarter of a century later than Dürer. Still, the main reason lies in the absolute dissimilarity of their natures. Dürer was self-contained, subjective, and religious; Holbein was frank, objective, and independent. Dürer all. his life through was feeling after an ideal of form; Holbein came at once into an inheritance of freshly-found

grace and beauty, and had only to go on and prosper in the way that lay open before him. Dürer had still one foot in the fifteenth century; Holbein stands erect as the representative of the German Renascence at its most brilliant period. Dürer, who found scarcely any great employment in Nuremberg, was forced to fall back on engraving to make himself famous; Holbein, whose decorative genius received an impulse at an early age from the painted façades of Augsburg, had the opportunity of executing large mural paintings, and so giving play to his decorative instincts. Both painters designed for woodcuts, and both painted religious and votive pictures; but then it is in his engraved work that we find all that was most essentially Dürer, while Holbein must certainly have expressed himself to a very great extent in his wall-paintings. In everything that either of them did we can read the dissimilarity of their natures. It must always be a source of regret that not one of Holbein's great decorative paintings has escaped destruction. We know him as a historical artist chiefly through his drawings; as a painter he is now most famous by his portraits, and in these he undoubtedly excels Dürer, if not in truthfulness of apprehension, at any rate in the splendid breadth and mastery of his technical accomplishment. I shall proceed to consider his works in chronological order, thus following the progress of his development.

Hans Holbein the younger was born at Augsburg in 1497,[102] where he learnt his art beyond a doubt under the influence of his father and Hans Burckmair. We find no direct evidence of his industry till he was settled at Basle, though the museum of that city has lately acquired a Madonna, unfortunately much injured, dated 1514. At Basle, in 1515, when he was but eighteen, he designed a title-page for a book, quite in the style of the Renascence; he also painted a table with humorous whimsicalities full of drollery; this was discovered in 1871 in the Public Library of Zurich.[103] He illustrated a copy of *The Praise of Folly* by the great Erasmus, which was then but just published, and these marginal sketches, with their entire apprehension of the text, their mordant satire, and their assured facility, show that the young artist was already in full possession of his powers (Fig. 228). This precious volume is in the Basle Museum. Thus, at the very outset of his career, we find Holbein acquainted with the men who contributed most to render Basle at that time one of the capitals of learning: Froben, the great printer, and Erasmus, who, after 1513, paid a visit to Basle almost every year, and settled there in 1521. The Arms of the Schoolmasters in the Basle Museum, unfortunately but ill-preserved, were executed in 1516, showing that he was ready to undertake all and any kinds of work; and in the same year he painted the fine portrait of the painter, H. Herbster, belonging to Lord Northbrook [Old Masters, 1880], and the conscientiously truthful portraits in the Basle Gallery of the Burgomaster Meyer and his wife, Dorothea Kannengiesser. These, in spite of a certain crudity, show that at nineteen he was

already a master of his art. The heads are of great individuality, and the key of colour is fresh and original. This work no doubt brought Holbein into closer connection with the authorities of the town, and during the next ten years, until his departure for England in 1526, we find ample traces of his genius and industry in Basle and the neighbouring towns.

To speak first of the mural paintings, now unfortunately all lost to us, which he executed at this time: in 1517 we hear of him at Lucerne, decorating the house of Jacob von Hartenstein, or Hertenstein, both inside and out, with a quantity of wall-paintings. This house was pulled down in 1824, but there are copies of the paintings in the library of the town. The decoration of the façade was ingeniously contrived to conceal the irregularity of the windows; the subjects were thus arranged: in the centre, against a background of richly-designed architecture, was the story of the three sons who

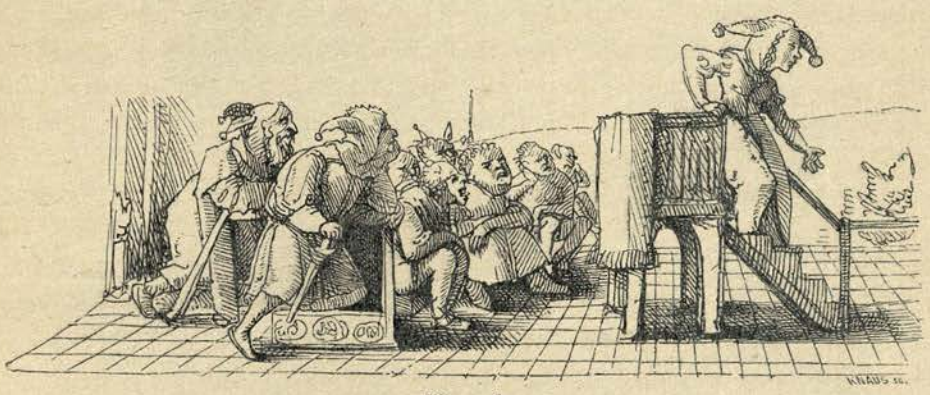


Fig. 228.

were to shoot at the dead body of their father in order to discover the real heir, who refused, while the two bastard sons consented; on each side of the windows of the upper storey five instances of magnanimity taken from ancient history; and above, a reproduction of Mantegna's Triumph of Cæsar, with which Holbein was familiar from the engraving. Inside, in a room which no doubt was a sort of private chapel, was a picture of the fourteen Beneficent Saints, and the Infant Saviour appearing to the shepherds. Another large room was decorated with hunting-scenes, and the Fountain of Youth; a third with battle-scenes; and others with pictures that were already destroyed at the time when the copies were made.

On his return to Basle, where he was made a member of the guild in 1519, Holbein decorated many exteriors of houses with wall-paintings, for which several fine designs still remain. The modest architecture of the citizens' houses was transformed into palatial splendour with scenes from real life, or historical and mythological subjects. These sketches are characterised

by a ready adaptation of the southern types of ornament, a grandiose taste, and endless play of invention. The only feature that remains unsatisfactory, in point of fitness and style, is the treatment of an outside wall in vanishing perspective. A tracing of the perspective study for the façade of the house *Zum Tanz*, which was still standing in the last century, is in the Basle

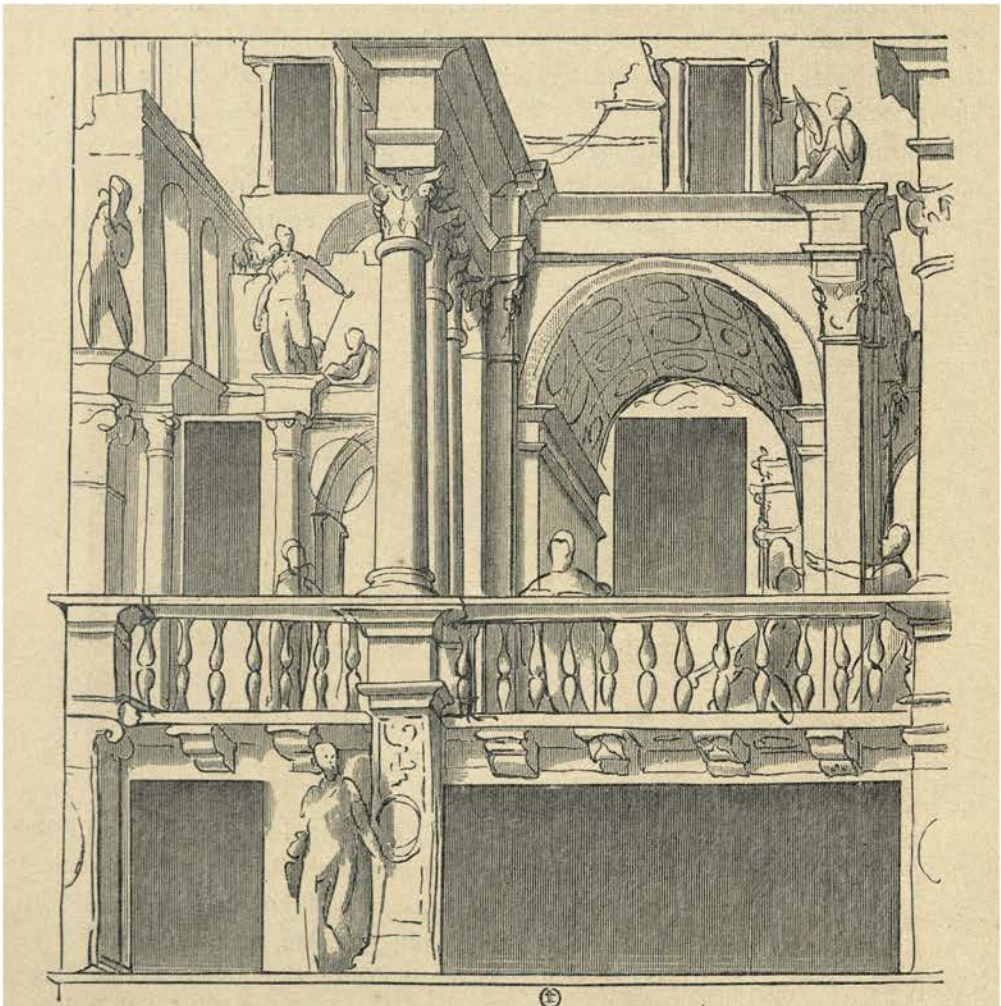


Fig. 229.

Museum (Fig. 229), as well as a water-colour copy of the Peasant Dance, to which it owed its name.[104] Holbein's most important public work was the decoration of the town-hall of Basle. This, which he began in 1521, was set aside for a time in 1522, but later in life he finished the work, which had perished from damp by the end of the century. The compositions are, however, known to us, partly from the painter's sketches, partly from tracings, and partly from small copies in the Basle Museum. The principal compositions

were historical, and, as was usually the case in similar decorative pictures in the Netherlands, pointed the moral of impartial justice. These were divided by saints and allegorical personages in niches. A grand scheme of painted architectural decoration gave unity to the whole, and lent size and perspective

Fig. 230.

to the space. Some fragments of these paintings survive in the Basle Museum.

Next to his wall-paintings we must mention Holbein's designs for glass-painting. The Basle Collection is rich in such sketches, which display all his skill in filling a given space, his inexhaustible invention of Renascence ornamentation, and at the same time his realism in the introduction of the human

figure; these characteristic qualities are seen at their best in the ten scenes from the Passion, dramatic compositions full of actors, powerful, original, and wonderfully distinct in arrangement. The low horizon and rich decorative pilasters stamp them with the modern feeling of the period. A simpler, but very beautiful, design for glass-painting is in the Berlin Museum: two men-at-arms stand, as supporters of a shield, under a decorated arch, and in front of a mountain landscape; and the master has succeeded, as few of his imitators have done, in giving his figures at once a realistic individuality and a classical beauty of pose and line (Fig. 230). Many of Holbein's religious pictures must have perished in the iconoclastic mania which fell upon Basle in 1529, but those that remain suffice to reveal his greatness. The Adam and Eve in the Basle Museum, 1517, is a study rather than an illustration of the Bible story; but an interesting resemblance is traceable in the Last Supper, in the same gallery, to Luini's picture at Lugano, and so, indirectly, to Leonardo's famous work—an affinity which is the chief ground for the hypothesis that Holbein must before this have made a journey into Northern Italy.[105] There are in the Basle Museum eight scenes from the Passion, oil-paintings on wood, all in one frame, which are more full of figures than the designs just mentioned, and more mature in style than the five pictures on canvas in which Ambrosius is supposed to have helped him; they show him indeed as a master of historical conception and treatment. There, too, is the Dead Christ, a marvellous study of a dead—apparently a drowned—body (Fig. 231). In the cathedral at Freiburg, in Breisgau, are two fine altar-wings representing the birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Kings. The Solothurn Madonna, a fine example of 1522, unfortunately cruelly restored, is in the museum of that town (Fig. 232). In this the arrangement again reminds us of the schools of Northern Italy; the Virgin may have been studied from Holbein's wife, Elsbeth, the widow of one Schmidt, to whom he had then lately been married. On her right hand stands S. Martin, in his bishop's mitre, and on her left S. Ursus, in shining armour. Even more famous than this lovely picture is the votive picture painted

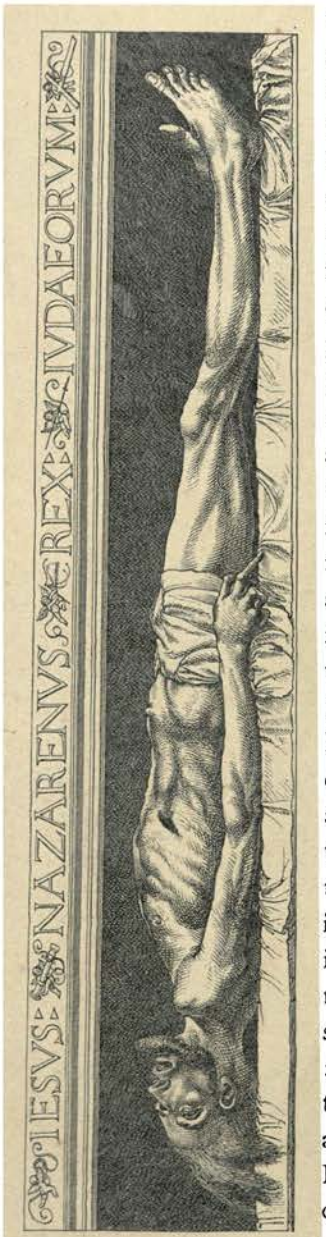


Fig. 231.

in 1526 for the family of the Burgomaster Meyer. The various romances which have been spun concerning this Madonna are now almost forgotten;

Fig. 232.

the subject is in fact perfectly simple. The Virgin stands on a carpet in a shell-shaped niche, holding the infant Christ in her arms; at her feet

kneel the burgomaster and his family. Of the three women the farthest from the spectator is his first wife, who died in 1511, in front are his second wife and his daughter Anna (Fig. 233). The burgomaster opposed the Reformation, and his catholic feeling is expressed in this picture.[106] When we compare

Fig. 233.

the first portrait of Meyer that Holbein painted with that in this votive picture, we see a marked advance alike in apprehension and in technique; and between the two it is easy to trace his progress through the other works that remain to us. Of the year 1519 there are the fine portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach, in the Basle Museum (Fig. 234), and another portrait at Innsbruck, a masterpiece of the first rank; the portrait of himself, in red chalk on paper, in a

broad-brimmed red beretta, and a profile of a young man, both at Basle; besides these may be mentioned the different portraits of Erasmus. The earliest of these, showing us the learned Dutchman in his study, is at Longford Castle, near Salisbury.[107] [This and two other Holbeins, belonging to the Earl of Radnor, were exhibited at Burlington House in 1873.] It is a remarkably fine picture, and not inferior, though smaller, is that in the Louvre, delicate in modelling and warm in tone. A third, representing the philosopher writing, is in the Basle Museum. All three were painted in 1523. With

Fig. 234.

them may be classed a wonderfully fine portrait of a Burgomaster's Wife at the Hague. It was not long before his journey to England, that Holbein painted the two very remarkable pictures in the Basle Museum of a lady of doubtful morals, one of which is inscribed *Lais Corinthica*, 1526, while the other represents her as Venus with Cupid. The treatment of these heads with their seductive air of melancholy shows that Holbein was still striving to improve, and the character of the workmanship, with its warm glazing, reveals his constant experiments in effect and technique.

Besides these splendid results, during the ten years which we are now considering, he drew extensively for woodcuts. Irrespective of his greater

series, which were in fact books in themselves, he executed illustrations, title-pages, borders, and initials for the editions of classical works published by Froben, and the Bibles printed by Wolff and Petri.[108] The number of sacred, mythological, and *genre* subjects which he thus treated is amazing, and though the figures are apt to be clumsy the ornamental character is always kept in view. Among the illustrations, strictly speaking, those to the Book of Revelation are particularly noteworthy. Both the text and the illustrations no doubt owed their existence to the Wittenberg edition with the drawings by Dürer, of which they frequently remind us.[109] Still, they are different; Holbein modified them and translated them into his own style. After 1523 *Hans Lützelburger*, the greatest of German engravers on wood, cut the designs

Fig. 235.

which Holbein drew on the block itself, and, as he was forced to adapt his style of engraving to the artist's delicate and often very minute drawings, he was the originator of the fine light modern method. Of isolated compositions the most interesting are an unique print in the Basle Museum of Christ sinking under the weight of His Cross; and two designs of polemical purport—one stigmatising the sale of indulgences, and the other glorifying Christ as the only True Light. In these we see that Holbein was a champion of the reformed doctrines. His most remarkable productions on wood, however, are two larger series which Lützelburger had undertaken to engrave for Melchior and Caspar Trechsel of Lyons, and had nearly completed when he died, in 1526, leaving them to be finished by other hands. One of these series consists of ninety-one illustrations to the Old Testament. Even in this famous work Holbein has borrowed from his predecessors, more especially from older editions of the Bible printed at Lyons;[110] but some he omitted and some he

invented, and he altered many very freely; the whole work received the stamp of his mind. The little pictures are simple and fervent in feeling, representing the most purely human, epic, and romantic aspect of the Old Testament; some are quite beautiful; as few actors are represented as possible, and the scene is always put before us with such cogent truth that we cannot conceive of it otherwise (Fig. 235). More famous and better known is the second of these sets of woodcuts, Holbein's Dance of Death.[111] It was first published in Lyons with French verses, "Les Simulachres et Historiees faces de la Mort," and afterwards reprinted in other countries with a translated text, for Holbein had assimilated all the poetry held in solution, so to speak, in the earlier representations of the Dance of Death, and reproduced it in a drama of vivid and startling scenes. Before him no one but Hans Burckmair had ever given so powerful an image of the actuality and suddenness of death, and he only in one drawing—the woodcut of 1510 (*ante*, p. 192). The impression of this print, which Holbein may have seen as a lad of thirteen at Augsburg, must have lingered in his mind till he composed his own solemn variations on the awful theme. At the same time he would have found the Swiss paintings of this subject suggestive enough.[112] Death falls on each of his victims while engaged in his usual or favourite occupation; he sometimes comes alone, sometimes with an accomplice to second him; in every instance he appears under a different aspect, now feigning to help his victim, and now falling on him with violence (Fig. 236). None are spared; neither Pope nor Emperor, neither wife nor prostitute, neither the usurer nor the labourer; only the sick and poverty-stricken stretch their hands in vain entreaty to the deliverer. Holbein's drawing of the skeleton shows how slender his knowledge of anatomy must have been, but the certainty of his hand and memory in drawing the form of all things visible is all the more amazing.

Fig. 236.

In 1526 evil times fell upon Holbein and forced him to quit Basle, where, however, he left his wife and child; he set out for London,[113] with a recommendation from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, travelling through Flanders. The only branch of his art in which he here found employment was portrait-painting; and though his earlier portraits remained the best of their time, the master now surpassed himself, and gradually brought the art of portraiture to a degree of perfection that it has rarely reached since, under different conditions

of technique. During his first stay in England he painted Sir Thomas More and his family, and many of his friends. The portrait of More, painted in 1527, belongs to Mrs. Henry Huth [and was exhibited in 1881]. A large water-colour drawing, representing the More family, ten persons in all, has

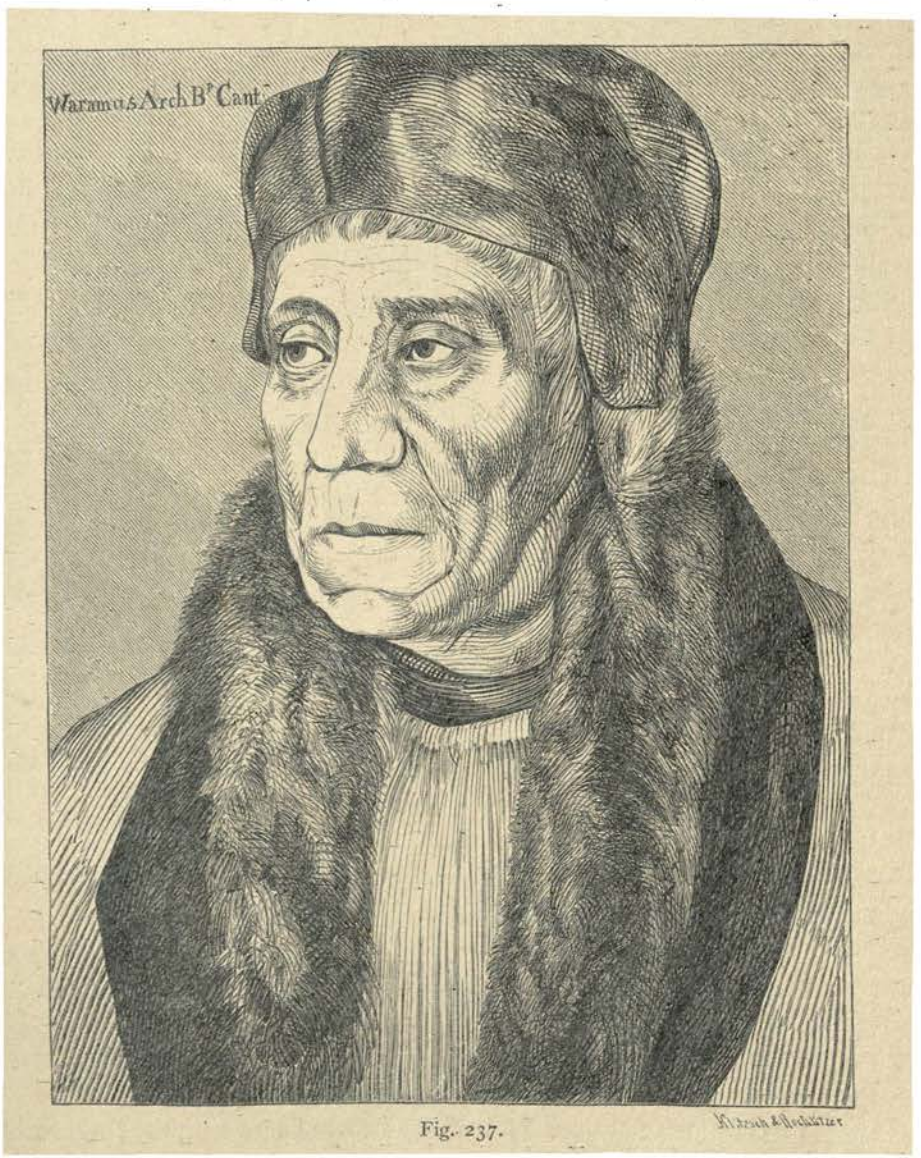


Fig. 237.

unfortunately disappeared; only copies survive in England, and the first sketch at Basle. A magnificent work is the portrait of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Lambeth Palace, 1527 [exhibited in 1880]. There is a replica in the Louvre. The study in coloured chalks (Fig. 237) is one of eighty-seven drawings of the same class, which are the glory of the Royal collection at

Windsor, and which are a most instructive study for the student of Holbein. [Of these about five and twenty were on view in the Old Masters' Exhibition

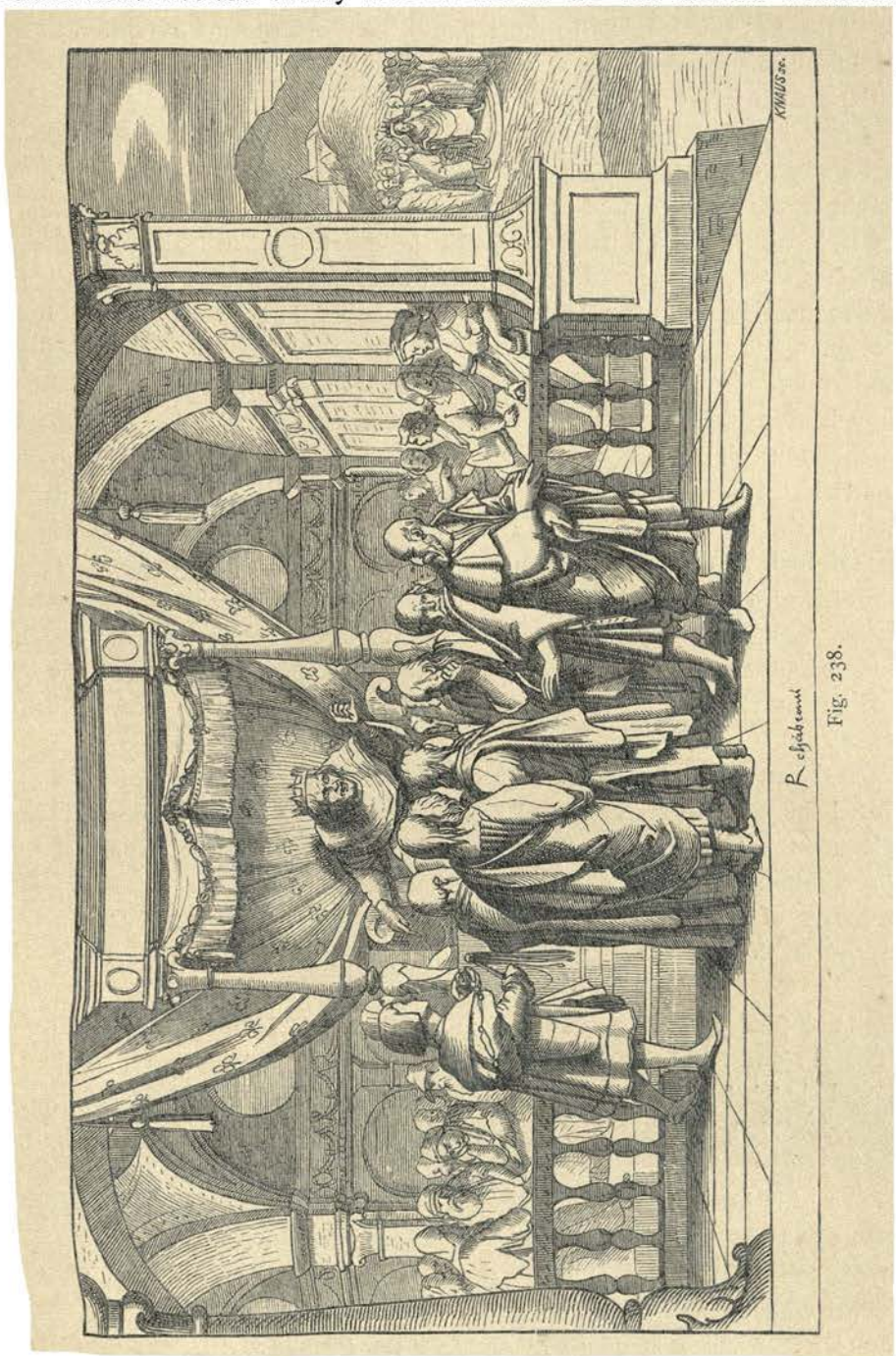


Fig. 238.

in 1879, and Holbein has been represented in almost all of these collections. That of 1880 was in part especially devoted to paintings by him and of his

school; and included the fine portrait of Sir Bryan Tuke, belonging to the Duke of Westminster. The Wheel of Fortune, an allegorical picture of a later date, 1533, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, was exhibited in 1878 and in 1880. Holbein as a portrait painter is even better represented in England than in his native country.]

From 1528 till 1532 Holbein was at home again in Basle, and once more employed in a variety of undertakings. Not, it is true, in religious pictures for churches; that was over. But he now finished the cycle for the town-hall, and in a style which entitled it to rank with the greatest historical works that the world has seen. The drawings preserved at Basle show us in one (Fig. 238), Rehoboam, King of Judah, answering the men of Israel "with rough words." The energetic gesture of the king expresses his wrath and scorn with wonderful vividness. The other picture represents the meeting of Saul and Samuel after the defeat of the Amalekites; Saul at the head of his host marches towards Samuel, who stands alone, facing him; and the composition would almost have the character of a frieze if it were not for the magniloquent figure of the wrathful prophet. Holbein also painted more portraits: Erasmus, the original of this is at Parma, 1530; Melanchthon, 1529, the original picture is at Hanover; his wife and his two children, a rapid but wonderfully lifelike sketch on paper, in the Basle Museum. Besides all this he drew for woodcuts, and it was probably at this time that he executed the print of Erasmus standing under a decorative arch—a figure of great spirit and dignity.

In the summer of 1532 he returned to England, and in the following year painted the German merchants of the Steelyard, the Guild of Hanseatic traders in London. This company twice gave him an important commission: first for a triumphal arch, to be erected at their expense on the occasion of the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533—the sketch in the Weigel Collection at Leipzig is that of a magnificent design, purely Renascence in taste; and secondly, for two decorative paintings for the Steelyard guild-hall. These were triumphal processions in the style of Dürer and Mantegna—the Triumph of Poverty and the Triumph of Wealth. The pictures have perished, but the original sketch for the Triumph of Wealth is in the collection of drawings at the Louvre (Fig. 239). A fragment of an engraving from it exists in the British Museum, and a copy of the whole print is at Breslau. The Triumph of Poverty is known by small copies and engravings.[114] From these we can become acquainted with the learning and ingenuity displayed in the allegories, but we can only dream of what the execution must have been. Federigo Zucchero, the well-known Italian painter who worked in England, copied these pictures and pronounced them "finer than Raphael."

After 1536 Holbein was in the service of Henry VIII., for whom he made a number of portraits and painted a large mural decoration, 1537; this was

LIBERALITAS
AEQVALITAS
RATIO
FORTVNA
PLVTVS
NEMESIS
BONA FIDES
SICILEVS
PITHIAS
CRISPINVS
VENTIDIVS
CAPARRVS
NATOISSVS

Fig. 239.

destroyed in 1698, and no portion of it survives. A small copy is at Hampton Court [No. 601, done by Remigius van Leemput for Charles I.], and the left-hand half of the original cartoon, boldly sketched in black and white, is at Hardwick, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. In the middle, on a raised dais, stand the king's parents, Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. Rather lower, to the left, is the swaggering and magnificently-dressed figure of Henry VIII. himself. To the right Jane Seymour. The floor is covered with a rich carpet, and the hall in which the figures stand is in the most ornate style of the Renascence. From the reports of contemporaries this must have been one of the most wonderful of Holbein's masterpieces; the roundness and solidity of the figures is described as positively startling. The cartoon shows us the whole character of the irascible king as history paints it, without any reserve or flattery; indeed words are inadequate to give us any impression half so real as this hasty sketch by a master hand. [Ex., Old Masters', 1879.] He painted the king again in later years, enthroned and granting their charter to the Company of Barber-surgeons; this picture is still in the hall of the worshipful Company, but it has suffered under the restorer, and indeed was never finished by Holbein, but by some inferior painter.

There are woodcut portraits, too, of Henry VIII. by Holbein—for instance, on the title-page to Coverdale's Bible and in a large print in Hall's Chronicle, where the king is seen sitting in council. When the reformed faith was established in England Holbein was ready to do it service in his designs for the cuts in Cranmer's catechism and a small single print of the Unfaithful Shepherd. His earlier blocks had been engraved in Switzerland, but these were executed in England. The severest satire that he ever aimed against the Church of Rome, however, was the Satirical Passion, representing the persecutors of Christ in all the scenes of the Passion with the dress and attributes of the Roman priesthood. This does not appear to have been intended for woodcuts, and the sixteen plates that are known were engraved on copper by Hollar.[115]

The infinite ingenuity and taste displayed by Holbein in the designs he made while in the King's service for every kind of plate and jewellery do not properly concern us here; but when we have alluded to the slight drawing of the Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon, in silver point slightly washed with Indian ink, at Windsor, as a remarkable example of his historical compositions at this time, we must still add to the list of the vast number of portraits he again painted. About half of these are dispersed in the public galleries of Europe, the rest are in private collections, principally in England, and many are authenticated by the finished studies in the Queen's possession at Windsor. The studies for the heads in the picture for the Merchants of the Steelyard are remarkable for the elaborate finish of the accessory details of the room in which the magnates are sitting. In that of Hans of Antwerp,

at Windsor, the letter on which the address is legible, the inkstand and pens, the scale for weighing coin, and the books are all there. One of the finest of these is the portrait of Georg Gisze, 1532, in the Berlin Gallery; and very fine, though more simply treated, are the portraits in the Belvedere at Vienna, one of 1533 at Berlin, in the Pinacothek, and the magnificent picture of Derick Berck at Petworth. [Exhibited, as well as the Windsor portrait, in 1880. For a description of the works exhibited, see the catalogue of the Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters for that year.]

The portraits he painted of the Court of Henry VIII. are extraordinarily numerous. One of Jane Seymour, which has preserved its fresh clear tone in a marvellous degree, is in the Belvedere; the jewels are finished with the delicacy of a miniature, while the modelling of the features is of the most refined simplicity. A fine portrait of Edward, the infant Prince of Wales, is at Hanover, and the Earl of Spencer possesses a miniature of the King standing with a haughty swagger. There are, again, some very exquisite miniatures by this unsurpassable and indefatigable master at Windsor. Many of his larger portraits of English men and women have found their way abroad and represent him in foreign galleries. One of the most lifelike is the portrait of Sir Robert Southwell, 1536, in the Uffizi; and a fine picture, though it has suffered, is that of Dr. John Chambers, the physician, in the Belvedere. A masterly work, again, is the portrait of a man whose name is unknown, belonging to Mr. J. E. Millais, R.A., which was exhibited at the Dresden Holbein Exhibition in 1871 [and in the Old Masters in 1880]. But Dresden can boast of possessing as fine a work of the kind as exists. This is the famous portrait of Hubert Morett, the goldsmith, which, at a time when German art was inadequately appreciated, and when Holbein's study for it was not yet known, was attributed to Leonardo da Vinci.[116] A man, very richly apparelled, stands gravely and confidently fronting the spectator (Fig. 240). The red-gold beard, just touched with the frost of years, the warm carnations of the flesh, the sheen of the black satin doublet, and the rich green curtain, compose a sober and delightful harmony. Another work of this period—painted, however, so early as 1533—is the magnificent picture of Sir Thomas Wyat and his secretary, in the collection of the Earl of Radnor, and formerly known as "The two Ambassadors." [Exhibited at the same time as the "Erasmus" in 1873. It is a singular fact that, notwithstanding the enormous number of Holbein's portraits in this country—Waagen names above seventy as his best—there should not be a single example in the National Collection. In the National Portrait Gallery at South Kensington there is no work by his hand, though one or two are of his school. In fact, only those at Hampton Court are accessible to the public. There is at Liverpool a curious small work of what may be termed *historical genre*, with various incidents from the story of the prodigal son; also a portrait of Marguerite of

Valois, which through much discussion, has been alternately assigned to Holbein and to Clouet (p. 74).]

Holbein's later works betray the influence of *Quentin Massys* of Antwerp, so far, that is to say, as the technique of the brush is concerned. Holbein must have become familiar with the great Antwerp master in the course of his frequent journeys across the Netherlands. It would, however, be rash to attach

Fig. 240.

any serious importance to this contact. Holbein's methods altered less, on the whole, in the course of years than those of many another master. He adhered consistently to a clear definition of outline, firm and plastic modelling, and perfect transparency of shadow. Throughout his life, too, he never wholly abandoned the practice of heightening the effect of gold by the introduction of gold-leaf, though his contemporaries in the Netherlands were representing it by this time by the skilful application of colour. Still, as years went on, he gained in breadth of treatment and force of colouring; and in these respects no German has ever excelled him.

Holbein made several journeys by command of the king; twice he was sent to the Continent to paint princesses whom the king proposed to woo; in 1538 he took the portrait, in a three hours' sitting, of Christina of Denmark, widow of a Duke of Milan. [This picture, which belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, is at present on loan to the National Gallery.] This princess having declined the honour proposed to her, in the following year Holbein was sent to paint the portrait of Anne of Cleves, which is now in the Louvre. Holbein also paid a visit to Basle in 1538, but the authorities sought in vain to detain him there; his position in England was too brilliant, and he returned to London. Here he painted in 1542 the picture of a young man with a falcon, which is one of the treasures of the Hague; and in 1543 he did the portrait of himself that hangs in the Uffizi. The original of this seems, however, to have been a miniature, which has disappeared; it is known to us by copies and by engravings by Hollar and Vorsterman.

In this year the plague was raging in London; it carried off the master in the flower of his age, between 7th October and 29th November. Two other masters only were at that time living who could claim equal or higher rank than Holbein in the estimation of posterity: Michael Angelo and Titian; and Holbein stands forth as the entirely German master of his century, notwithstanding the undoubted influence exerted on his development by the Italian Renascence—more particularly through Mantegna—and by the technical methods and qualities of his Flemish contemporaries. He never set up a studio or workshop, at any rate in England; atelier pictures painted under his supervision do not therefore exist after his earliest period, and he left no school of pupils or assistants.

V. PAINTING IN SWITZERLAND.—"Switzerland is poor in fine works of art."[117] Nevertheless at the time when the three Holbeins settled there she could boast of several well-skilled masters, the most noteworthy of whom deserve mention in this place. When Hans Holbein went to Basle he found there *Hans Herbst* or *Herbster*, a painter in high repute. He had been a member of the guild since 1492, and in or after 1500 had painted an altar-piece for the Dominican convent an den Steinen. At about the same time a painter had been busy in Basle to whom we must devote a few words, because he was influenced by Schongauer, and so ran parallel with the elder Holbein. *Hans Fries* was born at Freiburg, in Switzerland, at some time in the later half of the fifteenth century; in 1488 he was at work at Basle, in 1501 was painter to the town of Freiburg, and by 1518 had settled at Berne. He was spoken of by his contemporaries as the equal of the greatest German and Italian masters of the period. Those of his works which remain show him to have had affinities with the schools of Colmar and Augsburg, but his treatment is hard and gaudy. Five of his pictures remain at Freiburg: four altar-wings,

somewhat injured, in the Museum, and a very remarkable example, a subject from the legend of S. Anthony, in the Franciscan Convent, dated 1506. Six others are in the Germanic Museum from the Moritzkapelle at Nuremberg,[118] including two scenes from a series of the life of the Virgin, 1512, of which the other six are at Basle, with two other examples of this painter; a very fine portrait hangs in the academy at Vienna. He painted a Last Judgment in 1501-1506 for the Town Hall of Freiburg, but it has disappeared.

The most popular of the younger painters who worked at Basle contemporaneously with Hans Holbein was *Urs Graf*,[119] the crazy goldsmith, the daring adventurer, the original and facile draughtsman. He was a native of Solothurn born about 1485-90, and settled at Basle in 1509, where he died in 1529, or not long after. No paintings are known by him, but his audacious and often sensuous humour is conspicuous in his drawings, of which examples occur in many collections, but may best be studied in the Basle Museum. The hardships and romantic adventures of a soldier's life, with which he was familiar from experience, are vividly and naturally set before us. In drawing for woodcuts Urs Graf was Holbein's rival in the favour of the printers of Basle; in his *genre* studies of medical practice, in the Zurich Calendar for 1508, he displays his quaintly original apprehension of life; and he is quite in his element in the numerous single blocks representing scenes from low life. He also executed nielli and engravings. He is not a master of the first rank, but his entire originality qualifies him for a place of honour in the history of art. *Hans Leu* may be named as a painter of Zurich who was killed in the battle of Cappel in 1531; but little that is certain is known about him.

A more visible personality stands before us in *Hans Asper*,[120] who was born in 1499 at Zurich, where he lived in such respect as to be elected a member of the Great Council, and died in 1571. He executed numerous decorations of façades, none of which have been preserved, excepting the lions with shield and standard at the gate of the Castle of Kyborg. The large painting of the City Arms in the town-hall of Zurich is by him, though much restored, and there too are two decorative pictures of fruit and flowers very faithfully studied. He also painted views of towns and battle-scenes; all that remains of his work consists of a few portraits, and these are hardly to be distinguished from those of his pupils or imitators—at the head of them his two sons. His best known work is a portrait of Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, a rather lifeless painting from a medal, done in fact after Zwingli's death; this and a picture of Zwingli's daughter are in the library at Zurich. There are half a dozen others at Zurich and at Solothurn, and in all the master proves himself earnest and careful, though dry and uninteresting. [A portrait by Hans Asper, in the National Portrait Gallery, displays these characteristics. The individuality is strongly marked, the execution hard. A curious and elaborate portrait of a lady of

Zurich was lent, from the collection of the National Gallery of Ireland, to the Old Masters' Exhibition in 1885.]

The most important native Swiss painter was *Nikolaus Manuel Deutsch*,[121] born at Berne, as tradition tells us, in 1484. His work as the Reformer of Berne entitles him, however, to consideration at least as much as his artistic career, in which indeed his carnival farces and satires won him as a poet as much fame as he ever gained by painting. At the same time it is certain that he was by profession a painter, but under whom he studied is not known; there is no ground for the statement that he was working at Venice with Titian in 1511. The documents of Berne speak of him in 1517 as an architect rather than as a painter; still, pictures by him of that date are extant, and even a drawing of 1511. He died in April 1530. Nikolaus Manuel, as he was wont to call himself in later life, executed a quantity of external decorations; but it must be owned that the composition of Solomon sacrificing to Idols, on a corner-house near the Moses fountain at Berne, must have been anything rather than decorative. This painting was "done away" in 1758, but copies of it are preserved; a poor specimen is in the possession of the Art Society (Kunstverein) of Berne. His most famous work—a Dance of Death, in the inner face of the boundary wall of the Dominican Convent at Berne—had perished so early as 1660, but the series had been copied by *Kauw*.[122] These paintings are to this day the property of the Manuel family, and copies from them are in the possession of the Berne Society of Arts. There are forty-six compositions, and above a hundred figures of life-size. The painter has, on the whole, adhered to the traditional motives of the Basle Dances of Death; but the figures and action are his own, and a keen spirit of satire on the priesthood is very conspicuous. All the surviving paintings by his hand are easel pictures. A wing of an altar-piece in the collection at Berne is interesting, but a better work of art is the Decapitation of S. John the Baptist, in the Basle Museum, in which the landscape, with the effects of a cloudy sky and a rainbow, is especially noteworthy. In the same gallery are two pictures in monochrome, but of miniature finish and remarkable for the introduction of ornament of the Renascence style; besides some works in tempera. There are three good portraits by Manuel in Berne: two are in private hands; the third is a melancholy likeness of himself in the library. A great variety of sketches and drawings in the Basle Museum reveal this master's versatility: religious subjects of his early time, sketches of costume, satires, and scenes of low life, in which he was a match for Urs Graf in his later period. His feeling for form is seen at its best in a series of drawings in silver point on small panels, and some powerful studies in chalk representing one of the Thieves on the Cross and the Unwise Virgins. He also drew Ten Unwise Virgins, to be cut on wood.[123] His ingenuity in ornament is best displayed in his designs for glass; they also show us that the fourteen magnificent windows in the great hall of the Basle

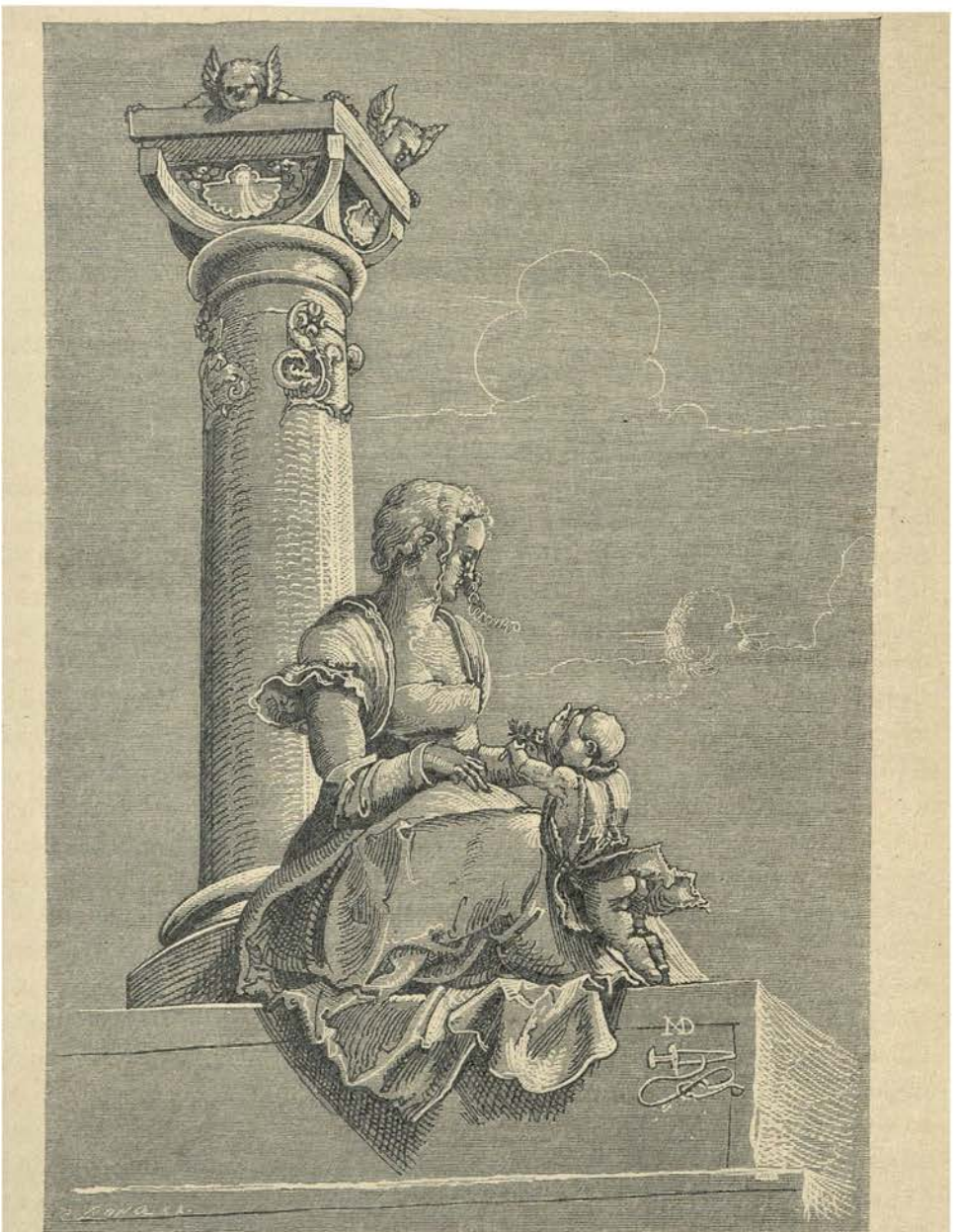


Fig. 241.

Town-Hall were designed by him. There is a pretty and fanciful pen and ink sketch by him in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 241). On the whole, the figure we are thus enabled to reconstruct of Nikolaus Manuel is that of a powerful but untutored and self-taught genius. A few drawings and woodcuts exist by *Hans Rudolf Manuel*, his son.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOLS OF THE LOWER RHINE, WESTPHALIA, AND AUSTRIA.

THE SCHOOLS OF THE LOWER RHINE—*Anonymous Altar-pieces* in the Cologne Museum—The Cologne *Crucifixion*—Jan Joest of Calcar and the Calcar altar-piece—*The Death of the Virgin* at Cologne—Barthel Bruyn—His portraits—THE WESTPHALIAN SCHOOL—The Dünwegge—Aldegrever—PAINTING IN AUSTRIA.

I. THE SCHOOLS OF THE LOWER RHINE[124] have left few names on record that we are able to attach with any certainty to the pictures that remain, though the existence of the painters themselves is proved beyond a doubt by documentary evidence. Hence it follows that we can identify fewer artists of the school of Cologne, which was the centre of the art of this district, than of any other; though the vast number of altar-pieces and of portraits produced there at this period speak for themselves so far as to prove that their painters must have been quite equal to the contemporaneous masters of the Upper Rhine. In the early years of the sixteenth century we still often find the old idealism of the Cologne painters combined with the innovating tendency towards realism; or in some cases a very independent and original reflection of the High German feeling; or again, and this is most common, a direct acceptance of the style and taste of the contemporary Flemish masters. The best example of the first of these classes of painters is the *Master of the Hackeney Altar-piece*. His staunch adhesion to the old traditions has already led us to speak of his chief work in the Cologne Museum (*ante*, p. 100), though it was not painted till the first years of the sixteenth century.[125] But several other works may safely be ascribed to the painter of this fine triptych, though they are to be seen, not at Cologne, but in the Galleries at Berlin, Munich, Nuremberg, and elsewhere.

Among the Cologne masters who are distinguished by their resemblance to the South German school, the most important is the *Master of the S. Thomas Altar*, or of the *Cologne Crucifixion*, or of the *S. Bartholomew Altar*, the former in the Cologne Museum and the latter in the Pinacothek.[126] We recognise his hand in a number of works of an unmistakable individuality. His feeling for composition and form has been biassed by Schongauer's plates, but his ideal heads are marked by their broader and squarer brows, and his figures have less repose. His brushwork reminds us of that of his Flemish contemporaries. He models flesh with cool gray shadows, bright high lights,

and tender glazing; the plastic finish is admirable; and his scheme of colour, with its brilliant cool harmonies of gold, rose-colour, green, blue, and gray, though peculiar, is not unpleasing. In the centre panel of the Cologne altar-piece the gold background, delicately glazed in places with pale transparent colour, gives a vaporous luminosity of effect, while the figures on the inner side of the panels stand in front of a smiling landscape, with a sky above them. The master has succeeded in giving an intense expression of transient emotion to the faces; but by endeavouring to lend a sympathetic action to the whole figure he has exaggerated the action into distortion. Still, and in spite of his mannerisms, he is one of the leading masters of his time and school. He must have worked during the last ten years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century.[127]

One of his first works, probably, is the S. Bartholomew altar-piece, in the Pinacothek, from the Church of S. Columba at Cologne. The statuesque repose of the life-size figures is, however, less characteristic than the animation of the Cologne triptych (Fig. 242). The saints on the right wing are S. Hippolytus and the S. Afra; on the left are the Virgin and Child, with S. John. Outside the wings are painted in monochrome to imitate white stone, statues of S. Symphorosa and S. Felicitas, each with her seven sons. This altar-piece is justly regarded as the master's finest work; the expression in the heads is wonderful, and so is the vision-like effect of the whole work, the result in part of the singular but splendid key of colouring employed. A second triptych in the same collection has the Crucifixion on the centre panel; a skull lies at the foot of the cross, and a skeleton on the rock behind. The host of nude cherubs that flutter round the Saviour and fill the sky in the wings, with the elaborate ornament introduced into the upper part of the pictures, mark a transition to the Renascence.[128] From this triptych the painter is sometimes designated as *the Master of the Cologne Crucifixion*, and is so named in the catalogue of the National Gallery, where there are two figures of saints by him [the figures stand against a cloth-of-gold hanging; above is a hilly landscape]. The other portions of the altar to which these belong are at Munich. His hand is also recognisable in the large Deposition from the Cross in the Louvre, ascribed formerly to Quentin Massys. A very pretty picture of the same subject, belonging to Mrs. Meynell Imgram [exhibited in the Old Masters in 1881], under the name of Albert Dürer, seems to be an example of this master.

A master who betrays himself as a close imitator of Albert Dürer is another Cologne painter—*Anton Wonsam* of Worms.[129] His father, *Jasper Wonsam*, had left Worms before 1510 to settle in Cologne, where he is mentioned in that year, and where he died between 1547 and 1559; he was a well-known painter, banneret of the guild, and a member of the town council. No pictures can, however, be traced to him. His son, who is first mentioned in 1528, and alluded to as dead in 1561, was wont, on the contrary, to sign his works with a mono-

Fig. 242.

gram—a very unusual thing with the Cologne masters of that date—and is a very recognisable and careful painter. He also drew on wood, and perhaps cut his own designs, for Peter Quentel, the printer. Merlo enumerates 374 blocks designed by him, of which the most famous is a large view of the city of Cologne. His pictures are comparatively rare, but his characteristics are easily noted and remembered; his composition is simple and his drawing precise; he models smoothly, but in strong relief, which gives prominence to the figures. His colouring, though strong, is cold, with a raw red in the draperies, and heavy dull green landscape distances; in short, he is skilful and conscientious but not brilliant. A very characteristic example is in the Cologne Museum—a row of Carthusian monks standing at the foot of the Cross. One of his most pleasing pictures is a Madonna enthroned between saints in a landscape, which was lately in the Church of S. Severin, and is now kept in the minister's house. There are specimens of his work in various private collections at Cologne, a Madonna in the Darmstadt Gallery, recognised by Scheibler, and a Last Judgment at Berlin. Anton Wonsam is a painter by no means to be overlooked.

We may here mention *Jacob Bink*,[130] who was born at Cologne at about the turn of the century, and who is generally regarded as a scholar of Dürer's. He studied at any rate elsewhere than in his native city. As an engraver he holds a place among the "Little Masters" (Passavant speaks of 140 plates by him), and it has therefore been assumed that he learnt his art at Nuremberg; again, from the fact that his sense of form is more intelligent than that of most of his fellow North-German artists, it has been said that he must have visited Italy. However, he devoted himself to engraving only during the early part of his career; the last of his plates is dated 1532, and was executed at Copenhagen, where he lived after 1531 as painter to the King of Denmark. Being dismissed he went to Königsberg, where he was appointed court painter to Duke Albrecht in 1551, and where he died in 1568 or 1569. His duties under these princes were various, in architecture and sculpture, but principally as a portrait-painter; and no pictures, excepting portraits, exist by him. Those of King Christian and his queen, at Copenhagen, are worth notice, and there are others at Königsberg.

The most eminent of the masters of the school of the Lower Rhine who show a direct and intentional affinity with the Flemings was *Jan Joest*, who, between 1505 and 1508,[131] painted the vast wings of the great carved altar in the Church of S. Nicholas at Calcar, with no less than twenty sacred subjects. The first, on the upper wings outside, is the Annunciation (Fig. 243), and the last of the series is the Death of the Virgin. The Crucifixion is omitted as being the subject of the carved centre piece. In this fine work Jan Joest reveals himself as one of the great masters of his time, who has founded himself on the traditions of the school of Memlinc, and has not remained impervious to the

Italian Renascence. His composition, dignified in arrangement, but full of emotional movement, and the portrait-like individuality of the accessory figures, the clear warmth of tone, and the no less warm and tender quality of the painting, free and flowing with all its carefulness, are thoroughly Flemish; these characteristics are most conspicuous in the outer wings, which seem to have been painted first, and at their best in the Restoration of Lazarus, of which the scene is laid in the market-place of Calcar. Inside we find a decorative architecture in the style of the purest North-Italian Renascence; the drawing of the human figure, especially in the nude, is quite *cinque cento*, at the same time the colouring is cooler in effect. But the master's native qualities still assert themselves; the new has only breathed upon the old. It is by no means certain that Jan Joest was a native of Calcar; several painters who worked there, and who would seem by the

Fig. 243.

documents of the town to have been natives, are almost all mentioned as little more than artisans,[132] and the pictures in that town, and at Xanten and Wesel, which have been supposed to prove the existence of a school at Calcar, are either Westphalian or from Cologne. None of the pictures there ascribed to Jan Joest are by him; and if this master is identical with the painter of the same name who, in 1509, settled in Haarlem, where he married and died in 1519,[133] we may perhaps be right in regarding him as a Dutchman.

If this be so he cannot also be identified with the Cologne painter, who is commonly called *the Master of the Death of the Virgin*, from his having twice treated the subject, and who can be proved to have lived and worked till a much later date; in that case we must regard this painter as a pupil of Jan Joest's,[134] since his early works show a direct correspondence, in spite of many differences, with the great Calcar altar-piece. This master was a very prolific painter of portraits and church pictures during the early years of the sixteenth century; his connection with Joest is well illustrated by a picture of the Death of the Virgin, in the Cologne Museum; the date on the margin, 1515, is not altogether above suspicion, but must be approximately right (Fig. 244). The larger picture in the Pinacothek, of the same subject, shows the same resemblance, and Scheibler reports that it is particularly evident in the paintings on the wings of a carved altar-piece in the Marienkirche at Dantzig of 1516. These works are characterised by a very Flemish air of domestic quietude, united to an unmistakable Renascence taste in the architecture, decoration, and figure drawing. The attitudes of the figures are apt to be angular, the colouring bright but not warm, and the master affects a peculiar purplish red, with rather hot flesh-tints. The brushwork is careful, but neither niggling nor laboured. Other and early pictures by his hand are an Adoration of the Kings in a private collection in Cologne, and a fine picture of the same subject in the Church of S. Donato at Genoa, an important Crucifixion in the Naples Museum, and a Madonna at Ince Hall, near Liverpool. [Exhibited at Burlington House in 1884.] In his later style the painter resembles the more advanced Netherlandish masters, such as *Massys*, and, as he yields more and more to Italian influence, *Mabuse*, whose name indeed many of his pictures still bear in various collections. He introduces the fantastic decorative architecture of the Renascence to a greater extent, and child-angels, nude and gracefully modelled, sport in the air. The *Pietà* in the Städel Institute, dated 1524, is an example of his transition style, with others at Genoa, Dresden, and Vienna. His later characteristics are fully developed in the altar-piece in the Louvre (No. 601), with a *Pietà* in the chief panel; and in the large Adoration of the Kings in the Dresden Gallery. There is a similar work in the Naples Museum, and a late Madonna at S. Petersburg.

This is far from completing the list of his compositions, and while many no doubt have not yet been recognised, this is even more generally the case with

Fig. 244.

his portraits, though recent students have recognised his hand in a great number, principally in the galleries of Germany—not a few of them ascribed to so great a man as Holbein. Scheibler, for instance, attributes to the Cologne master a portrait of a man with a rosary, and two of a gentleman and a lady of 1525 and 1526 in the Cassel Gallery, though Eisenmann regards them as youthful works of *B. Bruyn*. His also are the splendid Old Man with a roll of manuscript in the Madrid Museum; a Married Couple, 1520, in the Uffizi, and another Couple in the Liechtenstein Gallery; a portrait of Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg in the Corsini Collection, and one of a Young Man in the Palazzo Borghese, with others at Cologne and Nuremberg.

Of some other contemporary Cologne painters whose art had in the same way felt the influence of Flemish traditions there is less to say. *The Master of the Linnich Altar-piece*, to whom a number of pictures in the Cologne Museum may be ascribed, is good in his landscape backgrounds, but feeble in his lank figures. *Meister Hildegard*, the painter of the altar-doors at Dortmund, is an indifferent artist, and *Hans Melem* has left us no authenticated work but the interesting portrait of himself in the Pinacothek.

Only one artist of any mark remains to be mentioned in this place—*Barthel Bruyn* (in later documents *Brun*),[135] who may have begun as a disciple of the master last discussed, and who, starting at any rate with the same Netherlandish proclivities, went through a series of changes quite extraordinary for that period, to end as an extravagant imitator of Michael Angelo. Barthel Bruyn was born at Cologne in 1493, was admitted in 1519 to the painters' guild there, is mentioned with distinction in 1553, and died in 1556. He has left a large number of devotional pictures and portraits, unfortunately not signed, and criticism has a hard task to identify the anonymous works of this very variable master, though his leading types have a certain similarity that proclaims their common origin. The process of his changes is best seen in his religious paintings; in his earliest works he resembles both the "Master of the Death of the Virgin" and Joest of Calcar; and to this period may be ascribed the Martyrdom of S. Ursula in the Cologne Museum, and the Resurrection in the Church of S. Cunibert, a picture in the Pinacothek, formerly ascribed to *Melem*, a S. Catherine in the Germanic Museum, and two or three in private collections at Cologne and Hamburg. We soon find him striving for a rounder and fuller type of beauty, while his landscapes grow more meagre; still, for some time he does not lose his individuality. Examples of this transition state are Christ bearing the Cross, at Nuremberg—an altar-piece of which the wings are in the Pinacothek, various works at Cologne, a Madonna in the Berlin Museum, and, above all, the altars at Xanten and Essen, which are authenticated by documentary evidence. The wings of the Essen altar have a lingering affinity to his first style; they were painted between 1522 and 1527. The great doors of the Xanten altar-piece, which were ordered in 1529 and finished in 1536,

display him at the best of his middle period. On the inside of the inner pair we see, to the left, a Deposition from the Cross, the best of the series as a composition, and to the right the Resurrection, with the soldiers, who express their astonishment with unwonted energy of gesture; the rest of the subjects are

Fig. 245.

taken from the legends of S. Victor and S. Helena. The arrangement and composition of the various scenes are not always happy, nay, occasionally very much the reverse; but the figures are often beautiful and dignified, and the rich harmonious tone shows that the painter was a master colourist. The Italian influence is already very conspicuous, but the painter is nevertheless a staunch and stalwart German. His latest works, in which his sole aim is to be as Italian as

possible, are in no way satisfactory; we need only refer to the Crucifixion in the Church of S. Andrew, or the Last Supper in that of S. Severin at Cologne.

[The Rev. J. Fuller Russell exhibited in 1877 the two small panels which Waagen had seen in his collection, and regarded as a good example. Lord Spencer's altar-piece, also ascribed to Bruyn by Waagen, had been considered as a Dürer. Mr. Alfred Morrison, whose contributions to the Old Masters' exhibitions are always of great interest, lent a portrait with this name in 1879.]

It is difficult to distinguish with certainty between the pictures of the elder Bruyn and those of his sons, *Arnold* and *Barthel Bruyn the younger*. At the present day the father is best recognised as a portrait-painter, and his portraits have in many instances passed for the work of Holbein. They vary much, and, though he never quite attained the full and lucid style of the great Basle master, in his best portraits he comes very near him. We need here enumerate only a few of his finest. In the Berlin Gallery, Burgomaster J. von Ryth, 1525; in the Cologne Museum, Burgomaster A. von Brouwiller, once alone (Fig. 245) and once with his wife. In the Städel Institute at Frankfort there is a fine picture of a married pair, and others hang in the Galleries of Brunswick, Brussels, and Gotha. Two of his portraits in the Vienna Belvedere are ascribed to *Asper* and *Amberger*.

There is yet an *Anonymous Master* (to whom I am guided by Dr. L. Scheibler) who finds his place among the painters of the Lower Rhine schools better than elsewhere—a painter whose works were formerly very generally ascribed to *Konrad Fyol* (*ante*, p. 100). His distinguishing characteristics are a certain vivacity of action, with somewhat short proportions in his figures, well-modelled but angular drapery, expressive though rather insignificant faces, pallid carnations, and calm vapid colouring. Examples of his work are a triptych with the Adoration of the Kings, in the Antwerp Museum; a Crucifixion, in the Städel Institute; and a small altar with the Virgin and S. Anna, in the Berlin Museum.

II. On the old Artistic Soil of Westphalia, some good painters of the second rank still flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century.[136] At Dortmund in 1521 the brothers *Viktor* and *Heinrich Düwegge* executed the great triptych of the Dominican—now the parish—church. In front of a richly-coloured hanging, held up by angels robed in white with brightly-feathered wings, stand a row of eight Dominican saints of life-size; in the background a landscape is visible through the round arches of a late Gothic building. This is the external decoration, and, on opening the doors, the centre picture shows us Calvary, with a crowded assemblage of spectators and executioners. On the inside of the right wing is the Adoration of the Kings, and on the left the Personages of the Sacred Pedigree; the landscape background, which rather lacks charm, is common to all three compositions.

Siet hier verspot wael wat gy dist. sacr-
want got die heer die weit dat wael Jud
oyet vallichck om tockick gyer
leste gericht hen ordellen saet!
hald up die hant
wilt vrijet kamen
swert in al redimel
name

Fig. 246.

In the arrangement and drawing of the figures there is an evident striving after the realistic feeling of the fifteenth century; the men's heads are all vigorous portraits, while the female heads are meant to be ideal, but they are at the same time expressionless and the features pinched and insignificant. It is not possible to distinguish the respective share of the two brothers; but the leading features of their style are easily remembered, as is the colouring, in which a peculiar red and a rich dark green predominate, the blue having darkened almost to black. Hence it is quite possible to ascribe other pictures to the brothers Dünwegge with some degree of certainty, as, for instance, the beautiful Crucifixion, in which, above the landscape, a blue sky is seen instead of the gilt ground, and which has lately been transferred from the Berlin Museum to the Museum of Art at Münster; and the curious and interesting picture in the Town Hall at Wesel[137] (Fig. 246), representing the devil, in the form of a goat, encouraging the witness to take a false oath, while an angel whispers to him "swear not falsely." There is a Holy Family in the Antwerp Museum, brought thither from the church at Calcar,[138] and other pictures at Munich, Nuremberg, and Darmstadt. The altar in the church at Cappenberg and a Holy Family in the museum at Münster are by a painter closely allied to the Dünwegge.

The traditions and fame of the school of Soest were kept up in the sixteenth century by an engraver who was one of the best known of the "Little Masters," but whose paintings are extremely scarce. This is *Heinrich Aldegrever* or *Alde Grave*,[139] who was born at Paderborn in 1502, formed himself under Dürer, and settled at Soest, where he was still living in 1555. He is a son of the Renascence, but he has not altogether escaped the old Franconian stiffness and provincialism; his figures are lank and his composition awkward. His real strength is in engraving. He executed several copperplates of subjects from the Bible, from Roman history and mythology, as well as allegorical inventions and *genre* studies. Among the most famous are the Dives and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan, and the Wedding Scenes and Festivals which he drew from the life of his Westphalian country-folk. He worked as a goldsmith, and his ornamental designs are numerous. We also know of a small number of woodcuts by him. He has left altogether about three hundred prints. Very few paintings can be ascribed to him with certainty; the only sacred subject perhaps is the Christ standing by the side of the grave, at Prague, a hard and drily-painted work; but there are portraits by him of great technical merit and clear individuality in various galleries. Among the best known are those of a young man (Fig. 247) in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, signed and dated 1540, the ugly but not ill-painted Therlaen von Lennep at Berlin, and another at Breslau. Many pictures embodying his compositions have been done from his engravings by inferior painters.

In Münster throughout the sixteenth century the arts were represented by the family of Zum (Tom) Ring,[140] and this town was at the same time one of the great centres of learning[141] in Germany. The younger members of this family lived on till a later epoch, but may be mentioned here for convenience

Fig. 247.

sake. *Ludger Zum Ring the elder*, 1496-1547, was a man of versatile talents, a painter, architect, and printer; he does not appear to advantage as a painter in the only composition by him that survives—a votive picture, signed with a monogram and dated 1538; it hangs in the archive-room of the cathedral at Münster. The portraits ascribed to him are more satisfactory, as, for

instance, a half-length, dated 1536, in the Museum of the Kunstverein at Münster, and another in the Berlin Museum, also of a man with a beard, dressed in black, truthful in effect and thoughtful in expression. This Ludger Zum Ring had two sons, both painters, *Hermann* and *Ludger the younger*. Hermann was the most productive painter of the three, or, at any rate, more of his works have come down to us. They are characterised by brownish shadows in the flesh and a generally dirty tone. Blue is a favourite colour with this master, and he shows a decided leaning to the Italian style of the Renascence in his figures. Even in his early works they are well modelled, as in the Raising

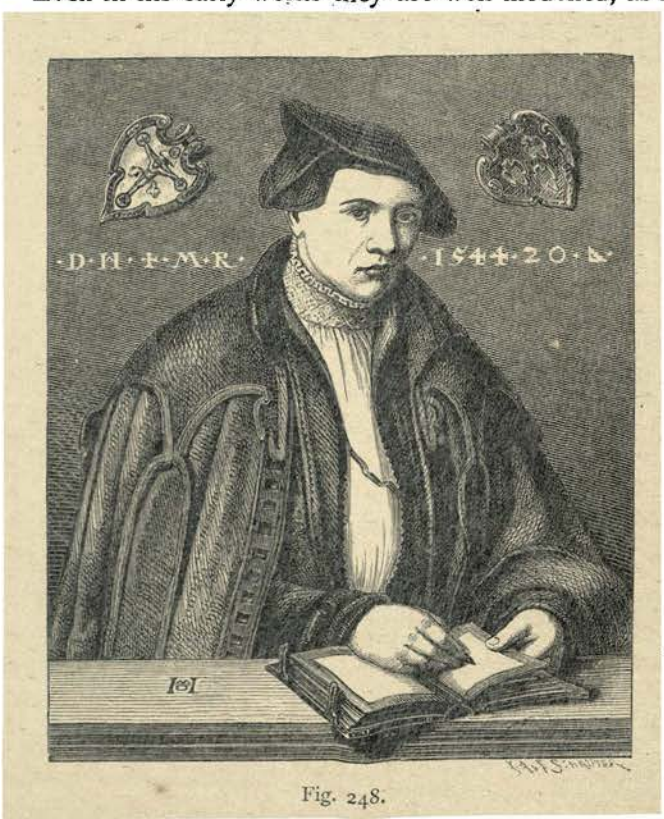


Fig. 248.

of Lazarus, in the cathedral at Münster,[142] a composition of many figures very happily arranged in a noble Renascence hall; and the simply but firmly modelled portrait of himself, 1544 (Fig. 248), in the possession of the Zur Mühlen family at Münster. In his middle period he wavered in an unsatisfactory manner between a tendency to imitate Michael Angelo and Dürer and a style of his own. Thus the large Crucifixion, also in the Zur Mühlen collection, is singularly inharmonious in form and colour, though in the same collection there are a pair of altar-wings, 1560, which are much better. There are many more of his works at Münster; in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht there is one—a Last Judgment—and some in the Augsburg Gallery.

Ludger Zum Ring the younger, who may be supposed to have been a brother of Hermann's, is the painter of a remarkable picture, dated 1562, representing the Marriage of Cana in an inner room, while the room nearest to the spectator is a kitchen—an elaborate study of still life. An elegant painted coffer decorated by him (1591) is in private hands at Münster. Besides these, only portraits are known by his hand; most of them are in private collections at Münster and elsewhere; one of 1569 belongs to the Society of Arts at Münster; they are of small size, but far brighter and firmer in treatment than those of Hermann.

Nicholaus Zum Ring, a son of Hermann's, imitated the Italians; he lived into the seventeenth century. In the treasury of the Ludgerkirche at Münster there is a picture of the Entombment, signed and dated 1598, by this master, very pleasingly composed.

III. THE AUSTRIAN PAINTERS.—The provinces which now compose the Empire of Austria, including Hungary, were not rich in artists of mark during the early years of the sixteenth century. Their best pictures were the works of foreigners, especially of the Nuremberg school. We have seen *Hans Suess von Kulmbach* employed at Cracow; and we learn that the works of the indigenous artists, even under the influence of the German painters, were but indifferent. Some pictures of this period that have survived in Bohemia betray for the most part their Nuremberg origin, and no trace has as yet been found of an independent artistic spirit among the Czechs.[143] Even in the Tyrol, where so important a master as *Pacher* had been at work in the fifteenth century, we find a series of pictures—originally twenty-two, but some are destroyed—painted between 1516 and 1528 for the Dominican convent at Schwaz, of which the style is markedly Düreresque.[144] However, a man of versatile talent was born in the Tyrol in 1503, died 1561—*Paul Dax*, who was in repute as a painter in 1526, and who, after 1530, devoted himself to glass-painting. He executed some glass in 1540 for the Hofkirche at Innsbruck, and finally became an architect. In Salzburg, too, a number of painters are known of the early half of the century, but such of their pictures as remain are very difficult to class, showing as they do very indiscriminate tendencies—Franconian, Swabian, and Italian. A small altar-piece of 1523 from the Salinenkirche at Reichenhall, in the National Museum at Munich, shows an advanced feeling for the Italian Renascence.[145]

There are in the galleries of Augsburg and Schleissheim pictures of Austrian origin which owe much to the influence of Mantegna. *Rueland* (*ante*, p. 121) was still living at Vienna in the first years of the century. The emperor had not yet established his residence there, and his painters were for the most part foreign. Only one Austrian painter appears as court painter to Ferdinand I.: this was *Jacob Seisenegger*,[146] who was born in 1505 and died in

1567; in 1531, when Ferdinand was elected King of Rome, he was appointed to be his painter. From a list drawn up by himself of the twenty-eight pictures he had executed for his patron before 1535, they would seem to have been chiefly portraits, and a few of them have lately been identified—a miniature portrait of Queen Anna in the king's prayer-book; the portrait of the Emperor Charles V. with an otter, now at Vienna, and another painted after his death; with some pictures of the king's relatives in the Ambras Collection. These works show him to have been a skilful painter under the influence of the Venetian school; the cool light colouring and careful execution of his early works resemble the German portraits of the time; but he afterwards strove to adopt Titian's broader style, and lost his own characteristic merits.

APPENDIX II.

1. It seems probable that this refers to the altar in the chapel of the Town-Hall, which was very famous at the time. Georg Braun, in his *Städtebuch*, 1572, says of this chapel: "In quo (sc. sacello) tabula tanto artificio facta conspicitur, ut eam excellentes pictores summa cum voluptate contueantur."

2. J. J. Merlo, *Die Meister der altkölnischen Malerschule*, Cologne, 1852, pp. 108, 200. When Merlo's earlier work appeared, *Nachricht von dem Leben und von den Werken Köln. Künstler*, he had not discovered this. It is confirmed by Dr. Ennen, *Domblatt*, 5th December 1857, and 4th July 1858; but he gives the name as *Lochener*, not *Loethener*, as Merlo read it. [The Arundel Soc. have published a coloured print of the *Dombild*, and there is a good photograph.]

3. [The Salutation, 9 inches by 7. J. C. Robinson, *Memoranda on Fifty Pictures in a Private Collection*, London, 1868, p. 52.]

4. This volume measures 107 millimetres by 80 = $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{8}$.

5. Mithoff, *Kunstdenkmale und Alterthümer im Hannoverschen*, ii. p. 78. From the name written over a kneeling monk at the foot of the Cross, *Henricus Duderstatensis*, Kugler inferred that he was the painter, but this is hardly justifiable.

6. The inscription with its quaint lamentation over the evil plight of art is as follows: "Schrie kunst schrie und klag dich ser din begert jectz niemen mer So o we, 1431.—Lucas Moser maler von wil maister des werx bit Got vir in." (Cry out, art, cry out and bewail thee sorely, no one cares for thee more. So o woe, 1431. Lucas Moser, painter of Wil master of the work, pray God for him.)

7. See Scheibler, *Die Hervorragendste Anonymen Meister der Kölner Malerschule*, 1460 to 1500, Bonn, 1880.

8. Our knowledge of this period of German art is far from complete or accurate; Passavant's want of method added considerably to the confusion (contributions to the *Kunstblatt*, 1841 and 1846). Waagen, on the other hand, could describe correctly, judge fairly, and compare carefully, and his books, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland*, and *Handbuch der niederländischen und deutschen Malerschulen* (*Handbook of Painting*, ed. Crowe) are of permanent value. Special studies and the investigation of documents in various places are still needed to extend our information in this department of history.

9. An altar at Sinzig and one at Linz am Rhein, dated 1463, are attributed to the same painter. See Kugler, *Handbook*, edition Crowe, p. 132. Two pictures at Darmstadt—scenes from the life of S. Bruno, a native of Cologne and the founder of the Carthusian order—seem to me very like the Master of the Lyversberg Passion; the Emperor Maximilian and his son Philip, as a boy, are represented as the donors. A large altar in the Cologne Museum, with the legends of SS. George and Hippolytus, shows the same style of treatment and the strong influence of the Flemish school. An old painting of the Lower Rhine school in the museum at Basle: the Coronation of the Virgin, signed "I. M., 1457," has the same Flemish realism.

10. Ph. F. Gwinner, *Kunst und Künstler in Frankfurt a. M.*, 1862, p. 16; Supp. 1867, p. 22.

11. This triptych was long attributed to one *Jarenus*, a painter invented by Passavant. He had detected on a *Pietà* at Wilton House the remains of the word "Nazarenus" (part of an inscription), and read it as *Jarenus*, to whom he at once ascribed the Soest altar-piece; they are not, however, by the same hand, though Waagen accepts the name, *Art Treasures*, iii. p. 151. The Pietà at Wilton is far the finer work and more like the Flemish school. See Kugler, *Handbook*, ed. Crowe, p. 133.

12. J. B. von Nordhoff, "*Der Meister Gert van Lon*," in Lutzow's *Zeitch.*, xvi. pp. 207, 304.

13. A. Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur*, vi. and x., Leipz., 1860; T. O. Weigel and Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*, Leipz., 1866, 2 vols. with illustrations; Essenwein, *Die*

Holzschnitte des german. Mus., Nürnberg; F. Lippmann, *Ueber die Anfänge der Formenschneidekunst und des Bilddruckes; Rep. Kunstwis.*, i. p. 215. [W. Hughes Willshire, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum*, vol i., 1879; vol ii., 1883, with historical introductions and twenty-two reproductions, gives biographical notices of the masters mentioned in this chapter.—Maberly and Hoe, *The Print Collector*, New York, 1880, contains useful lists of the literature of the subject, and of the works of some important masters.]

14. Ferd. Keller, in *Mitth. der antiquar. Gesellsch. Zürich*, ix. pt. vi. The work is Italian. [J. R. Rahn, *Gesch. der Bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, Zurich, 1876, p. 627. This remarkable hanging was discovered at Sion by Ferd. Keller in 1849, and is now in the possession of the Odet family at S. Maurice. It is of linen, printed from metal or wood blocks, the figures being left white on a black ground. There are battle-scenes between a Christian and an Oriental army, groups of dancing figures, and subjects from the history of Œdipus. The borders, of Syrens, Centaurs, and ornament, are on a red ground. The material, which is in breadths, is much injured. The style and costume assign the work to the fourteenth century.—For the early history of block-printing and wood-engraving, see W. A. Chatto, *Origin and History of Playing Cards*, London, 1848; and, by the same author, *A Treatise on Wood-Engraving*, 2d ed., London, 1861.]

15. Formerly in the Weigel Collection, *Weigel und Zestermann, op. cit.*, vol. ii.

16. Georg Dehio, *Kupferstich des Meisters von* 1464, Munich, 1881.

17. (For *Duchesse* read *Duchesne*) *Voyage d'un Iconophile*, p. 241.

18. The copy in the Basle Mus. has stamped on it the monogram of the Master "B. R." with an anchor. [W. H. Willshire, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., describes the armorials of Charles the Bold.]

19. [Professor Colvin is of opinion that this object is a burnisher. See the *Portfolio*, January, February, March, and April, 1877, for a learned and interesting history, with numerous illustrations, of the works of F. van Bocholt, Van Meckenen, M. Z(asinger), and other early engravers—*Albert Dürer, his Teachers, his Rivals, and his Followers*, by Professor S. Colvin.]

20. Woltmann, *Holbein*, Bunnett's translation, p. 45.

21. M. Thausing, *Dürer*, chap. viii., has revived the theory that the master signing "W." was Wolgemut, and argues that his are the original works, and Dürer's the copies. The question will be fully discussed in speaking of Dürer. [See S. Colvin, *Portfolio*, December 1877; *Albert Dürer, etc.*, p. 183.]

22. E. His, "Das Todesjahr M. Schongauers" (*Archiv für die zeich. Künste*, 1867); Woltmann, *Gesch. der deutsch. Kunst im Elsass*, p. 226. He dates his birth about thirty years earlier, agreeing with Schnaase (*Mitth. der k. k. Centralcom.*, 1863, p. 103), though he does full justice to W. Schmidt's reasons for supporting the later date. [In Keane, *Early Teutonic, etc., Masters*, London, 1880, p. 74.] I have arrived at a contrary conclusion from a recent investigation of Schongauer's portrait in the Siena Gallery. This is undoubtedly dated 1453, but the copy is of the later sixteenth century, and the painter may have misread the original. The Munich picture, which is a finer work, I believe to be a copy by Burckmair of Schongauer's original, and in this the third figure looks like an S-shaped 8, but is certainly not meant for 5. This would agree with what Heinecken says of a drawing in his possession on which Dürer himself had written "Diess hat der Hübsch Martin gerissen im 1470 jar da er ein junger gesell was." Handsome Martin drew this in 1470, when he was a young fellow (or apprentice). [A complete reproduction of his engraved work was made by Amand Durand: *l'Œuvre de M. Schongauer*, Paris and Vienna, 1881; see too A. von Wurzbach, *M. Schongauer, Eine Kritische Untersuchung*, Vienna, 1880; S. Colvin, *Portfolio*, Jan. 1877], and note 57 of this Appendix. Martin Schön, as he is sometimes called, is not an abbreviation of his surname. In Lambert Lombard's letter to Vasari he is called *Bel Martino*, Gaye, *Carteggio*, iii. p. 175. [See Milanesi's notes to Vasari, *Vite*, v. pp. 396-403.]

23. Goutzwiller, *Le Mus. de Colmar*, 1875, 2d ed., p. 19. On the other panel are the arms of his successor Guido Guersi, who was not raised to the dignity till after Schongauer's death. This, however, does not prove that Schongauer was not the painter. Guersi, who, as we are told, displayed his arms everywhere, may have had them painted here.

24. [The trustees of the British Museum have issued some photographic reproductions: *Prints and Drawings* (no letter-press), London, 1882-83, of great interest to the student of this branch of art. Examples are given of almost all of the early engravers, including Schongauer.]

25. The publications of the Ulm Society of Arts (*Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben*) may be consulted for various interesting facts, and prints of some of the works here mentioned. See too Grüneisen and Mauch, *Ulms Kunstleben im Mittelalter*, p. 42. A picture in the church at

Nordlingen, dated 1463, is not by Zeitblom; two initials on the shield of the donor have been mistaken for the painter's monogram.

26. I am indebted to Herr Mayer of Nördlingen for much original information discovered there. D. F. Beyschlag, *Beiträge zur Nördlingischen Geschlechtshistorie*, 1803, ii. p. 229, and elsewhere. There is no authority for the statement repeated in all the modern histories of art that Herlin was invited to Nördlingen "because he could outdo Flemish work." Waagen erroneously attributes it to Beyschlag; Herr Mayer informs me that it probably rests on the authority of Joh. Müller of Nördlingen, who compiled some local notes at the end of the last century, and who was frequently inaccurate. This and the incorrect date for Herlin's death have been repeated from a paper by Albr. Weyermann in *Kunstblatt*, 1830, p. 361. The mistake as to his death has arisen from confusing him with his grandson, who died 12th October 1591.

27. Woltmann, *Holbein*, Bunnett's translation, pp. 34, ff and 105.

28. The first is in the Germanic Museum, and was painted, as it would seem from the coats of arms, for Georg Gossenbrot of Augsburg and his wife. It has a date under the name which I read as 1492, but Bergau has deciphered it as 1499; the last cipher is doubtful. In the second picture, at the Burg, a label hangs from a book with the name S. HOLBAIN written backwards. The initial "S" has led to its being attributed to *Sigismund*, a younger brother, who is mentioned in the Augsburg records next to Hans Holbein after 1504, and who died at Berne in 1540. However, no other work is known by this painter, and we must hesitate to ascribe this to him, for it is so like that in the Germanic Museum that it must be by the same hand. The painter may have chosen to suppose that the first three letters of *Hans* were hidden in the book.

29. M. Thausing, *Dürer, Gesch. seines Lebens*, etc., Leipzig, 1876, translation by F. Eaton, i. p. 62. I (*Woltmann*) cannot, however, accept his theory that Wolgemut was an engraver. Neudörffer only mentions him as "Maler und Reisser," draughtsman on wood. (See below, note 57.)

30. Waagen, *Kunst. und Künstler*, i. p. 63. Quandt has published a lithograph of the picture.

31. [See the *Catalogue* of the Liverpool Collection; and G. Scharf, *A Handbook to the Paintings by Ancient Masters in the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester*, 1857.]

32. [Chatto, *Treatise*, p. 239.—Willshire, *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. ii.]

33. Baader, *Beiträge zur Kunstgesch. Nürnberg*, i. p. 2.—Thausing, *Dürer*, trans. F. Eaton, i. p. 91.

34. A. Schultz, *Urkundliche Gesch. der Breslauer Maler-Innung*, Breslau, 1866.

35. Förster, *Deutsch. Kunstblatt*, 1853, p. 131, but with the wrong date 1481. An exact copy of the document was given in the *Tiroler Boten*, 1847, p. 56. I owe this information to the courtesy of Herr Philipp Neeb. G. Dahlke is making a special study of Pacher and his works.

36. *Dança general de los muertos;* F. von Schack, *Gesch. der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien*, i. p. 123. [See too W. A. Chatto, *Treatise on Wood-Engraving*, p. 324.]

37. W. Lübke, *Der Todtentanz in der Marienkirche zu Berlin*, 1861, with plates; Th. Prüfer, same title, 1876, with plates. Wackernagel assumes too early a date for the Lübeck Dance of Death; see H. Baethke, *Der Lübecker Todtentanzes*, Berlin, 1873. The same may be said as to the Dance of Death at Klingelthal; see Rahn, *Gesch. der Künste in der Schweiz*, p. 654. [The literature of the Dance of Death is singularly extensive, showing the somewhat morbid attraction the subject has had. There is a considerable collection in the South Kensington Museum Library. See H. F. Massmann, *Literatur der Todtentänze*, Leipzig, 1840.]

38. No comprehensive work exists that at all represents the present state of our knowledge of this period of German art. The principal authorities are: Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie der Edlen Bau-Bild- und Malereykünste*, Nürnberg, 1675-79; J. D. Fiorillo, *Gesch. der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland*, Hannover, 1815-20; Ernst Förster, *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1851-60. Also *Denkmale deutscher Kunst*, 1855-69; G. F. Waagen, *Handbuch der Gesch. der deutschen und niederländischen Malerschulen*, Stuttgart, 1862 (translated, with many additions, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Handbook of Painting, German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, London, 1874). [A. H. Keane, *The Early Teutonic, Italian, and French Painters* (from *Kunst und Künstler*, by various authors, edited by G. Dohme), London, 1879.] Dr. L. Scheibler's latest researches have not yet been published, but, thanks to his liberal courtesy, I have been able to avail myself of many of his MS. notes. A. Springer, *Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, Bonn, 1867, p. 171, goes very fully into the subject of the influence of the Reformation on Art.

39. The literature on the subject of Dürer is remarkably voluminous, and the reproductions of his plates and woodcuts many and excellent. The earliest work of any scientific accuracy is Campe's *Reliquien von A. Dürer*, Nürnberg, 1828; J. Heller's ambitious work, *Das Leben und die Werke A. Dürer's*, got no farther than the second volume, containing an uncritical catalogue of his works, Bamberg, 1827; K. B. Stark's essay on Dürer is still well worth reading (reprinted in Stark's *Vorträgen und Aufsätzen*, Leipzig, 1880); A. von Eye, *Leben und Wirken Dürer's*, Nördlingen, 2d ed., 1869. The most important work of late years is M. Thausing's exhaustive work, *Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, Leipzig, 1876 (translated by F. Eaton, *Albert Dürer, his Life and Works*, London, 1882, to which all page references are given). W. Schmidt at the same time published in Dohme's *Kunst und Künstler* his own peculiar views of the master. [This paper is translated by A. H. Keane in *The Early Teutonic, Italian, and French Masters*, London, 1880.] Of more recent date is *A. Dürer, his Teachers, his Rivals, and his Scholars*, by Professor Sidney Colvin; twelve chapters or essays in the *Portfolio*, 1877. Ch. Ephrussi, who has published various monographs on Dürer's works, contributed an article to the *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1883. [See also by the same author, *A. Dürer et ses dessins*, Paris, 1882; and *Un Voyage inédit d'Albert Dürer*, Paris, 1881.] Prof. Colvin directs his attention chiefly to the master's engraved works; the French writer has studied his drawings, [and was the first (says H. Grimm) to appreciate their importance.—A compendious volume is *A. Dürer* (in the *Great Artists' Series*), by R. Ford Heath.]

40. On the subject of Dürer's theories, see Zahn, *Dürer's Kunstlehre*, Leipzig, 1866; G. Frizzoni in *Archivio veneto*, 1878, i. p. 251; ii. p. 5.

41. This, and indeed most of the authentic information we possess concerning the painter's private and domestic affairs, is derived from his own records, which have been edited in modern German by M. Thausing, *Dürer's Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime*, Wien, 1872; Eitelberger, *Quellenschriften zur Kunstgesch.*, iii.

42. This has lately been contradicted by Ch. Ephrussi, but on insufficient grounds; *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1877, p. 605.

43. [On the subject of Dürer's studies of the antique, many papers have appeared in German Art periodicals. See vol. ii. of the German edition of this work, p. 372, and the second note on p. 793.]

44. F. Harck, *Das Original von Dürer's Postreiter*, Innsbruck, 1880.

45. [Charles Narrey, *A. Dürer à Venise et dans les Pays Bas.* (27 illustrations), Paris, 1866.]

46. Two of Dürer's works were printed while he was still living: in 1525, *Die Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und Richtscheit*, an attempt to construct objects by mathematical rules, illustrated with many drawings; and in 1527, *Unterricht zur Befestigung der Städte, Schlösser und Flecken* (see G. von Imhof, *A. Dürer in seiner Bedeutung für die moderne Befestigungskunst*, Nördlingen, 1871). In 1528, not till after his death, his most important work appeared, the Four Treatises on the proportions of the human figure. Fragments of more comprehensive works exist: four vols. of MS. in the British Museum, one in the Dresden Library, and one at Bamberg.

47. Eaton, *Dürer*, ii. p. 161, gives a full description of this and other works.

48. Thausing decides in favour of the Florence picture, Eaton, ii. pp. 3-5. Eisenmann is equally positive on the other side (Lützow's *Zeitsch.*, 1876, p. 274). He regards the Florence picture as a copy by Hans Baldung Grien, but will not decide as to the Madrid example, as he has not seen it. Waagen regards that as the genuine original. I saw the Madrid picture when still under the influence of Thausing's arguments and could hardly make up my mind in favour of the Florence duplicate (*Kunst und Naturskizzen*, K. Woermann, Düsseldorf, 1880, ii. p. 137). Now, however, having compared my own impressions with those of other German critics who have been to Madrid, I cannot hesitate to pronounce that the Madrid picture is the genuine one.

49. Ch. Ephrussi, *Étude sur le Triptyque d'A. Dürer, dit le Tableau d'autel de Heller*, Paris, 1876. See Thausing and Ch. Ephrussi in vol. xiii. of Lützow's *Zeitschrift;* Thausing, *Dürer's Briefe*, etc., pp. 24-37.

50. Thausing mentions a replica of this portrait painted on parchment, Eaton, vol. i. p. 131; from the latest notice of this picture in *Kunstchr.*, 1882, xvii. p. 598, the original was the painting on parchment and that on panel only a copy. Herr Eugen Felix is now the possessor of both. [See Lady Eastlake, *Five Great Painters*, London, 1883, on Dürer's portraits of himself.]

51. For full information on the subject of the "Fürlegerin," see Eaton, i. p. 188.

52. B. Hausmann, *Dürer's Kupferstiche, Radirungen, Holzschnitte und Zeichnungen*, Hannover, 1861, p. 103; Ch. Ephrussi, *Les dessins d'Albert Dürer.* [An important series of reproductions is now in progress at Berlin; see H. Grimm, *Der erste Band des Corpus sämmtlicher Handzeichnungen A. Dürer's*,

in *Deutsche Rundschau*, vols. xxxix., xl., 1884. On a volume of drawings by Albert Dürer in the British Museum see J. Comyns Carr, in the *Portfolio*, 1875, p. 92.—L. Fagan, *Handbook to the Dept. of Prints and Drawings in the B. Mus.*]

53. Ch. Ephrussi, *Les bains de femmes d'Albert Dürer*, Nürnberg, 1881.

54. F. X. Stoeger, *Vignettes d'Albert Dürer*, München, 1850. [G. Hirth, *Albrecht Dürer's Federzeichnungen*, etc., phototype reproductions, Leipzig, 1882. These give a good idea of the fancy and fun bordering on buffoonery. The Emperor, it would seem, required amusing over his prayers.]

55. R. von Rettberg, *Dürer's Kupferstiche*, etc., München, 1871. See Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, i. pp. 66-78; Woltmann, *Holbein*, Bunnett's trans., pp. 198-204; Eaton, *Dürer*, i. p. 259 ff.

56. [See Chatto, *Treatise on Wood-engraving*, 255.] Dürer's sketch for the Imperial Car, 1514-15, and the finished drawing, 1518, are in the Albertina. [All Dürer's engraved work has been facsimiled or photographed; see *l'Œuvre de A. Dürer, Amand Durand.* Reproductions of all the great series have been published.]

57. It has been supposed, since Bartsch wrote, that the W stood for Wenzel von Olmütz and that these plates are copies from Dürer's. Thausing pointed out that Dürer's plates are the latest (Eaton, i. p. 200), and he claims the W for Wolgemut; but it is hard to believe that Wolgemut could invent anything so full of purpose and expression. A. Springer ascribed the W to Jacob Walch, Jacopo de' Barbari (see Lützow's *Zeitsch.*, 1877, pp. 1 and 38). This hypothesis, however, will not stand the test of a comparison of J. de' Barbari's genuine works with those of the master W, as Thausing has recently admitted (in *Mitth. des Instituts für Österr. Geschichtsforschung*, ii. p. 283. [G. Duplessis, in the text to *l'Œuvre d'Albert Dürer reproduite, par Amand Durand*, Paris, unhesitatingly decides in favour of Wenceslas of Olmütz and that the plates are copies from Dürer.] The only solution of the difficulty seems to me to lie in the theory here advanced, which Prof. Sidney Colvin puts forward with reference to two of the plates, in the *Portfolio* for 1877, p. 189, agreeing with Thausing that W stands for Wolgemut. Since then, in 1880, Fritz Harck, in his inaugural dissertation at Innsbruck, has so carefully analysed the reasons for supporting it that perhaps A. Woltmann himself might yield to conviction in contradiction to his opinion expressed (note 29 of this Appendix) that Wolgemut was not an engraver. This theory at any rate enables us to accept Thausing's evidence as to the priority of the W plates and yet regard them as Dürer's composition. ["This view of the relations of the two men is not without difficulties in itself, . . . but in the present state of our knowledge no other view seems to me to be tenable."—S. Colvin, *Portfolio*, 1877, p. 190. For reproductions of Dürer's plates, see Amand Durand, *op. cit.*; W. Lübke, *Sämmtliche Kupferstiche*; forty-nine photographs by Obernetter, Nürem., 1876.]

58. Eaton, *Dürer*, ii. p. 69.

59. That Dürer intended to depict the other three temperaments as a sequel to the "Melencolia" seems most probable; but it seems no less improbable that "The Knight and Death" or the "S. Jerome" could have been meant to form part of the series. A MS. note by H. W. von Kressenstein, in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings, of the seventeenth century (not the end of the sixteenth, as is erroneously stated in the *Kunstchronik*, 1878, p. 22), says that the "Knight and Death" illustrates an event, and that the knight is one Philippus Rhink. Some Nüremberg tradition may be the subject.

60. Johann Neudörfer, *Nachrichten von Kunstlern und Werkleuten in Nürnberg*, 1547 (reprinted in Eitelberger's *Quellenschriften X.*, 1875); R. von Rettberg, *Nürnberg's Kunstleben*, Stuttgart, 1854; Jos. Baader, *Beiträge zur Kunstges. Nürnberg*, Nördlingen, 1860; 2d ser., 1862.

61. Eaton, *Dürer*, i. p. 50; ii. p. 19.

62. In the tax lists of 1539 he pays the taxes; in 1540 his widow. She sold her house on the Monday after the nativity of the Virgin, 1540, as I am obligingly informed by Herr Mayer of Nördlingen, to whom I am indebted for various details derived from the annals of that town. [Keane, *Early Teutonic*, etc., gives Rosenberg's articles from *Kunst und Künstler*, on Springinklee, Schäufelein, Suess, Penz, the Behams, the Little Masters, and others. *Theurdank* was reproduced in 1882 by the Holbein Society, Chatto, *Treatise*, p. 281.]

63. His family name was formerly, but erroneously, given as *Wagner*, and again as *Fuess*; a signed picture by him at Cracow proves it to have been *Suess*. A drawing by Dürer for the Anspach picture has lately been acquired for the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings. M. Thausing, on the "*Laurea*" *zum Triumphzuge K. Maximilians und zwei Gemälde von Hans von Kulmbach*; Zahn's *Jahrb.*, ii. pp. 175-181, and i. pp. 21 and 361.

64. [W. B. Scott, *The Little Masters*, with autotype illustrations (Great Artists' Series, London, 1880); S. Colvin in the *Portfolio*, 1877, *Albert Dürer, his Teachers*, etc.]

65. Ad. Rosenberg, *S. und B. Beham*, Leipzig, 1875; Ed. Aumüller, *Les Petits maîtres allemands*, München, 1881, useful as giving information as to the impressions of their engravings; G. K. W. Seibt, *Studien zur Kunst-und Culturgesch.*, Frankfort, 1882; W. von Seidlitz, an admirable article in the *Jahrb. D.; K. Pr. Sammlungen*, iii. pp. 149 and 225; and in Meyer's *Kunstlerlex.*, 1882, p. 310. [S. Colvin, *Portfolio*, 1877, p. 150.]

66. With regard to a second table in Berlin and one at Wiesbaden, see G. Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgesch.*, pp. 408-412. A. Woltmann inserted an article on Barthel Beham in the *Catalogue of the Fürstenberg Coll.*, Karlsruhe, 1870; and again in the *Allg. deutschen Biog.*, ii. p. 185.

67. See Peter Flötner's *Kunstbuch*, Berlin, 1882. [Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 176.]

68. See Dürer's letter to the Elector (Thausing's ed., p. 166), with Neudörfer's information (Lochner's ed., p. 143); also Waagen, *Künstler in Deutschland*, ii. p. 382.

69. The most complete study of this artist is by C. W. Neumann and W. Schmidt in Meyer's *Kunstlerlex.*, i. p. 536. [See W. B. Scott and S. Colvin as above; Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Altdorfer's "Fall of Man" has been reproduced in facsimile by the Holbein Soc.]

70. R. von Schuegraf, *Lebensgeschichtliche Nachrichten über den Maler M. Ostendorfer*, Regensburg, 1849. [A picture at Ince Hall is described by Waagen.]

71. Christ. Scheurl, a dedication to L. von Cranach of his discourse in Latin on the celebrities of Wittenberg; Matth. Gunderam's memorial of 1556, in the ball of the church tower of Wittenberg (reprinted in 1750 by Heller and Schuchardt). Of later works on Cranach, Jos. Heller's book, *Lucas Cranach's Leben und Werke*, 2d. ed., 1854, has been superseded by Chr. Schuchardt's more important work, *Lucas Cranach des älteren Leben*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1851-71, with Kemlein's Photographic Album (*Sammlung*) to illustrate it. O. Eisenmann, in *Kunst und Künstler*, vols. i., xii., xiii., p. 28; A. Woltmann in *Allg. Deutschen Biog.*, iv., 1876. Scheibler's recent researches are still unpublished. For the insufficient evidence for the name Sunder, which has been given to him by some modern writers, see Schuchardt, i. p. 15, footnote. Proof that his name was certainly Müller is adduced by F. Warnecke, *Lucas Cranach der Ältere*, Görlitz, 1880. At page 11 a passage is quoted from a notice by Val. Sternenboke, published in 1609: "And the emperor asked what his name was, and he answered that his name, as given him by his parents, was Lucas Müller, of the town of Cranach in Franconia; but that for his art he was called Lucas the painter, and that the Elector of Saxony had called him Lucas Cranach, from his native town."

72. Even Schuchardt, vol. ii. p. 73, has adopted the error. See O. Eisenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Scheibler put forward the hypothesis suggested in the text, and, having now had the opportunity of comparing his copious MS. notes with the pictures to which they refer, I entirely agree with him. See also J. Meyer's and W. Bode's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Berlin Gallery* (*Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*), 1878, p. 77; and W. Schmidt in Schestag's *Repertorium*, i. p. 411.

73. The monogram on this picture, which I have not seen, corresponds with that of some woodcuts of 1505 and 1506; and, on the other hand, it must be expressly stated that the style of Cranach's woodcuts at this period quite agrees with that of the pictures ascribed to the pseudo-Grünewald. Observe, for example, the series of Apostles (Bartsch, 23).

74. Lately spoken of as an important work by the pseudo-Grünewald. It is, however, mentioned in Dreyhaupt's *Beschreibung des Saalkreises*, 1749, i. p. 1019. Kugler too, *Kl. Schr.*, ii. 32, speaks of it as an altar-piece by L. Cranach. The fact that it was painted for the Catholic Elector of Mainz is no evidence against its being by Cranach, though executed in part by his pupils; he painted a portrait of the Elector himself in 1527.

75. [Cranach's *Passionale*, reproduction, Leipzig, 1878; *Heiligthumbuch*, reproduction, Hirth, Mun., 1883; *Ringenkunst*, reproduction, Massmann, Leipzig, 1869.]

76. Schuchardt, iii. p. 38; and Hagen in *Zahn's Jahrb.*, vi., 1873, p. 124.

77. See the drawing in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings. The pictures of the Judgment of Paris have been supposed, but erroneously, to illustrate a mediæval legend.

78. Schuchardt, i. pp. 41, 46, 47. For Cranach's sons, Schuchardt, iii. pp. 88-116.

79. Schuchardt, iii. pp. 92, 116.

80. Schuchardt, i. p. 245.

81. Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, iv. p. 32. O. Eisenmann, *Allg. deutschen Biog.*, iii.

82. G. Wustmann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Malerei in Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1879. The opinion expressed on pp. 42-51, that Hans Krell was the painter of the portrait of the Elector Moritz seems to be insufficiently proved. See G. W. Geyser, *Gesch. der Malerei in Leipzig*, 1858, p. 19.

83. Alwin Schultz, *Urkundliche Gesch. der Breslauer Malerinnung*, Breslau, 1866.

84. Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, i. p. 485. See too Fiorillo, *Gesch. der zeich. Künste in Deutschland*, ii. p. 37. A print of the Halberstadt altar-piece in Dr. F. G. H. Lucanus's book, *Der Dom zu Halberstadt*, 1837. Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, i. p. 139.

85. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, Nürnberg, 1675, ii. p. 236; and in the second part, section 3, 1679, p. 68. It was Woltmann who restored this master to his rightful place in the history of art. Besides an article in Lützow's *Zeitschrift*, 1873, viii. p. 321, he contributed papers to Dohme's *Kunst und Künstler*, vol. i. [Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 186] and to the *Allgem. deutschen Biographie*, vol. x. See, too, his work, *Deutsche Kunst im Elsass*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 247-262. These essays have superseded all earlier writings on the subject; at the same time they have by no means exhausted it. As to the pseudo-Grünewald, see *ante*, p. 166.

86. A small picture of the Resurrection in the Basle Museum, though ascribed to Hans Grünewald in an old inventory, has lately been regarded with doubt. I failed to convince myself that the altar-wings at the back of the high altar in the Frauenkirche at Munich—the Conversion of S. Paul, and S. Martin on Horseback—are by him, thus agreeing with Schmidt, Bayersdorfer, and Reber, and differing from Eisenmann, Woltmann, and Scheibler. A predella in the Stiftskirche at Aschaffenburg, which Scheibler attributes to him, I was unable to see, as it had lately been removed. Eisenmann detected Grünewald's hand in a Crucifixion, now in the Cassel Gallery, which, in fact, resembles the Colmar picture. Scheibler ascribes to him a small Crucifixion, in a private room at the Basle Museum, and a S. Anthony at Cologne (No. 543 in the Museum Catalogue) which also is like the Isenheim altar, and some pictures in the Belvedere at Vienna. Bayersdorfer and Scheibler are justified in attaching his name to a very well-composed and warmly-coloured Crucifixion now in the gallery at Schleissheim.

87. I failed to discover this picture in any public gallery at Ratisbon. See Waagen, *Künstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland*, ii. p. 130.

88. Original documents discovered by Schneegans, in H. Schreiber's *Gesch. der Stadt Freiburg*, iii. p. 240. O. Eisenmann's life in Meyer's *Künstlerlex.* is the most comprehensive that has yet appeared, vol. ii. p. 613. See also Woltmann, *Kunst im Elsass;* [and in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 192]; Eaton, *Dürer*, vol. i. p. 173.

89. Formerly attributed to A. Dürer, and consequently undervalued. See, for instance, Kugler, *Kleine Schr.*, ii. p. 318. It was Scheibler who pointed out that it was a work by Baldung. Waagen had, however, recognised its parentage; see *Kunstwerke und Künstler*. It nevertheless was brought to Stuttgart in 1882 as the work of an "unknown Netherlandish painter." [For his engraved work, see Chatto, *Treatise*, etc., p. 321.]

90. A. Woltmann, *Deutsche Kunst im Elsass*, p. 273. For *Vogtherr*, see Passavant, iii. p. 344; for *F. Brun*, Passavant, iv. p. 176; and Woltmann, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

91. See Huber on the family of Burckmair in *Zeitschrift des hist. Ver. für Schwaben*, i., pts. 2 and 3; Woltmann in *Allge. deutschen Biog.*, 1876, iii. p. 576; [and in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Chatto, *op. cit.*, p. 277].

92. Woltmann calls this central panel "the Coronation of the Virgin." This is an error, since the Virgin already wears a crown. The Saviour raises one hand in blessing, holding the globe on His knee with the other.

93. Chatto, *Treatise*, etc., pp. 278, 286.

94. L. Scheibler, who has devoted much study to this artist, considers the following as unrecognised works by Amberger:—A Nobleman, in the Augsburg Gallery, dated 1523; a Married Couple, 1525, in the Belvedere; Georg von Frundsberg, in the Berlin Gallery; Moritz von Ellen, in the Harrach Collection at Vienna; a Young Man, with a red hat and sleeves and a black cloak, 1529, in the Pinacothek; a Married Couple, attributed to Dürer, and a Monk and Nun, ascribed to Aldegrever, in the Brunswick Gallery. The following are recognised works by this master:—The portraits of Wilh. Mörz, Afra Rehm, Conrad Peutinger and his wife, in the Maximilianeum, Augsburg; Heinrich Mörz and Afra Rehm, in the Stuttgart Museum of Antiquities; and Christopher Baumgärtner, in the Belvedere, Vienna.

95. C. Grüneisen and Ed. Mauch, *Ulm's Kunstleben im Mittelalter*, Ulm, 1840, p. 53. See too Hassler, *Ulm's Kunstgesch. im Mittelalter*, 1855, p. 119; M. G. Dursch, *Aesthetick der christl. bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, 1856, 2d ed., p. 437.

96. *Catalogue of the Collection belonging to the Princes of Fürstenberg*, 1870, pp. 9, 10. See O. Eisenmann in vol. viii. of Schnaase, *Gesch. der bildende Künste*, 1879, p. 457. W. Schmidt would seem to entertain doubts as to the identity of "the Master of the Hirscher Collection" and Bernhard Strigel as the painter of the portraits, to judge by the naming in the latest catalogue of the Pinacothek, 1881, pp. 14, 45.

97. Alfred Woltmann in his great work, *Hans Holbein und sein Zeit*, Leipzig, 2d ed., 1874-76—translated into English by E. Bunnett, *Holbein and his Time* (from the 1st ed.), Lond., 1872—has summarised and superseded all earlier lives of the master. The chapter on Holbein in Carel van Mander, is, however, worthy of mention, *Het Schilderboek*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1604. Simultaneously with the 1st edition of Woltmann's work R. W. Wornum brought out *Some Account of the Work and Life of Holbein.* Paul Mantz published in 1879 *Hans Holbein*, a handsome book, which, however, contributed nothing new to our knowledge. The latest work on Holbein is the life written by Ed. His of Basle for the *Allg. deutschen Biog.*, vol. xii. p. 765. I shall also have occasion to allude to minor papers on special questions of detail.

98. *Holbein*, Bunnett, p. 86, as to a forged inscription on the S. Anne with Christ and the Virgin, and the consequent error and confusion. ["*Hl. Anna Selbdritt*" is the name given to this arrangement of the Holy Family without S. Joseph.]

99. *Holbein*, Bunnett, p. 91.

100. Woltmann, in the 1st edition of his *Holbein*, spoke of it as an early picture by Hans Holbein the younger; in the 2d, however, he utterly rejects the idea of its genuineness, vol. ii. p. 132. L. Scheibler, who has lately had an opportunity of examining it, certifies the authenticity of the inscription and the resemblance of the work to the S. Sebastian at Munich; indeed it can be detected even in a photograph. H. Grimm (in *Kunst und Künstler*, ii. p. 127) and Fechner (in Naumann's *Archiv*, 1870, p. 25) had already pronounced this work to be by the elder Holbein.

101. *Hans Holbein der älteren Silberstiftzeichnungen*, etc., Photographs, ed. by A. Woltmann, Nürem., 1882.

102. The search for the date of Holbein's birth was a result of the discovery of the Augsburg forgeries. The following writers have contributed to the elucidation of the question:—Herman Grimm (*Holbein's Geburtsjahr*, Berlin, 1867); W. Schmidt (in Zahn's *Jahrbuch*, 1870, iii. pp. 207-219); Ed. His-Heusler (Zahn's *Jahrb.*, 1871, iv. 220). This last writer has also searched the archives of Basle for mention of Holbein and published the result in Zahn's *Jahrb.*, 1870, iii. pp. 113-173. His-Heusler's article on Holbein in the *Allg. deutsche Biog.*, 1880, xii. p. 715.

103. G. Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgesch.*, Berlin, 1876, p. 402, engraved by the "Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst" of Vienna, with elucidatory text by S. Vögelin.

104. The original sketch for "Leäna before the Judges" is in the Basle Museum.

105. There is, however, no more cogent evidence of this tour; Carel van Mander absolutely denies it. Ed. His, on the other hand, argues in its favour, *Allg. deutschen Biog.*, 1880, xii. p. 716.

106. The doubt as to whether the picture in the Dresden Gallery or that in the possession of the Princess Karl of Hesse is the original has, quite recently, been a burning question. To me, and to most students of art, it was definitely settled in 1871, when the two examples hung side by side at the exhibition of Holbein's works at Dresden. The Darmstadt picture [bequeathed to the town by the Princess], though sadly disfigured by repainting, as for instance in the head of the Virgin, is undoubtedly genuine; the Dresden Madonna is a later copy, painted unquestionably by a skilled hand, and slightly altered from the original, but deceiving the unpractised eye by its better preservation. The handling of texture in the Darmstadt picture is quite masterly, the portraits lifelike, and the sentiment purely devotional. It is not denied even by our opponents that the Darmstadt picture was the original painting; they only assert that the Dresden example is a replica by Holbein himself. But the error is self-evident. It would be impossible to refer to all the literature of the subject. The reader may be referred to Bayersdorfer's remarks in the text to Bruckmann's photographs from the Darmstadt Collection, and the observations in Woltmann's *Holbein*, 2d ed., pp. 295-314.

107. This picture [rightly attributed by Waagen, *Art Treasures*, iii. p. 138] was erroneously ascribed to Massys by Woltmann, who was misled by some documents, in his account of his visit to Longford Castle (in Lützow's *Zeitschrift*, i. p. 198); but he corrected the mistake in the 1st edition of his *Holbein*, Bunnett,

p. 188. I myself never for an instant doubted as to the painter, as my MS. notes serve to prove; but, unfortunately, in correcting the proofs of my *Kunst- und Naturskizzen* I fell into a temporary confusion and oversight.

108. [Chatto, *Treatise*, chap. vi.; *The Holbein Society's Publications and Reproductions*, London and Manchester, 1869, etc. A collection of choice German woodcuts was exhibited at the Burlington F. A. Club in 1882. See the Catalogue printed for the members.]

109. S. Vögelin, *Ergänzungen und Nachweissungen zum Holzschnittwerk Hans Holbein des jüngeren*, Rep., 1879, ii. p. 129, and 1882, v. pp. 179, 203.

110. The Book of Revelation was included in Petri's edition of the New Testament, and in Wolff's after 1522. S. Vögelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-320, has demonstrated that although they were brought out at the same time in a separate edition, they were originally intended for the Lyons Vulgate. He also has made it quite clear that Holbein only executed these illustrations as a stop-gap when he had no orders for more important works on hand.

111. Fr. Lippmann, *Der Todtentanz von Hans Holbein*, photographs from the 1st edition, Berlin, 1879. [Chatto, *Treatise*, p. 371; Holbein Society Reproduction.]

112. S. Vögelin, *Die Wandgemälde im bischofl. Palast zu Chur* (Coire), published by the Zurich Society of Antiquaries, expresses his view that these pictures and not the woodcuts are the original form in which Holbein cast his ideas; indeed, that Holbein himself painted some of them with his own hand. A. Woltmann has, however, controverted this opinion, *Kunstchronik*, 1878, xiii. pp. 281, 299. The wall-paintings at Chur are nevertheless of great interest; they are imitated from Holbein's designs by some Swiss painter, who has altered them in many instances and divested them of much of their polemical satire on the side of the reformation.

113. Various details as to Holbein's life and death in England have been collected by B. W. Franks and G. Scharf in the *Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 81, and vol. xxxix.

114. *Holbein*, Bunnett, p. 349; M. Lehrs, Lützow's *Zeitschr.*, xvi. p. 99.

115. [A collection of Hollar's plates was exhibited at the Burlington F. A. Club in 1881. See Chatto, *Treatise*, p. 380 ff, for the *Catechism* and other woodcuts of this period.]

116. S. Larpent, *Sur le Portrait de Morett dans la Gallerie de Dresden*, Christiania, 1881; and an article in *Kunstchronik*, xvii. p. 7, which, however, gives an inaccurate idea of Larpent's views. He expressly says, "I am not sufficiently acquainted with Holbein's work to venture to assert that the Dresden portrait is not by him." As a matter of fact, internal and historical evidence concur to put it beyond a doubt that it is. The study of the head now hangs by its side. At the same time Larpent would seem to be right in his opinion that the person represented is not the English goldsmith Morett, but Le Sieur de Morette, a Frenchman who met Holbein at the English court.

117. So says Rahn in his *Gesch. der bildenden Kunst in der Schweiz*, Zurich, 1876; but as this work comes down no later than the close of the Middle Ages, it only alludes incidentally to the masters of whom we treat here. An earlier writer was J. C. Fuessli, *Gesch. der besten Künstler in der Schweiz*, 1769.

118. Not so named in the catalogue of 1880 (Nos. 110, 111, 115, and 118). But there is no ground for doubt.

119. Passavant, iii. p. 425; His-Heusler in *Zahn Jahrb.*, v., vi.

120. A. Woltmann and S. Vögelin in Meyer's *Künstlerlex.*, p. 331; J. J. Amiet, *Hans Asper's des Malers Leistungen für Solothurn*, 1866.

121. An early monograph on this artist is "*Nicolaus Manuel*," by C. Grüneisen, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1837. More recently have appeared F. S. Vögelin's notes in the introduction to Baechtold and Vetter, *Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz*, Frauenfeld, 1878, ii. p. lix. His real name was *Alleman*, which he translated into the German form *Deutsch*, and Nikolaus Manuel were his baptismal names. Baechtold, *op. cit.*, xxi. and xxii. [Chatto, *op. cit.*, p. 314.]

122. See F. S. Vögelin, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxi.-xcv. The landscapes have obviously been added, as Vögelin surmises, by the copyist. Consequently there is no trace of the character which led Grüneisen and Kugler, *History of Painting*, p. 220, to infer that Manuel had sat at the feet of Titian.

123. Bartsch, 1-10. The plates mentioned by Passavant, iii. p. 434, are not by Manuel.

124. We owe more to the researches of the past generation in this particular branch of our subject than is generally acknowledged; for instance, to Passavant in Schorn's *Kunstblatt*, 1833, and *Tour of a German Artist in England*, London, 1836; Kugler, *Rheinreise, Kl. Schr.*, ii. pp. 301-326; E. Förster, *Gesch. der*

deutschen Kunst, 1851, i. p. 152, and in the text to the *Denkmale;* J. J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben, etc., Kölnischer Künstler*, Köln, 1850; *Die Meister der altkölnischen Malerschule*, Köln, 1852; and Waagen, *Handbook of Painting, German Schools*, p. 224. L. Scheibler, in his inaugural dissertation, published at Bonn in 1880, has done justice to their labours, in some cases confirming their conclusions, and in others rectifying or adding to their information. I myself am largely indebted to Scheibler for a mass of information privately communicated to me, and can express my concurrence in almost every instance when I have been enabled to verify his observations.

125. Merlo, *Die Familie Hackeney*, Köln, 1863, p. 70.

126. This master was formerly supposed to be identical with Lucas van Leyden, and afterwards with one *Meister Christoph* of Cologne, of whose existence there is no doubt ample evidence, but at an earlier date. A. von Wurzbach's recent attempt to identify him with *Schongauer* in his monograph on this painter, which is in other respects full of information (Vienna, 1880), has met with universal dissent. Lübke had already proved that a comparison of their works could lead only to an opposite conclusion; Lützow's *Zeitsch.*, xvi. p. 83; and the technique of the Cologne pictures confirms this view.

127. Compare the documents quoted by J. J. Merlo with A. von Wurzbach's observations, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 73. It must be admitted that Wurzbach is right in saying that the pictures are commonly assigned to too late a period.

128. I cannot agree to Wurzbach's view that these angels alone are the work of the master and all the rest mere "bungling," *op. cit.*, p. 80, especially as they in fact show least traces of Schongauer's influence. It is only on the outside of the wings that I can detect the work of a feebler hand.

129. See a monograph by J. J. Merlo, Leipzig, 1864. His family name was more frequently written Woensam than Wonsam, and consequently Worms has occasionally been written Woerms.

130. J. J. Merlo, *Nachrichten*, etc., p. 35. Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, iv. p. 86. W. Schmidt in *Allg. deutschen Biog.*, ii. 1875. [See G. W. Reid, in *Fine Arts Quart. Rev.*, ii., 1864, p. 372; Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 179.]

131. This discovery is due to J. A. Wolff, who has searched the archives of Calcar. See his article in Lützow's *Zeits.*, 1876, xi. pp. 339, 374. This master must not be mistaken for Hans von Calcar, *Johannes Stephanus Calcariensis*, a pupil of Titian's. See too J. A. Wolff, *Die Nikolaikirche zu Kalkar*, 1880, pp. 17, 58.

132. J. A. Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 16.

133. In the Calcar documents the name is written *Jan Joest*, and in the accusative *Jan Joesten;* the Haarlem archives have as a rule *Jan Joosten*, and once *Jan Joestz.* See A. van der Willigen, *Les Artistes de Haarlem*, 1870, p. 54. C. Ed. Taurel, *Eigen Haard*, 1877, Nos. 17, 18, pp. 130, 143.

134. Eisenmann was the first to suggest the identity of these two masters (in the *Augsburg Allg. Zeitung*, Oct. 28, 1874). See too Lutzow's *Zeitschr.*, 1874, x. p. 74. As a result some important pictures by the *Master of the Death of the Virgin* have been dubbed with the name of *Jan Joest* in various galleries. After careful study and comparison I cannot doubt the close connection of the two painters, but their identification appears to me to be rash. J. J. Merlo, *Die Familie Hackeney*, p. 68.

135. The reading "*De Bruyn*" is inaccurate. See J. J. Merlo in *Nachrichten*, pp. 69-74; and in *Die Meister der Altkölnishenschule*, pp. 158, 162.

136. W. Lübke, *Die Mittelalterliche Kunst in Westfalen*, Leip., 1853, p. 360.

137. First recognised by Scheibler; an unquestionable work by the *Dünwegge.*

138. "Cologne gave to Westphalia more than she received; with Cleves and the Lower Rhine it was just the reverse," says J. B. Nordhoff in an article in the *Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden*, Bonn, 1873, part liii., p. 27.

139. A. Woltmann and W. Schmidt in Meyer's *Kunstlerlex.*, i. p. 239; [S. Colvin in the *Portfolio*, 1877, p. 166.]

140. Lübke, *Mittelalterliche Kunst*, etc., p. 366 ff; Becker, in Kugler's *Museum*, 1837.

141. J. B. Nordhoff, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Münsterschen Humanismus*, Münster, 1874.

142. It has no monogram. In the catalogue of the Münster Exhibition, 1879, it was ascribed, contrary to all the received opinions, to *Ludger zum Ring*, as I think wrongly.

143. M. Pangerl, in *Quellenschriften*, xiii., 1878, *Notizen zur Gesch. der Malerei in Böhmen.* A more recent article by Luszczkiewicz on the painters of Cracow in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was reprinted by the Cracow Ac. of Sciences (from the transactions, *Mittheilungen des Inst. für Oester. Gesch.*, 1881.

144. Schnaase, in vol. viii. of *Gesch. der bild. Kunste*, 1879, ascribed them to the Nüremberger *Caspar Rosenthaler.* See too B. Schöpf in *Mitth. der k. k. Centralcommission*, 1863, viii. p. 108. But in 1865 D. Schoenherr published a reply in the same journal, from which we learn that the "illustrious" *Rosenthaler* is to be recognised as the architect of the convent and the donor of the picture, but not its painter. Ilg, in the *Mitth. der k. k. C. c.* for 1881, gives 1512-26 as the dates, instead of 1516-28.

145. D. Schoenherr, in *Archiv für Gesch. und Alterthumskunde Tyrol*, 1865, p. 317. There is a portrait of *Paul Dax*, painted by himself, as a soldier, in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck.

146. Ernst Birk, *Jak. Seisenegger* (*Mitth. des k. k. Cc.*, 1864, p. 70), published separately.

BOOK III.

THE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE.

SECTION III.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE.

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE SCHOOLS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Moorish, Italian, and Flemish influence—Arragon—Castile—Early illuminated books—Seville and Toledo—Art in Portugal—Schools of Lisbon and Vizeu.

THE progress of painting in France has already been treated as dependent in a great degree on that of the Netherlands, and a short section must here be devoted to that of the Spanish Peninsula. During the Middle Ages the spirit of the Moors, essentially hostile to the representative arts, gave the tone to the culture even of the northern and Christian portion of the country, and only architecture found freedom and opportunity for development. In the fifteenth century, however, the struggle of Christianity against Islam, though not yet ended, was practically decided, and in the three kingdoms of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, a demand immediately arose for Church pictures. The natural result was the importation from Italy and from the Netherlands of painters or of their works. Of the Italians who visited Spain at a very early date we may mention *Gherardo Starnina* (vol. i. p. 478) and *Dello Delli*, born in Florence 1404, and still living in Spain in 1455[1]; of the Flemings, no less a man than *Jan van Eyck*; while *Petrus Cristus* and *Rogier van der Weyden* painted some of their most important works for Spanish churches. It is therefore quite intelligible that some of the native artists should have adopted the style of the northern schools, and some that of the Italians, and that we should presently find them amalgamated in the Spanish and Portuguese art of the fifteenth century. On the whole, the Flemish influence proved the stronger; still, the national genius constantly pierces through, adopting native types and inspired by fervid religious pathos; expressing itself, too, in a peculiar treatment of colour and a lavish use of gilding.

I. THE PROGRESS OF PAINTING IN ARRAGON,[2] especially at Zaragoza, Barcelona, and Valencia, has left very few names on record, and those fail to give us any distinct clue to the personal history of their owners. We can only study the works that remain, and these suffice to show that Italian influence was not merely the earliest in the east of the Peninsula, but long remained paramount. At Barcelona the splendid Gothic cloisters of the cathedral display a fine historical series of mural and easel paintings. An altar-wall—*retablo*—of the earlier part of the fifteenth century, is grandly executed in

tempera, with a plain gold ground, in a style we may designate as Giottesque; while a picture of the Transfiguration, of a somewhat later date, on a gold ground, shows the stamp of the Florentine realistic school of the end of the century.

Another work in the same cloister reminds us of Van Eyck, and the Flemish school has plainly set its mark on a picture in the Church of S. Miguel at Barcelona, which is signed with the name, elsewhere unknown, of *Ludovico Dalmāu.* In Valencia, again, we find traces of the Flemish painters; but Italian feeling is predominant, as in a fresco of the Adoration of the Kings, of the end of the fifteenth century, in a chapel of the cathedral. Lücke indeed asserts, in a full description of the retablo in the same church, that it is the work of two Italian painters—*Pablo de Aregio* and *Francesco Napoli.* This work, which was not finished till 1506, has affinities with Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo, but retains much of the crudeness of the earlier time.

II. IN CASTILE AND LEON, and also in the various and essentially different towns of ANDALUSIA, which by the middle of the fifteenth century had become annexed to the kingdom, there was a more eager literary vitality than in Arragon, and the arts of illuminating books was consequently as flourishing there as anywhere in Europe. The mass of volumes preserved in the libraries of the Cathedral at Seville and the Escorial, in the Academy of History, and in the Palace of Madrid,[3] gives an interesting study of its progress from the Middle Ages till the seventeenth century. In the earliest we see the trace of French art; during the fifteenth century Flemish influence comes conspicuously to the front, giving way in the sixteenth to Italian taste and treatment.

We can only glance at the earliest examples. The initials of the *Libro llamado Comes,* in the Historical Academy, Madrid, are of the eighth or ninth century. The figures are archaic, of the old pen-flourish type, but the strong yellow tinting within black outlines is exceedingly curious. Two copies of the Apocalypse, in the National Library, Madrid, though of the tenth and eleventh centuries, are still quite barbarous in drawing; but here again the tinting, in which a bright lemon yellow is conspicuous, foreshadows the characteristic colouring of the Spanish school. Of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there are interesting examples in the Escorial; while the Seville Cathedral Library is rich in treasures of the fifteenth. Here we find a *Pontificale*—with the arms of Archbishop Alonso Fonseca, who died in 1473—in the style of the Burgundian miniatures of the fourteenth century, on diapered grounds in gold or colours, but still essentially Spanish in taste; and the missal painted for Cardinal Mendoza (died 1495) with pictures that remind us of Van Eyck. In another missal, more Florentine in character, the Giralda of the Cathedral is represented in the backgrounds; this is probably of the earlier part of the century. A

Virgil in the Escorial, and two prayer-books of Isabella the Catholic, are extremely interesting; and two missals—one in the National Library, Madrid, and one at Seville—represent the art of the sixteenth century. Even in the minor art of illustration we can trace the beginnings of Italian and Flemish influence till native genius had developed to a point at which it could assert its independence. [Waagen gives a full description of two Spanish illuminated MSS. in the British Museum, one "barbarously archaic, with some resemblance, on one hand, to early French work, and on the other betraying Irish influence in the 'calligraphic treatment' or pen-flourish style of execution. The demons are specially weird and fantastic. The other MS. is a later work, and the miniatures show a marked affinity with the art of the Netherlands." He also mentions six folio volumes of *Cantionales*, at that time the property of Professor Johnson of Oxford, with the date 1545, probably executed at Segovia, and "showing in every respect the most decided influence of German art."]

The history of fresco and easel work runs parallel. Lücke discerns the earliest trace of Italian feeling in the mural pictures of the Chapel of S. Blas, in the cloisters of the Cathedral of Toledo. These are of the fourteenth century and distinctly Giottesque. In the same city there is much that is interesting in the art of the following century: altar-pieces that were executed in 1498 in the Chapel of Santiago in the Cathedral, by *Juan de Segovia*, *Pedro Gumiel*, and *Sancho de Zamora*. A remarkable feature is the equestrian figure, in low relief, of S. James of Compostella, surrounded by fourteen figures, on a gold ground. The influence of the school of Van Eyck is unmistakable, combined with a truly Spanish type of heads, dark and fiery-eyed, and a no less characteristic sobriety of colour. A grand work, in the same spirit, is in the cathedral, signed *Pedro de Cordova*, 1475; in this the gold introduced into the dresses has a very magnificent and decorative effect. Further north, at Salamanca, the cathedral is rich in paintings of the fifteenth century, and in the second half of the century this town was the residence of *Fernando Gallegos*, the closest imitator and representative of Van Eyck, whose work may be studied in a graceful and very carefully-executed Madonna in the Chapel of S. Clement, as well as in a *retablo* in the cathedral at Zamora, which is said to be his best work.[4]

The school of SEVILLE may be said to have had its beginning in *Juan Sanchez de Castro*, of whose work nothing now remains but a colossal S. Christopher, of 1484, with forty little pilgrims clinging to his girdle, in the Church of S. Julian, Seville. Cean Bermudez saw a Nativity by him in 1800 which has now disappeared, and the S. Christopher is so over-painted that it is difficult to trace the painter's Flemish traditions. His disciple *Juan Nuñez*, living in 1507, was much admired, but most of his works are lost;[5] a *Pietà* remains in a chapel of the cathedral, Seville, with the donor in front and S. Laurence and the archangel Michael (Fig. 249). In this the arrangement

Fig. 249.

reminds us of Van Eyck. The S. Michael might have been inspired by Francia, while the background is essentially Spanish in colour.

The most famous Spanish painter of the fifteenth century seems to have been *Antonio del Rincon*, 1446-1500, who was court painter to Ferdinand and

Isabella, and is said to have been the master who abandoned the traditions of the Flemish school to adopt those of the Florentines. Authenticated works by him are not known to exist.

Alejo Fernandez, whose name occurs till 1525, seems to have trodden in the same path at Seville, where a few works by this very solid and clever artist still survive, showing an amalgamation of the Flemish and Italian styles, with a preponderance, however, of the latter. After painting for a time at Cordova he probably settled in Seville in 1508; his principal works are rarely visible, being in a chamber behind the high altar in the cathedral. The centre picture represents the Birth of the Virgin, and the side panels the Reconciliation of Joachim and Anna, and the Purification of the Virgin. The beauty of the heads and the dignified breadth of treatment in the drapery are certainly Italian rather than Flemish, but the lavish use of gold-leaf is characteristic of the Spaniard. There is another picture by this master in the Church of S. Ana—across the Guadalquivir; in this the gorgeous dresses remind us of the Flemish painters, and the heads are more like those of the north Italian schools than the Florentine.

Akin to *Alejo Fernandez* was *Pedro Fernandez de Guadelupe*, by whom there is an altar-piece in the cathedral at Seville, dated 1527; the colour is at once splendid and harmonious.

A master who must have been older than Guadelupe is *Pedro Berruguete*, whose existence is amply vouched for by Bermudez, though Ponz casts doubts on it. He was the father of *Alonzo Berruguete*, a famous Spanish painter of the later Renascence in Spain; he worked in Toledo and Avila, and enjoyed a great reputation, dying in about 1500. He began the grand *retablo* in the cathedral at Avila, which was finished by *Santos Cruz* and *Juan de Borgoña* after 1508. Of the ten scenes from the life of Christ which form this altar-piece, four—Christ on the Mount of Olives, the Flagellation, the Resurrection, and the Descent into Hell—seem to be by the elder master. He was also perhaps Juan de Borgoña's precursor in decorating the winter chapter-house of the cathedral of Toledo.[6] Here again, as at Avila, the portions ascribed to him are the weakest, in the archaic style of the Italian quattro-centisti with an infusion of Flemish feeling. *Juan de Borgoña*, whose name suggests a foreign origin, is mentioned from 1495-1533, and far surpassed his predecessor. The best portions of the Avila *retablo* are by him, and in the Toledo chapter-house he executed the scenes from the life of the Virgin, in fresco worked over in tempera; he also began the series of portraits of the Archbishops of Toledo which was carried on by other hands. These pictures are among the finest examples of what Spanish art could produce in the early part of the sixteenth century. The composition is grandiose, the figures noble and full of character, the drawing sound, the colour bright, though genuinely Spanish in its general brownish tone, especially in the landscapes; in feeling they recall

sometimes *Ghirlandajo*, and sometimes *Perugino*, and in style belong to the fifteenth century.

The early Spanish masters were alternately swayed by such various tendencies that they may be regarded to a great extent as experimentalists; nevertheless, a distinctly national feeling, which ere long led to independent development, was already very perceptible and even influenced those foreign masters who worked on Spanish ground.

III. IN PORTUGAL[7] the churches and convents are rich in native works of art, of which numerous examples are also to be seen in the Lisbon Academy, painted for the most part between 1484 and 1557. Until late in the sixteenth century the Gothic style, as it is termed in Portugal—the style of the Van Eycks, was strongly predominant, giving way very late to a broader and freer treatment. In the archives of the towns many painters are named who might no doubt be associated with the numerous nameless pictures that exist; the Portuguese themselves, until quite lately, ascribed them all indifferently to one painter, whom they ranked with the greatest masters of Europe, under the name of *Gran Vasco*, one of the most comprehensive myths in the whole history of art. Vasco is a very common Christian name in Portugal, and painters of that name were numerous; in 1455 we meet with Vasco, a miniature-painter, appointed illuminator to Alphonso V., identical perhaps with *Vasco Eanes;* and there is *Vasco*, the son of the painter *Francisco Fernandez*, born at Vizeu in 1552. He was supposed to be the true *Gran Vasco*, and Count Raczynski regarded them as identical; but Robinson points out that this Vasco is not proved to have been a painter at all, and that the dates show that he could not, at any rate, have painted the works at Vizeu which Raczynski ascribes to him. He has, however, detected the name of *Vasco Fernandez* on a triptych in the possession of Dom Antonio José Pereira at Vizeu, which cannot have been executed later than 1580, and, though much injured, is well executed in the Flemish manner. Out of this, and possibly other Vascos, at a time before the study of style had supplied a guide to judgment, imagination created a single "Gran Vasco" to whom pictures were freely attributed whose painters were not even named Vasco; and in spite of Raczynski and Robinson we must continue to regard him as at least half mythical.

Portuguese art may be classified under two schools, that of Lisbon and that of Viseu. Raczynski detected in the Lisbon collection the works of various masters whom he designated after some quality or other circumstances as the *Master of good drapery*, the *Master of S. Bento*, etc. Although hardly any of these pictures were painted before the sixteenth century, they bear the stamp of the early Flemish school; and the same may be said of the pictures in the cathedral and the Archbishop's palace at Evora. Robinson, who ascribes only one picture in the Lisbon Gallery to the school of Vizeu, has attempted to

classify the works of that school, beginning with those executed before 1520, notably fourteen pictures which probably formed a grand *retablo* in the Cathedral of Vizeu. He next ranks the signed picture of *Vasco Fernandez* of about 1520; while a master who has signed his name as *Velasco* on a picture of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, in the Church of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, he places between 1530 and 1540, regarding him as possibly identical with the painter of several large subjects in the cathedral at Vizeu. All these works are in their way of great interest and importance. The early pictures in the cathedral at Vizeu, which are preserved in the chapter-house, have a conspicuous resemblance to Memlinc and Hugo van der Goes, uniting a firm and learned handling of details with great clearness and brilliancy of colouring. Those ascribed to Velasco exhibit at the same time that broad feeling for form that characterises the contemporary schools of the Netherlands and Lower Rhine, and a power of expression which, in the Crucifixion in a chapel near the cathedral, rises to dramatic vigour.[8]

The Portuguese miniature-painters of this period worked in the same groove. The painter of the Chronicle of John I. of Portugal, in the Madrid Library, displays an original fancy in the initials and vignettes, with correct drawing and soft harmonious colouring. A well-known illuminator was *Antonio d'Olanda*, the father of that *Francisco d'Olanda* who, on his return from a voyage to Italy in 1549, presented to King John XI. a report or petition,[9] of which the chief aim was to protest against the paramount influence of Flemish art on that of Portugal, and who thus prepared the way for the introduction of the Italian style on the shores of the Tagus. [Mr. J. C. Robinson exhibited three pictures of the early Castilian school, and one of the school of Arragon (besides some interesting examples of later Spanish art) at Burlington House in 1880. Waagen mentions a picture in the Duke of Rutland's collection as certainly Spanish, in which the Flemish style is so strongly marked as to have led to its being ascribed to A. Dürer and L. van Leyden.]

APPENDIX III.

1. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. pp. 147-160.

2. Much remains to be done for this branch of the history of art. In Spanish we have Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España*, Madrid, 1776-94; Cean Bermudez, *Diccionario historico de los mas illustres professores de las bellas Artes*, 1800; Passavant, *Die christliche Kunst in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1853; and papers by Waagen and Lübke in Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, i., ii., and v. [In English, W. Stirling Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, Lond. 1848; J. C. Robinson, *Memoranda on Fifty Pictures, with Notices of some Spanish Painters.*]

3. In all these libraries I had the opportunity of seeing very interesting MSS. which neither Waagen nor Passavant had described, and came to the conclusion that the treasures of Spanish miniature-painting are far from being well known.

4. R. Ford, *Handbook*, 5th ed., 1878, p. 146. [J. C. Robinson, *Catalogue of a Loan Ex. of Spanish Art in* 1881. Illuminated MSS. were lent from the Nat. Lib. at Madrid and from the collection of Mr. F. Cook. Mr. Robinson himself sent a retablo from Ciudad Rodrigo, "probably by Fern. Gallegos." —There is such a screen in the South Kensington Museum, of the fifteenth century, from Valencia, with three large panels, a lunette, and twelve smaller subjects. Saints and heads in the niches of the carving.]

5. I believe that his style and his abridged signature may be recognised in an Entombment in the Cepero collection at Seville, signed ju. fsc. pintor.

6. Formerly the whole of these pictures were ascribed to him; Bermudez, who pointed out Juan de Borgoña as the painter, denies Berruguete's co-operation. Passavant, *op. cit.*, p. 88, seems to have detected their true connection.

7. Le Comte A. Raczynski, *Les Arts en Portugal*, Paris, 1846; and *Dictionnaire historico-artistique du Portugal*, 1874. J. C. Robinson, *The Early Portuguese School of Painting, Fine Arts Quarterly Rev.*, 1866. *Catalogo provisorio da Galeria nacional de Pintura*, Lisbon, 1872. [J. de Vasconcellos, *Renascença Portuguesa*, studies on the Art of Portugal, and on the influence of A. Dürer, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in *Archeologica Artistica*, 1877.]

8. A reproduction of this Crucifixion is given by Raczynski as a frontispiece to the *Dictionnaire*, and one of the S. Peter at p. 93. In both these works Raczynski discerns the hand of the "Gran Vasco."

9. Translated into French by Raczynski, pp. 5-77.

BOOK III.

THE PAINTING OF THE RENASCENCE.

SECTION IV.

THE EARLY RENASCENCE IN ITALY.

INTRODUCTION.[1]

THOUGH the Italian and Flemish schools of art revolted simultaneously against the bondage of mediæval tradition, and though the reawakened feeling for nature was perhaps keener among the Netherlanders, and their sense of the picturesque more subtle, painting enjoyed important advantages in the South. Natural conditions were more favourable to the Italians, and they had the advantage of a consentaneous start forward of all the fine arts at once, which was fatally lacking in the North; while the progress of learning and the presence of the noble relics of antiquity served as a sure foundation for the movement throughout Italy. The climate too, while it mitigates the difficulties of the struggle for life, invites man to live out of doors, and nature smiles on him; while in the North he is cribbed and bound, in the South he breathes a freer air. As Heinrich Leo very acutely remarks: in Italy all that we call sentiment takes the form of passion; a free and careless independence of authority and custom is a peculiar characteristic of the Italian nature. Thus, at a time when the energies of the Flemish painters, with all their intense feeling for nature, were subdued and humble, in Italy we find individual freedom and boldness. Even piety and devotional rapture are the specialties of the few, and sacred subjects are commonly viewed in a purely human aspect. The tender sympathy with nature of the Flemish painters led them to study the minutest details and to attribute equal importance to the principal events and the meanest accessories; the calmer and broader apprehension of the Italian mind afforded a loftier standpoint, so that the leading idea holds due prominence and secondary facts are kept subordinate. This it is that marks the difference between the Flemings and the Italians of the period; for they were alike realists. While the Northerners looked at nature through a microscope, the Italians contemplated it as a harmonious whole; this induced a spirit of free and conscious selection, independent of fortuitous circumstances; hence Italian realism is less keen but less strained than the Flemish; it discovered the road through the real to the beautiful.

In the North painting for a long time was alone in its efforts: architecture lagged behind in the old Gothic groove, and only changed in the way of deterioration and arbitrary innovation; artistic workmanship and the use of statuary both died out, though sculpture had made a stride in the direction of realism so early as the fourteenth century. Even painting was in bondage to this

traditional style, particularly in Germany, where it was forced to subserve it in combination with carved work in the great high altars. The perpetuation of mere craftsmanship and the steady degradation of the sister arts could not fail to hinder painting in her efforts to rise. In Italy, on the contrary, architecture was a prop and fulcrum for sculpture and painting. The Gothic syle was cast aside, and a new scheme of constructive art was borrowed from the antique. We find this style of design reflected in the pictures of the time, and its forms associate happily with the proportions of the human figure and lend harmony and dignity to the composition. A corresponding development of the plastic arts, whose principal study must always be the nude figure, directed and at the same time encouraged accuracy of drawing.

Nor can we doubt, as we review the whole tendencies of the period, that painting was pre-eminently the art of the Renascence. Its masters lived and worked in full consciousness that all their learning must unfold its powers in painting, since in that art alone there were no precursors to whom they must bow. In fact, the spirit of pictorial art sometimes asserted itself in other arts where it was out of place. Even architecture did not always escape, and sculpture—more particularly in the form of relief—was peculiarly subject to its influence, as we see in Ghiberti's work on the last of his doors for the Baptistery at Florence, which as pictorial compositions are delightful, but are an error in style. What prevailed in most cases against such aberrations was the universal training of the greatest masters, who were equally at home in every branch of art, and had mastered and identified the style appropriate to each. While to them art, *qua* art, was one, and all the modes of its expression perfectly harmonious, the motive power that guided them was the impulse towards that general culture which is the fairest fruit of civilisation.

When Petrarca had once revived the feeling for the literature of antiquity that had never quite died out, and the search through convent libraries had brought to light the MSS. of classical works, a ferment of culture began to seethe in the Italian mind, and antiquity came to be regarded as the source not only of learning but of every conception of the universe. By the fifteenth century this culture had penetrated to every class, from the Pope to the artisan; the knowledge of Latin literature had led to that of the Greek, and the monuments of antiquity were not less eagerly studied. This enthusiasm for the antique was fused with a general aspiration towards all that was noble and beautiful, and the aim and end of the whole movement was not so much the pursuit of any particular branch of knowledge as the general development of all science and all human capacity; the ideal of humanity on the lines of classical antiquity was a perfect balance of the powers and gifts of the perfectly educated man. The peculiarity of the Italian Renascence lies in the fact that it was steeped in this humanistic spirit; that the artistic new birth was at the

same time a revival of learning.[2] This was to a certain extent the case in Germany too; but in Germany all knowledge of form and perspective was purely empirical; it had no sound basis of theory, as Dürer laments in his Treatise on Measurements. In Italy the artists went through profound theoretical studies, and a work of art was not unfrequently to a great extent a scientific experiment.

Leon Battista Alberti, in his three books on painting,[3] requires the painter to be experienced in all the liberal arts, to be familiar with poets and orators, so as to draw inspiration from them, and above all to have mastered geometry, since perspective is indispensable to all pictorial art. Though we find in the Van Eycks a mastery of linear perspective, with a feeling for the effects of atmosphere and ærial perspective which were unknown in Italy till a much later period, they only made a limited and mechanical use of them, and their knowledge could not be a possession for their successors. In Italy, on the other hand, perspective was founded on theoretical principles of universal application. The great architect Filippo Brunelleschi laid the foundations of the science; of Alberti's three books on painting written in 1435, the first is wholly devoted to perspective. And the first object of their studies was not the correct drawing of architectural backgrounds, but the representation of the human body in energetic action, the achievement of dramatic composition. The Italians had another advantage: they knew how to choose a point of sight on fixed scientific principles, while the practice of the Flemish painters varies widely, and the point of sight is often placed too high. The rule laid down by Alberti, that the point of sight should be on a level with the eye of the figure to be represented, held good throughout the succeeding centuries; Mantegna alone made the daring experiment of fixing it below the level of the ground on which the figures stand.

Their knowledge of the figure was founded on equally sound study. The all-important subject to the Italian painters was man, and the chief class of pictures was "la storia,"—incident or figure painting. The Fleming painted what he saw, the nude too when he saw it; but it was the Italian who thought of painting the nude figure before he draped it, which Alberti speaks of as being the universal custom. But Alberti insists on even more than this: that the bony skeleton must first be drawn and then clothed with muscles and flesh. The study of anatomy, from which the North still shrank, taught the Italians the relations and movements of every part of the body; the study of structure and of action supplemented each other, and on these was engrafted the study of proportion by observation, comparison, and measurement. Thus, among the Italians, mastery of form was based on scientific grounds that were unknown in the Netherlands; even Jan van Eyck—not to speak of his followers—with all his acumen and observation, fell into errors of drawing and clumsiness of attitudes.

With regard to materials and technique, *tempera* painting, brought to very great perfection, was for a long time the only method in use for easel pictures; oil-painting was only introduced at a comparatively late period through the indirect influence of the Flemish masters. The independent experiments made in Italy to employ this medium were interesting, but, as we shall see, unsuccessful. At the same time the need for oil as a medium was here less imperative; it was not till later that schools of colourists in any strict sense arose; in the leading masters drawing in the widest sense was the essence of art, since, as Alberti says, that must be the foundation of all composition.

Church pictures long remained the principal object of the painter's art. In altar-pieces the old Gothic type was gradually abandoned and with it the subdivision of the field into panels; the painter craved space. Pictures wider than they are high are not uncommon, with three arches, of which the centre one is somewhat the highest (see Fig. 261, p. 291), but which include only one subject. Then the form is still further simplified: the side panels—in Italy wings or doors were unusual—disappear; we have but one picture, with or without a semicircular lunette; the predella, however, remains, with subjects on a smaller scale. Pictures for private devotion were also common; portrait painting was in constant request not merely for monumental decoration but for private luxury. Then a new realm of subject was thrown open by the study of ancient history and mythology.

Mural decoration remained the highest field for painting, and fresco the highest technique. It had been perfected in the school of Giotto, and the great masters worked in fresco—*buon fresco*—painting on wet lime; a few attempts to paint walls in oil found no acceptance. Still, even the best painters occasionally retouched their paintings *al secco*, and in contracts for decorative works this retouching is frequently insisted on; but the painter who cared for the durability of his work carefully avoided the process. It was indispensable for the introduction of gold, against which Alberti is vehement; but gold remained in use till late in the fifteenth century. The predominance of fresco in the Italian practice is a significant fact. It was the cause of the monumental character which distinguishes Italian painting from that of other countries, giving her masters the opportunity of executing great undertakings in a fitting style and on the large scale which necessitates a thorough knowledge of structure and form.

We have seen that the scientific spirit of the Renascence was reflected in Italian art; it now remains to be seen how the delight in the antique found expression. The artists fully shared the enthusiasm of the learned, and towards the end of the century we find them imitating not merely the sculpture and painting found among the ruins of ancient Rome, but the decorations of the baths—then just discovered—and studying the *grotesque*. At the same time, though architecture freely adopted the antique in the new departure,

painting and sculpture rarely borrowed from it excepting in architectural or decorative design. We hardly ever find a repetition of an antique figure. Though Lorenzo Ghiberti in one of his reliefs, borrowed for the figure of Rebecca from the statue known as the Thusnelda, in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence, he no doubt regarded it as being in some sort common property. The contact with the antique led the Italians of that period back to nature, which they learned to see through those noble types, as the ancients themselves had seen it. The most antique of all the artists of the Renascence, Andrea Mantegna, was also the most realistic.

Though intellectual culture was the source of the new birth, in the progress of development the executive arts soon and far outstripped it. The glory of Italian literature was waning by the end of the fourteenth century; though there were still poets, very little of permanent value was produced in the vulgar tongue. Even the attempts at science, though eager and brilliant, were often no more than trials of ingenuity; freedom of thought had not led to seriousness of purpose or moral austerity, without which it is impossible to fight a good fight for the truth. This is the weak side of culture: it can regenerate the intellect but not the moral nature of man. At the end of the fifteenth century the world saw the triumph of the Borgias; the times were darkened by their greed and crime, and the gifted nation was so demoralised that it was incapable of repelling the aggressions of a French invader. But when we contemplate her pictorial art we forgive Italy all her sins; it was not the art of the educated few but of the people at large, embodying the ideal element of the impulsive spirit of the time. In spite of the superficiality of her culture and the degradation of the prelacy, those works of art remain in evidence that piety and elevation of soul could still appeal to the hearts of the people. Even where the sentiment is not strictly religious, such spiritual beauty and purity of sense, such noble earnestness and eager enthusiasm for the loftiest ideal may be discerned, that we cannot doubt that the core was sound in a nation which thus "sought the good in the guise of the beautiful."

CHAPTER I.

THE FLORENTINE SCHOOL.[4]

Introductory—Florence and the Medici—The first efforts at Renascence—MASOLINO DA PANICALE—His works at San Clemente, Rome—Capella Brancacci, Florence—Castiglione d'Olona—MASACCIO—S. Maria del Carmine, Florence—*Capella Brancacci*—A comparison of the two painters—S. Maria Novella, Florence—FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE—Pictures in Florence—In Paris—Frescoes at San Domenico, Fiesole—San Marco, Florence—The influence of his realism—His later work—Orvieto—The Vatican—*Paolo Uccello*—Battle-scenes in the Louvre and National Gallery—*Andrea del Castagno*—*Domenico Veneziano*—Alesso Baldovinetti—FRA FILIPPO LIPPI and his followers—Church at Prato—Duomo, Spoleto—Easel paintings in Florence—In Rome, Paris, London, and Berlin—*Francesco di Pesello*—SANDRO BOTTICELLI—Important works in the Sistine Chapel, Rome—Fresco in Florence—Easel pictures in Florence, Paris, and London—*Filippino Lippi*—Work in the Brancacci Chapel—Easel pictures—Later frescoes in Rome—Capella Strozzi—*Raffaellino del Garbo*—BENOZZO GOZZOLI—Works at Orvieto, Montefalco, and Rome—Medici Chapel, Florence—Altar-pieces in the National Gallery and Louvre—*San Gimignano*—Campo Santo, Pisa—Cosimo Rosselli—Easel pictures—Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and San Ambrogio, Florence—Piero di Cosimo—THE GOLDSMITHS—ANTONIO POLLAIOLO—His engravings—S. Sebastian, National Gallery—Piero Pollaiolo—San Gimignano—Easel pictures—*Andrea Verrocchio*—Lorenzo di Credi—DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO—Painting in the Sistine Chapel—In Florence and San Gimignano—Easel pictures—Altar-piece in S. Maria Novella—Bastiano Mainardi.

IN the fifteenth century, as in the time of Giotto, Florence was still the chief focus of art in Italy, whence her artistic efforts radiated on all sides. This was partly owing to the ancient traditions of the place, partly, too, to the general conditions of life there. Italian art still had its root in civil and municipal freedom, the true basis of national culture. Florence was still democratic; its people governed themselves and made their own laws. In the fifteenth century, however, affairs began to assume an altered aspect; the old nobility had been swept away by prolonged party warfare, and from among the people themselves a new aristocracy was evolving itself whose power was founded on wealth and whose permanency depended on their value to the commonwealth. This was the origin of the Medici family; soon after Cosmo de' Medici returned from exile, in 1434, he found himself in possession of almost absolute power, which, by avoiding any display of despotism, he was able to transmit to his sons. And the genuine nobility that characterised the Medici family was conspicuous in the fact that they took the lead in intellectual progress,—encouraging learning and the arts, and promoting them both by their influence and their wealth.

The initial movement of the Florentine Renascence dates, however, from an

earlier period, when its pioneers had flourished in the atmosphere of free life and thought. Creativeness in art was also the work of free men. Florence had always been the home and centre of literary culture, and it was there that the imitative and constructive arts, under the pressure of a new intellectual impetus, burst simultaneously into life. About the year 1420 is the date of their new birth. Brunelleschi's designs for the Duomo were approved, and the work was begun ; *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, having finished the second of his bronze doors for the baptistery in a style corresponding to that of the older doors by *Andrea Pisano*, was commissioned to execute a third, in which he struck out a quite original scheme; *Masaccio* revealed his genius in the Brancacci Chapel. From this time Florentine art flowed steadily onward—an ever-widening stream—till the end of the fifteenth century, surviving the fall of the Medici and disappearing only under the influence of Savonarola's stern reform.

I. Though MASACCIO was the first great Florentine painter, his precursor MASOLINO deserves equal honour at our hands, for we can see in his work the first beginnings of a struggle towards the goal which Masaccio reached. He, it is true, only started on the road which Masaccio followed to the end, but the last step he took was the decisive one. Vasari recognised the fact, but his biographies of both are to the last degree meagre, and he even confused their works, which is perhaps to be accounted for by their having the same name,—Maso (Tommaso). The recent investigations of Milanesi have supplied us with some important dates.[5] Masolino da Panicale—so called from his birthplace, a village in the valley of the Arno—was, as we learn from documentary evidence, forty-three years old in 1427; he must therefore have been born in 1383-84; his father was a house-painter named Cristoforo di Fino. It was not till 1423 (January 18) that he was admitted into the guild of *Medici e Speciali* in Florence. He was still in Florence in 1425, when he received a small sum on the 8th of July from the Carmelite brethren in that city; not long after, however, he went to Hungary in obedience to an invitation from Filippo Scolari, a Florentine Ghibelline, who, after being ruined, had gone to Hungary and there made a fortune and risen to distinction. He had kept up a connection with Florence, where he was known as Pippo Spano, and very naturally employed a fellow-countryman to decorate a splendid mausoleum at Stuhlweissenburg. He died in 1426, but Masolino was still in Hungary in 1427, as we learn from the estimate of his father's taxable property, and the statement that he still had claims on Scolari's heirs. After his return to Italy we can trace his work down to 1435. The date of his death is unknown, but possibly one Tommaso di Cristofano—who was buried at Santa Maria del Fiore, says the register of deaths at Florence, in 1447—may be identified with him.

Vasari's statement that he was a pupil of Starnina's may be accurate. The

only one of his works known to Vasari and still extant, is a portion of the Brancacci Chapel at the Carmine, which was afterwards finished by Masaccio. But in recent years other paintings by Masolino have come to light which were unknown to Vasari,—the frescoes, namely, in the chapel and baptistery at Castiglione d'Olona, near Lake Como. The Carmine at Florence was consecrated in 1422; and as he was admitted into the guild in 1423, the work in the Brancacci Chapel was probably executed between this year and 1425-26, and was interrupted, not by his early death, as Vasari states, but by his journey to Hungary. The pictures in the choir of the chapel at Castiglione d'Olona cannot have been done till after his return, as the date over the doorway is 1428. The baptistery there dates from 1435. A third series of frescoes is attributable to Masolino in a chapel of the basilica of San Clemente at Rome. Vasari ascribes them to Masaccio, but they are not like any of the works known to be his, but of a very much earlier style, strongly resembling the pictures in the Brancacci Chapel and those at Castiglione d'Olona, which are signed by Masolino. Vasari must have confused the two painters; he mentions Masolino's residence in Rome before he worked in Florence. He says too that the Cardinal di S. Clemente had these pictures painted, and this title had been bestowed in 1411, by Pope Giovanni XXIII., on Branda Castiglione, who some years later employed Masolino on the paintings at Castiglione d'Olona. Another prelate, however, had a prior claim to the title, and Branda was forced to resign it in 1417, when Martin V. was elected Pope, or at latest in 1420, when he entered Rome; thus, if Vasari is right, the work must have been executed before 1420.[6]

In the church itself, where it opens into the chapel, there is on a pillar a painting of S. Christopher; on the wall above the arch is the Annunciation. The soffit of the arch contains half-lengths of the apostles, the vaulted roof, divided by cross groins, has four pairs of Evangelists and Fathers. On the wall by the window on the right are five scenes from an unknown legend, and opposite are five more from the story of S. Catherine of Alexandria. The wall above the altar is painted with a large picture of the Crucifixion. These paintings plainly reveal the influence of the earlier schools, but we see in them an attempt to modify the style so as to make it more natural and pictorial. They are characterised by a reserved simplicity both of expression and gesture; the heads are noble, and those of the female figures show a delicate feeling for beauty; meagre, stiff forms are curiously intermingled with others that are very free and lifelike. The larger compositions, as the Crucifixion, still lack concentrated purpose, but the separate groups stand out well without overcrowding. Where vehement action is required it is apt to be stiff and forced; but when it gives way to spiritual meaning the painter shows much dramatic power: for instance, in the picture of S. Catherine disputing with the heathen philosophers, the lofty, innocent conviction of the young saint,

the bewildered excitement of the grave philosophers, and the immeasurable astonishment of the Emperor in the background are admirably expressed.

The colouring of these frescoes recalls the bright, almost rosy, tone of the fourteenth century; the sobriety and careful execution are worthy of all praise. The draperies are flowingly treated, the limbs well studied, and though there is little depth of shadow the refined modelling of the nude portions is really noteworthy. The attempts at foreshortening are not altogether happy. We find too some careful essays in perspective, but, irrespective of some uncertainty in the treatment of the problems, the effect is artificial and mechanical; aerial perspective and the relations of figures and space have not yet been mastered.

Nearly akin to these works in style are Masolino's pictures in the Brancacci

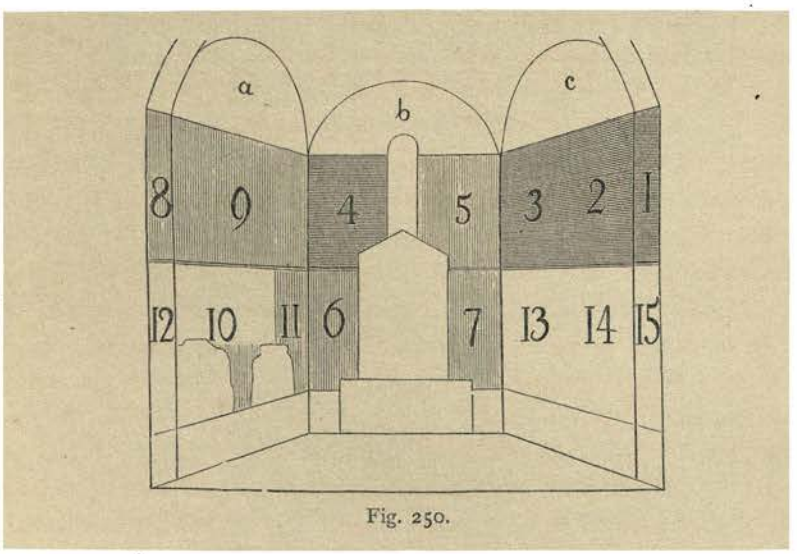


Fig. 250.

Chapel at Florence. The three pictures in the lunettes mentioned by Vasari are destroyed (*a b c* in Fig. 250, where the vertical shading indicates Masaccio's work, the horizontal shading Masolino's, and the white spaces Filippino Lippi's). Two scenes from the history of S. Peter (2 and 3), the Healing of the Cripple, and the Resuscitation of Tabitha, are by Masolino, besides a smaller one (4), Peter Preaching. Another, not mentioned by Vasari, is also his—The Fall, on the pilaster to the right (1). The treatment here as to proportions and modelling is identical with that of the Crucifixion in San Clemente, and the other pictures are no less characteristic as to the drapery and heads. In the larger picture the composition is disconnected by dealing with two incidents, and the action of the figures is still very conventional; but the foreshortening of the cripple deserves the praise bestowed on it by Vasari (Fig. 251). The buildings in the background reveal a careful study of perspective, though the painter has not worked it all out from the same point of sight. Very pleasing too is

Fig. 251.

the natural everyday life of the scene, so genuinely Florentine in all its details.

As no works by Masolino are known to exist in Hungary, the paintings at Castiglione d'Olona come next in date. The pictures in the six triangular spaces in the vaulted roof are subjects from the legend of the Virgin: the Annunciation and her Marriage with Joseph, the Birth of Christ and Adoration of the Magi, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. In the third picture there is a portrait of the founder, kneeling, in his cardinal's robes, and the words MASOLINVS DE FLORENTIA PINSIT. The narrow elongated form

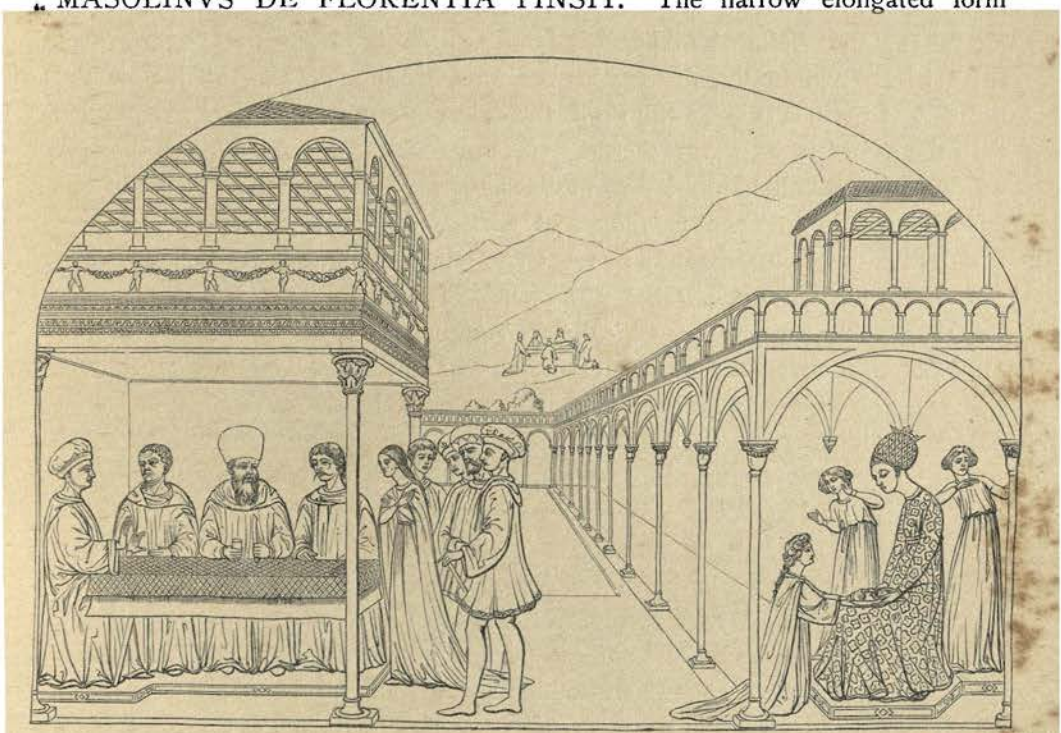


Fig. 252.

of the panels gives these works a more archaic style than that of the pictures in the Brancacci Chapel, but we recognise Masolino's hand in the elegance of the draperies, the grace of the female heads, which in the Coronation of the Virgin are fervently devotional, and the cheerful key of colour. We also recognise his experimental perspective in the view of the many-storied temple, in the Marriage picture, with the arches seen from below. His tendency to realism is more strongly marked in the mural pictures in the choir, representing scenes from the lives of S. Stephen and S. Laurence. The lunettes are best preserved—S. Laurence giving Alms, and Before the Judges; the characteristic heads of the beggars in the former and the dramatic interest in the second are very striking. The lower series are severely injured.

The paintings in the baptistery are of a higher order; the building consists of a nave and a square choir. The soffit of the arch between them contained two Prophets, one of which remains; the four Fathers of the Church; and, at the top, the date MCCCCXXXV. On the walls of the nave and choir we have the history of S. John the Baptist, and on the end wall the "Baptism of our Lord," above which, on the vault of the apse, God the Father is seen in the act of blessing, and surrounded by angels. The largest picture, filling the whole of one wall of the nave, represents Herodias craving the head of John (Fig. 252). It contains two incidents, to the left sits Herod at table with three councillors. Herodias stands before him, her hands crossed on her bosom. Horror at her request is shown in the deprecating gestures of the men and the lifelike expression of the heads. To the right the damsel kneels to present her mother with the head "in a charger;" these two are cool and indifferent, but the two waiting women behind display almost exaggerated horror. The group to the left is seated in an open pavilion, and that to the right in an arcade. The perspective of each separately has been carefully studied, but the painter has not known how to preserve the same point of sight for both. The architecture is of the Renascence, and the background is a hilly landscape in the midst of which we are shown the burial of the saint. The fine modelling, delicate flesh tints, and expressive character of the heads are very remarkable. The next most striking of the series is the Baptism of Christ: the landscape is very happily treated, and the action of the bystanders lifelike; one who has thrown a yellow cloak round him is shivering with cold, and several nude or semi-nude figures are dressing or undressing. We see here what Masolino had achieved in drawing and modelling.

Masaccio,[7] the son of a notary, Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, was born at Castello San Giovanni in Valdarno (as his brother tells us) on S. Thomas' day, 21st December 1401. Masolino is the diminutive or pet name for Tommaso, while Masaccio is a satirical or abusive augmentative given to this Tommaso,—as Vasari says, not for his bad character but for his slovenliness and indifference to external amenities. He was admitted into the Guild of Physicians and Apothecaries in 1421, at an earlier date and a much earlier age than Masolino, and in 1424 his name was entered in the register of the Guild of Painters. Vasari incidentally mentions that Masolino was his master; how far this is probable, considering Masolino's late arrival in Florence, we need not consider; it is more likely, perhaps, that they were independent of each other, but drawn together by their common views and aims. At any rate they worked together in Florence; in S. Maria del Carmine Masaccio painted S. Paul as a companion to Masolino's S. Peter, and Vasari speaks of it as being so vigorous and lifelike "that speech alone seems wanting." "He displayed also in this picture a knowledge of foreshortening forms as seen from below which was truly marvellous." Both these figures were destroyed

in altering the building in 1675, and a picture by Masaccio in monochrome of the procession at the consecration of the church has also perished. Masaccio was afterwards engaged on the decorations in the Brancacci Chapel, succeeding Masolino, as it would seem, when, in 1425, he was tempted to Hungary by the hope of better pay. The pictures attributable to Masaccio are the Expulsion

Fig. 253.

Fig. 254.

from Paradise (on the pilaster, No. 8, see Fig. 250), Peter Baptising, Peter Healing the Sick by his Shadow, Peter and John giving Alms (5, 6, 7), and, the large upper picture on the wall to the left, the Miracle of the Tribute Money (9). He also began the lower ones and the group to the right. Peter *in cathedra* worshipped by several personages, and among them several Carmelite monks, is his work. But he was suddenly interrupted, and it was Filippino Lippi who subsequently finished the chapel.

The picture of the Fall, by Masolino, is very remarkable for the knowledge displayed in it of the modelling of the nude; but Masaccio's Expulsion from Paradise shows a still further advance beyond the style of the early painters (Figs. 253, 254). In Masolino's figures the heads are rather small, the action is purposeless, the movement of the hands and the position of the legs are stiff —in Eve somewhat affected. But Masaccio, in the expelled couple, and the angel hovering over them, painted a group which so impressed Raphael that he reproduced it with very little alteration in the Loggie of the Vatican. They are, in fact, the first nude figures of the new period that are endued with true artistic vitality; they are not mere studies from the life, but, as in antique statues, every muscle is a vehicle for the expression of emotion and purpose. As an example of bold realism and mastery over the nude figure we may mention a figure in the picture of Peter Baptising, naked and shivering with cold. Such an introduction of realistic incident was then quite new, and there is a marked difference between Masaccio's treatment of it and Masolino's (an imitation perhaps of this) at Castiglione d'Olona.

But the superiority of his work in this historical series is not to be found in mere details. All his figures stand and move differently; he adhered in the main to Masolino's type of S. Peter, which was derived from Giotto, but another spirit animates it. How noble, for instance, is the expression of inspired power in the figure of S. Peter healing the sick by his shadow as he simply walks onward! Masaccio is distinguished as much from his successors as from his precursors by the important fact that he never introduces any indifferent bystanders; every figure is indispensable to the action of the story. The picture of the Tribute Money is a conspicuous example of all his merits (Fig. 255). Three incidents are united in one picture, but each group is separate, though the scene is the same throughout. The most important group is in the middle; the collectors of tribute apply to Christ, who commands Peter to go to the sea and take the coin out of the fish's mouth. It is a group of highly characteristic individuality; observe the powerful head of Andrew, behind Peter, and the four apostles without glories to the right, the foremost of whom is supposed to represent Masaccio himself. We see at once how Masaccio works on Masolino's principles, but with far greater breadth and pictorial power. To the left, in the middle distance, we see Peter stooping with the fish in his hand, a realistic study highly praised by Vasari; and to the left Peter is paying the tribute money with much dignity. A comparison with Masolino's fresco opposite is inevitable (see Fig. 251, p. 274). Quite irrespective of Masaccio's general superiority of type and character, and the absence of a certain weakness and conventionality, which are conspicuous even in Masolino's picture of Tabitha, the important advance here made in the balance and unity of the composition, notwithstanding the treatment of three separate incidents, is very remarkable. The architecture in Masaccio's pictures is

Fig. 255.

always simple, but his perspective is more satisfactory than Masolino's, and the landscape does not come too forward, as it certainly does in Masolino's Peter Preaching. The colouring, again, is altered in character by the introduction of stronger shadows, and Masolino's rosy hues have given way to a more powerful and artistic treatment, greater harmony of effect, and a nearer approach to the truth of nature. In short, what is new in Masaccio is the genuine outcome of his superior artistic feeling. An unimportant but at the same time striking instance of this has been pointed out by Thausing—the difference, namely, in the treatment of the *nimbus* in the works of the two painters in this chapel (Fig. 256). In the older style the glory appears as a disk behind the head, sometimes rayed or ornamented (see vol. i., Figs. 119, 122, etc.), or slightly oblique in position when the head is shown in profile; beyond this Masolino never went. But Masaccio's realism could not be satisfied with this; he did not go so far as Van Eyck, who left out the nimbus,

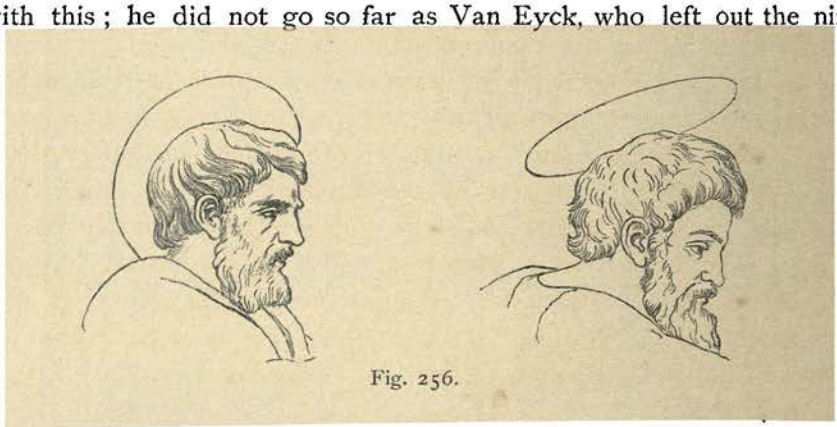


Fig. 256.

but he treated it as an independent object, floating in the air, and moving as the head moved.

Another work by Masaccio remains to us in the representation of the Trinity in the Church of S. Maria Novella in Florence. It is now on the wall over the entrance, but formerly decorated the altar of a side chapel. God the Father supports the crucified Christ; the Virgin and John stand at the sides. All the figures are treated with great mastery as seen from below, and they stand under a canopy with a pierced, coffered roof, in such skilful perspective that the apertures seem to be real. It is supported on Ionic columns, and two Corinthian pilasters with an architrave frame the picture in, while in front kneel the donor and his wife, two vigorous portrait studies. This is in every way a master work. Several paintings in tempera and fresco in Florence, which Vasari attributes to Masaccio, either have perished or, like the Virgin with Saint Anna in the Accademia, are not genuine. His works at Pisa, mentioned not only by Vasari but by other writers of the fifteenth century, no longer exist.

The last mention we find of Masaccio at Florence is in 1427, on the

occasion of the collection of an income-tax imposed by Giovanni de' Bicci de' Medici. He was then living very modestly with his mother and a younger brother. His income is estimated at six soldi a day, and he owed 102 lire four soldi to Niccolò di Ser Lapo, the painter, besides other small debts, and had pawned several things; his assistant Andrea di Giusto too had claims upon him. It may have been want and debt that drove him to Rome, leaving his ill-paid work at the Carmine unfinished. Nothing more is known of him. In the tax register for 1429, "Dicesi è morto in Roma" (he is said to have died in Rome) is all that is said about him. Landino and Vasari say he was twenty-six when he died,[8] and the MS. ascribed to Antonio Manetti says he was about twenty-seven; this would place his death in 1427-28. Vasari speaks of him in terms of great and judicious praise, particularly mentioning his success in foreshortening, "which, not having been done by others, procured him no small praise; . . . before him all that had been done was indeed painting, but his work was living, true, and natural." To this we need only add that though Masaccio's innovations were founded on the truth of realism, he combined with this a fine feeling for form and gesture, and a really grand style. His works mark an epoch, and generations of painters studied the Brancacci Chapel down to the great masters of the sixteenth century—Michael Angelo and Raphael. Between Giotto and these giants in art no master did so much to advance painting in Italy as Masaccio. ["A small portrait," described by Waagen as "worthy of the master," was purchased at the sale of Lord Northwick's pictures for the National Gallery (Florentine Sch., No. 626). Morelli ascribes it to Botticelli (Richter, *Italian Art in the Nat. Gal.*)]

II. THE MASTERS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD.—Contemporary with Masaccio, and surviving him, lived a number of painters whose unmoved adherence to older methods contrasted strongly with his bold innovations. *Bicci di Lorenzo* and *Neri di Bicci* need not be discussed here; they worked much, but were hardly more than craftsmen. But one master of distinguished excellence still lagged behind—*Fra Giovanni da Fiesole*, a Dominican friar.[9] His real name was Guido di Pietro; he was born in 1387 at Vicchio in the district of Mugello, and entered the order in 1407 at San Domenico near Fiesole. In 1409 the brethren were forced to quit their convent, because in the schism that was raging they sided with Gregory XII., while the general of their order and the city of Florence were adherents of Alexander V. They took refuge first at Foligno and then at Cortona, till they returned from banishment in 1418. From that time the painter remained in the neighbourhood of Florence, and in the city itself after 1436, when the convent of San Marco was given to the Dominicans.

As an artist Fra Giovanni may fairly rank with Masolino. His style is based on the traditions of Giotto's school, but he has a keener feeling for

nature. External realities, it is true, have no value in his eyes excepting as vehicles for the expression of sentiments. His knowledge of the figure is inferior to Masolino's; it is clear that the monk had no opportunity for studying the nude, and that even his female figures are worked from male models. Nevertheless his drawing is remarkable for distinction and sense of beauty; it is rarely crude, and only stiff or awkward where he attempts strong dramatic incidents. He may fairly compare with Masolino in elegance of modelling, in the happy grace of his compositions, but above all in the purity and tenderness of his colouring, which corresponds entirely with the sentiment of his work. In one respect too he may be regarded as an innovator—in the increased fulness and variety of expression in his heads. It is always one of rapt devotion, but its sweetness and purity are thoroughly human, and even where it rises to ecstasy remains free from exaggeration. Fra Giovanni *Angelico* the painter was called, from the purity of his life as well as of his works. "He was always employed in painting," says Vasari, "but would never work at any but sacred things. It was his custom never to touch up or amend his painting, but always to leave it as it had first come to him, because he believed, as he said, that such was the will of God. In the faces and attitudes of his figures we can always see the strength and sincerity of his Christian faith."

Giovanni painted easel pictures as well as fresco. Some easel pictures at Cortona are perhaps among the earliest of his works—in S. Domenico the Virgin with four saints, and in the Church of Gesù an Annunciation brought from S. Domenico, as well as a predella to each altar. In the Accademia at Florence are other early works by him,—thirty-five little pictures of the life of Christ which originally formed the panels of a silver shrine at the Annunziata. No one since Giotto had treated these traditional subjects with such simple dignity, and Fra Giovanni has added his own peculiar grace and depth of sentiment. The execution betrays the help of pupils. One of his finest pictures is a Last Judgment, with Paradise and Hell, a small picture from S. Maria degli Angeli; the style of the composition suggests a study of Orcagna's work in S. Maria Novella, and the angels crowned with roses, who receive the blessed into Paradise, are full of the master's characteristic sweetness. His smaller pictures are dispersed through various galleries. One of his larger works is in the Uffizi—a triptych painted in 1433 for the Guild of *Linaiuoli* (linen-drapers). The attitude of the Madonna and Infant is severely archaic, but the angels that surround them are exquisitely tender and graceful. A small picture of the Coronation of the Virgin is in no respect inferior; it was formerly in the Church of S. Maria Nuova. In the Accademia is the altar-piece painted in 1438 for S. Mark's, which Vasari praises so highly; it is unfortunately much injured. Here also is the finely composed Descent from the Cross, from the Trinità, remarkable for the evident attempt at realistic

treatment in the modelling, and in the character of the landscape. The Coronation of the Virgin, in the Louvre, is a masterpiece of his best period; it was painted for S. Domenico near Fiesole. [Two pictures bear this master's name in the National Gallery, and one of his best known easel paintings, in the possession of the Earl of Dudley, has been twice exhibited (at Burlington House in 1871, and before, when the whole collection was on view in what has since been called the Dudley Gallery in Piccadilly). No. 663 in the National Gallery contains about 250 figures; the background is gilt.]

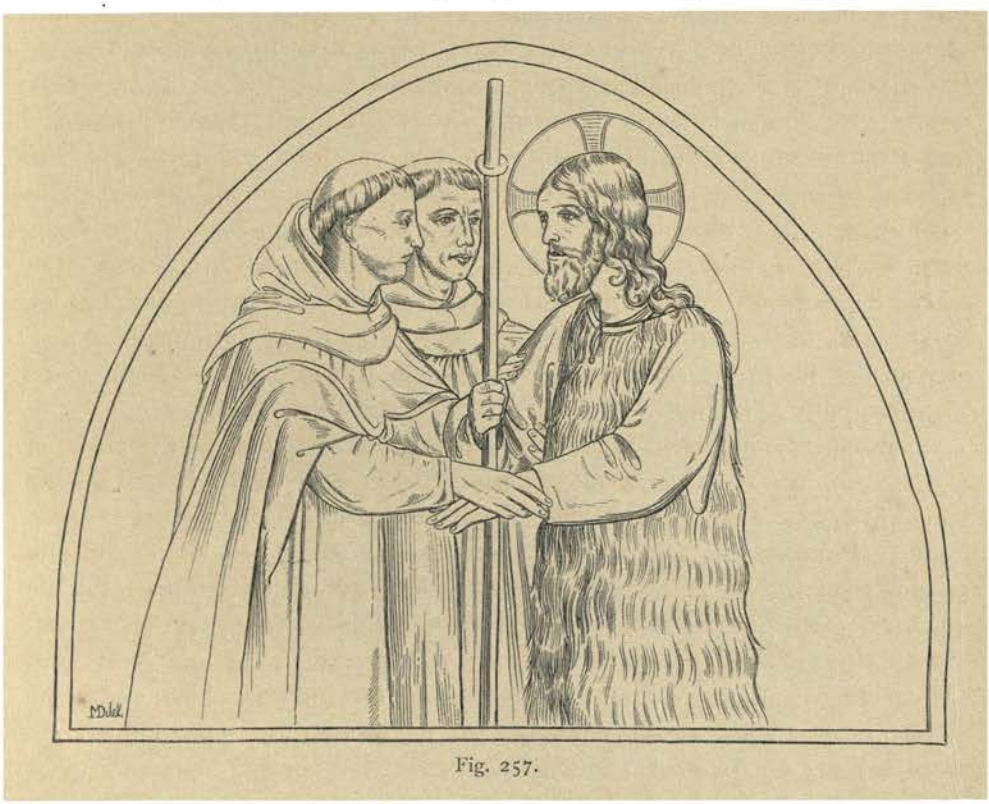


Fig. 257.

His mural paintings are in no respect inferior to his easel pictures; the execution is of course less delicate, but their simplicity is captivating. One still exists at S. Domenico; but it is in the Convent of S. Mark at Florence that we learn to appreciate his genius as a fresco-painter in the grandest style. The rebuilding of this convent was begun in 1436, and Fra Giovanni decorated it by degrees as it was finished. It is now a picture gallery. In the first cloister a few lunettes only are preserved; we here see S. Dominic, the founder of the order, S. Thomas Aquinas, and S. Peter Martyr with his finger on his lips enjoining silence within the sanctuary. A rather larger painting faces the entrance, of S. Dominic clinging to the foot of the Cross. The lunette over the entrance to the strangers' rooms (the *Forestiera*) contains one of Fra Angelico's sweetest

inventions. Two Dominicans welcome a pilgrim, and behold, it is the Lord! (Fig. 257). On the north side is the chapter-house; the largest of the master's works decorates one wall—a Crucifixion with a crowd of saints and fathers. The group here figured (Fig. 258) includes John the Baptist, S. Mark seated, and SS. Laurence, Cosmo, and Damian, the patron saints of the Medici. Half-lengths of the prophets and sibyls and of famous brethren of the order are contained in the border. We here have every kind and degree of feeling represented that the thought of the Passion can rouse, from simple and sincere belief to deep and solemn contemplation, from absorbed devotion to the rapt ecstasy of S. Francis d'Assisi and the sacred horror and anguish of S. Damian. The dormitory above contains a great number of frescoes. At the top of the stairs is an Annunciation in which the Angel and the Maiden vie with each other in purity and graciousness; almost every cell has a picture, for the painter, notwithstanding his important commissions, seems always to have been ready to supply a Brother with a picture for his private devotions. Many of them are slightly executed, and perhaps the work of his pupils only, but others are of great beauty. The treatment of the subjects is conventional, but the sentiment always deep and individual. The Last Supper is represented as in the picture by Justus of Ghent at Urbino (see p. 22), not in the usual way, as a meal, but as the institution of the Sacrament; this is not unfrequent in early Byzantine art. In subjects involving much action, as in the Betrayal, Fra Giovanni's composition is often unskilful; and he is more successful when he treats such themes symbolically, as in the Mocking of Christ, where he only represents the mystic aspect of the scene. He has not shown us the crowd of scoffers; only symbols of torture are seen, a hand to scourge, a mouth to spit. Christ stands with His eyes bandaged; the beatific expression of His lips is superior to all earthly torment. At His feet sit the Virgin and S. Dominic absorbed in meditation on His sufferings. The Pietà and the Mount of Olives are full of spiritual tenderness and naive poetical sentiment. The Coronation of the Virgin is most festal in conception, though very simple—Christ and the Virgin both robed in white. A cell occupied by Cosmo de' Medici when he retired for religious exercises is appropriately decorated with the Adoration of the three Kings.

When he began to work in S. Mark's Fra Giovanni was nearly fifty years old, but Vasari mentions him as one of the first to study Masaccio's works executed in the Brancacci Chapel about ten years previously; this is no doubt true, for his later pictures at Rome and at Orvieto amply prove that in spite of his limited scope and single-mindedness he did not shut his eyes to the realistic tendencies of the new school. He went to Rome[10] at the invitation of Pope Eugene IV. (who died in 1447) and continued to paint there for Nicholas V. It was in 1447 that he accepted a commission from the authorities in charge of the building of the Duomo at Orvieto to decorate

Fig. 258.

their new chapel there.[11] But he never completed the work, and only two compartments of the apse are by his hand. They contain Christ sitting in judgment with Angels and Prophets.

The chapel he decorated for Eugene IV. in the Vatican has perished, but

Fig. 259.

that which he began in 1447 for Pope Nicholas V. still exists. It has two series of pictures from the histories of S. Stephen and S. Laurence, with single figures on the pilasters and evangelists above. These display all Fra Giovanni's fervent spiritualism, but the influence of the later realistic school is unmistakable. In the scene where Stephen is led away to be stoned the action is not so free

as might be, but in the picture of his trial by the council the dramatic vigour is admirable. In several accessory incidents the expression of the actors is naive and touching, as, for instance, the blind man feeling his way, and the children with their frank trustfulness, in the picture of the Saint giving Alms (Fig. 259). He has succeeded too with the perspective of the arcade and niche, placing the point of sight in the centre and rather high up. This chapel is close to the rooms which contain the master-works of Raphael, but even after seeing these the earlier painter's works delight us by their simplicity, and the spiritual peace and fervour which pervade them. Fra Giovanni died in Rome in 1455, and was buried in the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which belongs to his order.

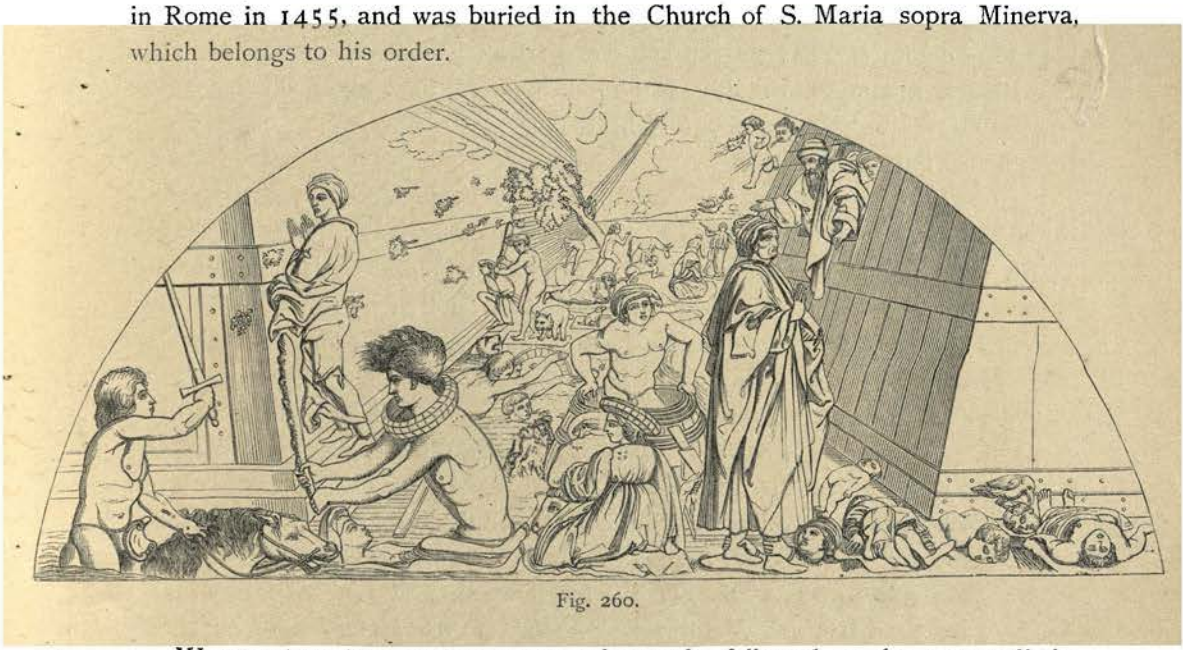


Fig. 260.

We now turn to a contemporary painter who followed up the new realistic tendency with remarkable energy, but in so one-sided a manner that he failed in achieving any true harmony of style. *Paolo di Dono*, known as *Paolo Uccello*, was born in 1397 and died on the 14th of December 1475. His pronounced naturalism led him to study animals as well as men from the life, and a love of painting birds seems to have procured him his nickname. Under the influence of Brunelleschi and Manetti the mathematician he studied the theory of perspective, which he subsequently applied not merely to the drawing of architecture but to the placing and foreshortening of his figures. But these practical considerations fettered his style, which was often artificial, and he sacrificed the grace and truth of nature in his pursuit of naturalism. Few of his works remain to us; of his mural decorations the tops of the arches in the *Chiostro Verde* of S. Maria Novella, Florence, are the most remarkable. They are in monochrome of a green colour; the subjects are from the book of Genesis. The most interesting is the Flood (Fig. 260). The composition is

unskilful, the ark being seen on each side, and, in spite of the elaborate use of perspective, the groups lack connection; still there is striking power in the treatment of the details—the naked man on horseback fighting while he struggles with the waters, the drowned bodies on which birds of prey have already alighted. Paolo Uccello's is an essentially profane nature; the religious aspect of a subject never strikes him, and he avoids sacred themes. Vasari mentions four easel pictures of battles by him; three of these are in the Uffizi, and the fourth, which is in the best preservation, is in the National Gallery; it represents the battle of Saint Egidius. In this again the powerful handling is what strikes us, the composition is not satisfactory. Finally, there is in the Duomo at Florence the colossal portrait in monochrome of Sir John Hawkwood, a famous English *condottiere*, painted in 1436; it is a fresco transferred to canvas, and the foreshortening of the horse and rider as seen from below is very masterly.

Andrea del Castagno was a contemporary of Paolo Uccello's, and strongly influenced by him. He took his name from Castagno, a village in the Mugello district, where he was born in 1390; he was not admitted to the Guild of *Medici* at Florence till 1445, which leads us to infer that he must have worked elsewhere for some years previously. He died in 1457. His principal works were in S. Maria Nuova (S. Egidio), and have perished. The companion picture to Uccello's Sir John Hawkwood, a portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino, is by him, and is worthy of its fellow. In the *Museo Nazionale* are the frescoes, transferred to canvas, from the Palace of Pandolfo Pandolfini at Legnaia—colossal figures of heroes, poets, and sibyls. They are simple and powerful, but hard and unpleasant in colour. There are two saints by him in the south aisle of Santa Croce, ascetic in the extreme, but the foreshortening of the heads seen from below is bold and truthful. Vasari tells the story of this painter having stolen the secret of painting in oils from *Domenico Veneziano* and afterwards murdering him.

Domenico di Bartolommeo (*Veneziano*), who worked in Venice, Perugia, and Florence, did not, however, die till May 1461, several years after his reputed murderer, and they neither of them were acquainted with Van Eyck's method of painting in oils, though, according to the account-books of the Church of S. Egidio, Domenico, who was employed there long before Andrea, used linseed oil in his mural pictures there. The only work positively known to be by Domenico is an altar-piece in the Uffizi signed with his name. The bright delicate colouring, the architecture, and the graceful figure of S. Lucia remind us of Fra Giovanni and Masolino, while the male figures in their vigorous realism are more in the style of Andrea del Castagno. [Two heads, very black in the shadows, represent this painter in the National Gallery—portions of a fresco removed from a palace in Florence. Two more heads, part of the same picture, were exhibited in 1871, the property of Lord Crawford and Balcarres.]

Alesso Baldovinetti, born in 1427, died in 1499, was a somewhat younger painter, who followed in the footsteps of Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno. He worked in mosaic, particularly as a restorer of old mosaics, besides painting. He made many experiments in both branches of art, and attempted to work fresco *al secco*, and varnish it so as to make it permanent, but in this he failed. Details of his life are abundant, for his diary is still extant among the archives of S. Maria Nuova,[12] but all his principal works have perished. To judge from the little that remains—a much damaged fresco in the Annunziata and a doubtful picture in the Uffizi—he was a careful but not very interesting realist. [Mr. William Graham contributed an example of this painter's work to the Old Masters' Exhibition in 1879—a little panel of the Virgin and Child, with S. John and angels.]

III. FRA FILIPPO LIPPI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.—The school of painters of whom Paolo Uccello may be regarded as the chief, though they were worthy rivals of Masaccio in respect of drawing and perspective, were his inferiors in harmony of treatment and pictorial feeling; they did not get beyond the experimental stage, and failed to achieve any great artistic result. In the first rank of Masaccio's true followers stands *Fra Filippo Lippi*, the son of a butcher of Florence. He was but a few years younger than Masaccio, being born in 1406; at the death of his parents, when he was about eight years old, he was placed in the Carmelite convent, and in 1421 joined the order. Thus he grew up on the very spot where Masaccio executed his great works; it cannot, however, be asserted that he was his pupil at that early date. After having already painted several works that no longer exist, he left the convent in 1431, evidently with the consent of his superiors, to exercise his art elsewhere; but he did not immediately quit Tuscany, for in a petition addressed by him to Piero de' Medici, and dated 13th August 1439, he describes himself as one of the poorest friars in Florence. In 1456 he was appointed chaplain of the nunnery of S. Margarita at Prato. Here he seduced one of the nuns, the beautiful Lucrezia Buti, who became the mother of his famous son Filippino Lippi. Lucrezia's sister Spinetta ere long followed her to take refuge under Lippi's roof, and, though they and three other fugitive nuns were sent back to the convent in 1458, we learn from a complaint dated 1461 that the two sisters had once more fled to join Fra Filippo. Cosmo de' Medici interceded for the culprits, and Pope Pius II. settled the matter by releasing the painter and Lucrezia from their vows.[13] Filippo died at Spoleto, 9th October 1469.

In comparing him with Masaccio we may first consider his frescoes, of which the most important are those in the choir of the Cathedral of Prato, begun in 1452 and finished, as it would seem, after a long interval in 1464. The vaultings contain figures of the evangelists; the wall-paintings depict scenes

from the lives of S. John the Baptist and S. Stephen. Masaccio's influence is perceptible in the admirable modelling of the figures, the fine grouping, the rich colouring, and pictorial treatment; but Lippi excels his master in details, in the dignity of his men, the sweetness of his women, and his pleasing adaptation of the costume of the period, while he has lost much of Masaccio's grand simplicity by an excessive characterisation of the subsidiary personages. The composition is not unfrequently formal, and the painter is apt to evade problems of perspective, as in the Lamentation over S. Stephen, by showing the architecture in full front view.

Filippo's last work, the apse of the Cathedral of Spoleto, was not completed till after his death by his pupil *Fra Diamante;* it is perhaps inferior to the Prato works, but has merits of its own. A frieze which crowns the wall contains three pictures divided by pilasters, with a graceful landscape forming the background to all three. The apse above represents the coronation of the Virgin by God the Father, surrounded by angels, prophets, and sibyls. Filippo Lippi does not rise to the seraphic ecstasy of Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, but the whole decoration is delightfully festal.

His easel pictures have more charm, and in these he appears as the first of the masters who were inspired with the true modern spirit. The grandest of his altar-pieces is the Coronation of the Virgin in the Accademia, painted in 1441 for the Church of S. Ambrogio by order of the prior Francesco Maringhi[14] (Fig. 261). The three round arches at the top of the picture are suggestive of a triptych; but the pilasters are absent, so that the whole forms a single composition. In front of the groups of angels that stand on each side are the nobly conceived figures of S. Ambrose with the donor and a saint of the order, and S. John the Baptist, below whom the painter himself kneels in adoration. Between these is a group of worshippers—Job, S. Laurence, and others that cannot be identified. This picture has suffered considerably, but it is still highly characteristic of the painter; the pyramidal arrangement of the principal group, with the supporting figures at the sides, form a well-considered composition, and there is a sameness in the heads of the subordinate groups which we often see in his frescoes. But in spite of the Virgin's humble grace the severer spirit of the Church is lacking; there is something secular even in the sweetness of the angels, and the group of a mother and children in the foreground is quite devoid of all traditional solemnity, bearing no part indeed in the principal action. In the same gallery is an altar-piece from Santa Croce—a Madonna between SS. Cosmo and Damian and SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua. A Coronation of the Virgin, painted for Arezzo, is now in the gallery of the Lateran. At the Louvre is an altar-piece from S. Spirito, ordered in 1436, but not finished till some years later, and mentioned by Vasari as a rare work, admired by all the painters of his time. In the National Gallery is a picture of the Virgin appearing to S.

Fig. 261.

Bernard writing (No. 248), which was painted for the Palace of the Signoria in 1447, [and four others. Two—the Annunciation (No. 666), presented by the late Sir. C. Eastlake, and Seven Saints (No. 667)—are pronounced genuine and fine examples by Dr. J. P. Richter (*Italian Art in the Nat. Gal.*) Examples from private collections have been exhibited at Burlington House; Lord Methuen's Annunciation in 1877. In the University Galleries, Oxford, there is a Procession of Maidens, attributed to his early time by Waagen, who detected the same master's hand in two pictures in the Liverpool Institution, formerly attributed to *Andrea del Castagno.*]

Prato still possesses some of the master's works in the gallery of the town-hall, and one in the cathedral, painted for Geminiano Inghirami between 1451 and 1460. In the Berlin Museum hangs one of the finest works of the master, signed with his name—the Virgin on her knees worshipping the sacred Infant, who lies on a flowery sward in a wooded landscape. The boy S. John stands a little way off, and in the background is S. Bernard; above, God the Father is sending down the Holy Ghost. The colouring is exquisitely tender, and the landscape, though not faultless as to perspective, is full of poetic feeling. The children's faces are delightfully innocent and arch, and the Virgin's full of sweetness and purity. In this picture we have the spiritual sentiment of Fra Angelico combined with the realism of the modern tendency. A similar work, but far less lovely, is in the Accademia at Florence.

This work stands on the very border-line between ecclesiastical art and the pictures executed for private devotion; Fra Filippo was the first to produce a class of pictures, of which the Florentine school was thenceforth an inexhaustible factory till Raphael gave them their highest expression,—pictures, that is to say, of the Virgin and Child with or without other figures, in which all that is mystical and theological disappears before the human and idyllic sentiments of maternal love and childlike innocence. The Madonna is always essentially Florentine; her hair is braided in the fashion of the day with a snood or a veil; the ideal feeling that stamps the Virgin in the Berlin Gallery is soon altogether lost. Even the type of beauty ceases to be regular and conventional; her nose is not unfrequently "tip-tilted," her forehead too high. Still she is charming, and the Infant, though apt to be heavily moulded, is tenderly studied from nature; the angels or S. John are His playfellows, and besides the adolescent and clothed angels, naked infants—"putti," as the Italians call them—are introduced, being in fact nothing less than the Loves of antique art. The loveliest of Lippi's pictures in this purely modern style is a Madonna in the Uffizi, painted for the private chapel of the Medici, and equally perfect in brilliancy of colour and loveliness of modelling and expression (Fig. 262). Two boy angels lift the holy Child towards His mother, who folds her hands in devout meditation. Hardly less charming is the circular picture in the Pitti Palace; the Virgin holds the almost naked child on her lap, and the background

is an interior, not perfectly correct in perspective, with scenes on a smaller scale of the meeting of Joachim and Anna and the birth of the Virgin. A Madonna in the Berlin Museum with the Infant sitting in front of her is unusually dignified.

With Fra Filippo must be classed a number of painters who, following in

Fig. 262.

his footsteps, handed down his style through several generations. The first of these was his younger friend *Francesco Pesello*, of whom unfortunately but little is known. Vasari gives the life of *Giuliano d'Arrigo*, born 1367, died 1446, and surnamed Pesello, with that of his grandson, whom he calls his son. The elder, though we have various documentary records of his existence, is unknown to us as a painter, but his daughter's son, *Francesco di Stefano*, called *Francesco*

di Pesello or *Pesellino*, born about 1422, died 1457, grew up in his studio and rose to be its master. We may perhaps attribute to him alone all the works that Vasari ascribes to both, and his account of their artistic career. At first he was an imitator of *Andrea del Castagna;* the same heavy realism is very conspicuous in the Adoration of the Kings painted for the Signoria and now in the Uffizi; but the animals and accessories are carefully wrought, and the subordinate heads are characteristic. All the less pleasing are those of the principal figures; the Virgin, the Infant, Joseph, and the kings have ill-tempered dull faces with big noses and half-shut eyes, and the arrangement is a mob and not a composition; the tone is sombre, and some experiment seems to have been made in the technique; but whether the medium was oil badly managed it is now difficult or impossible to decide.

In his later period, however, Francesco shows an increasing tendency to follow the lead of Fra Filippo Lippi; indeed he painted, as we learn from an early authority, the predella of the altar of Santa Croce,[15] of which the chief panel, by Lippi, is now in the Lateran, while three portions of the predella are in the Accademia at Florence and two in the Louvre. The picture of the Trinity which he executed for S. Jacopo at Pistoia is now in the National Gallery. [In the Liverpool Royal Institution there is a small panel from a predella, of S. Bernard preaching in the cathedral at Florence and said to contain portraits of members of the Medici family. It was exhibited in 1881.]

According to Vasari, one of Fra Filippo's pupils in the strictest sense was SANDRO BOTTICELLI, born 1447, died 17th May 1510; he was in the first instance apprenticed to a goldsmith, but afterwards rivalled his master as a painter of easel pictures, and did good work in fresco. He is best seen as a fresco painter in Rome, whither he and other distinguished Tuscan and Umbrian artists were invited by Pope Sixtus IV. (1471-84) to decorate the Sistine Chapel, begun in 1473, with a series of pictures from the life of Moses and of Christ. Vasari tells us that the superintendence of the work was entrusted to Botticelli, though this does not seem probable; there are three pictures by him—the second of the history of Moses, showing his youthful life, and the fifth: the punishment of Korah and his company; the third is the Temptation of Christ. As compared with *Masaccio*, or even with *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Sandro Botticelli's mural paintings are crowded and busy, because he usually unites several incidents illustrating the whole course of an event in one picture. Thus, in the first of those above mentioned, Moses figures seven times: to the right he slays the Egyptian; in the background he is making his escape; he drives the shepherds from the well for the daughters of Jethro; and in the foreground he draws water for the damsels; to the left in the background we see him putting off his shoes before the Burning Bush, and then kneeling to the Lord, who appears to him; while in front he is leading the Israelites out of Egypt. These scenes are full of life and variety; the vehement gestures, the flowing garments

and the grace of some of the female forms—as, for instance, the maidens at the well—are all highly characteristic. The other picture from the same narrative at first strikes the spectator as a single subject; the Prophet, it is true, only appears in it three times; the ruins and the arch of Constantine in the background betray the impression that Rome had made on the painter's mind. In the picture of the Temptation the centre is occupied by a representation of the people offering sacrifice in the Temple; on the summit outside stands Christ with the devil. The other incidents of the Temptation are shown at the sides, but this composition is confused.

There is but one fresco by this master in Florence—the figure of S. Augustine reading, a simple and dignified personage, in the Church of Ognisanti, as a companion to Ghirlandaio's S. Jerome, painted in 1480.

In his easel pictures Botticelli is a master of the first rank. Their deep spirituality and the poetic, visionary sentiment that pervades them are peculiar to the painter, whose life was full of intellectual stir, who was the friend of Dante, whose culture was on the highest level of his time, and who finally became an ardent follower of Savonarola. His ideal of female beauty is quite original; in the heads of his Virgins and youthful angels we meet always with the same type, not beautiful but full of a peculiar charm, and into which he infuses a dreamy sentiment, yearning, and reserve, bordering on melancholy. A large proportion of his Madonna pictures are circular—a form which, as Lermolieff (Morelli) tells us, became common in Florentine art after *Luca Della Robbia* had adopted it for his terra-cotta groups—and the skill he displays in adapting and varying the composition is remarkable. A Madonna in the Uffizi, for instance, is writing the Magnificat (Fig. 263); angels hold the book and inkstand, two others support her crown, and even the Child does not sit on her lap in unstudied grace, but gazes upwards; there is a replica in the Louvre. Another circular picture in the Uffizi, in which the Child holds a pomegranate in His left hand, is singular for the look of melancholy in the Virgin's face; examples of the same class are in the Pitti Palace, the Turin Gallery, the Berlin Museum, and Count Raczynski's collection. [The National Gallery possesses two of these circular Madonnas "of the school of Botticelli" (Dr. Richter), and interesting examples have been exhibited at Burlington House—two in 1876, the property of Mr. Frederick Leyland, and one in 1882, with the Child on a balustrade, belonging to Mr. James Young.]

Of altar-pieces by Botticelli the Berlin Museum possesses a remarkably poetical example, formerly in the Bardi Chapel in the Church of S. Spirito in Florence—the Virgin and Child with S. John the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist in old age, all in a grove of palms and olives; and a grand work of the same class is in the Accademia at Florence—the Virgin enthroned with six saints. Two angels hold the instruments of the Passion, two others lift the curtains of the canopy; the Virgin has a subtle expression of triumph; the

architecture is of great elegance. The largest altar-piece that Botticelli painted is the Assumption of the Virgin, executed by order of Matteo Palmieri for S. Pietro Maggiore. [This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1126). Dr. J. P. Richter also ascribes to Botticelli Nos. 592 and 1033, given in the catalogue to Filippino Lippi (*It. Art in the N. G.*)] A Pietà in the

Fig. 263.

Pinacothek is characterised by dignified pathos. The most highly finished picture perhaps that this master has bequeathed to us is the Adoration of the Kings, on a small scale, in the Uffizi. In this work, which was executed by the order of the Medici for S. Maria Novella, the eldest king is a portrait of Cosmo de' Medici, and other heads are also portraits. The picture of the Nativity in the National Gallery, with a sort of garland of dancing angels above and demons hiding, is carefully painted and full of ecstatic sentiment; but

the action of some of the figures is exaggerated. It is interesting as evidence of Botticelli's sympathy with the *Piagnoni*, the Greek inscription informing us that it was executed in 1500, when Italy was torn by internal dissensions, and ending with a reference to a passage in the Apocalypse.[16] A grand work in a quite different class is the figure of Fortitude enthroned, in the Uffizi, painted as a companion to some other allegorical figures executed by the brothers *Pollaiolo* for the Mercatanzia—the mercantile tribunal—of Florence.

Botticelli was no less distinguished in portrait painting, which was becoming increasingly fashionable; most of his portraits are half-lengths, simple in treatment, devoid of accessories, and with a uniform background. The portrait wrongly designated as *La Bella Simonetta*, in the Pitti Palace, is simple to excess; the female portrait in the Städel Institute is more pleasing; so too is one in the Berlin Museum, where there is also a fine portrait of Giuliano de' Medici. [For a portrait in the National Gallery, see *ante*, p. 281.]

The greatest interest, however, attaches perhaps to Botticelli's pictures of subjects taken from the antique. He was not, it is true, the first Florentine master who had treated them; Vasari writes of the Florentine painter, *Dello*, born *circ.* 1404, who lived for some time in Spain (*ante*, p. 253) and then returned to his native town, and who decorated chests not only with hunting-scenes and *genre*, but with subjects from Ovid and other poets; it was very usual to paint such decorations on furniture and the trappings of horses.[17] It is possible that Botticelli's smaller paintings in this kind may have served some such purpose, but the larger ones were intended to decorate the walls of rooms. His most important work in this style is the Venus Anadyomene in the Uffizi. It is evident that the artist derived inspiration from the literature as well as the art of the ancients; but the pensive sentiment of the goddess's face is all his own (Fig. 264). A large single figure in the Berlin Museum is a replica of the Venus in this picture, and two allegorical works are the Triumph of Chastity in the Pinacothek and a picture of Calumny after the description given by Lucian of the picture by Apelles. The painters of the Renascence, in its yearning for the antique, were fond of reconstructing Greek works from the accounts left of them by various writers, and this Calumny was a favourite subject of this kind; it was attempted by Raphael, Dürer, and Ambrosius Holbein. In this scene, which takes place in a splendid hall of Renascence architecture, Botticelli has given play to eager dramatic action; the gestures are too vehement to be classic, but the treatment reveals thorough study and the execution is admirable. [There are two pictures of classical subjects in the National Gallery (Nos. 915 and 916; "a Studio Work," *Dr. Richter*). A series of panels of a decorative style, belonging to Mr. Frederick Leyland and illustrating a story in the Decameron, were exhibited in 1880; they can hardly be included in either of the classes of Botticelli's works enumerated above; the famous copy of Dante with Botticelli's paintings is now in the Berlin Gallery.]

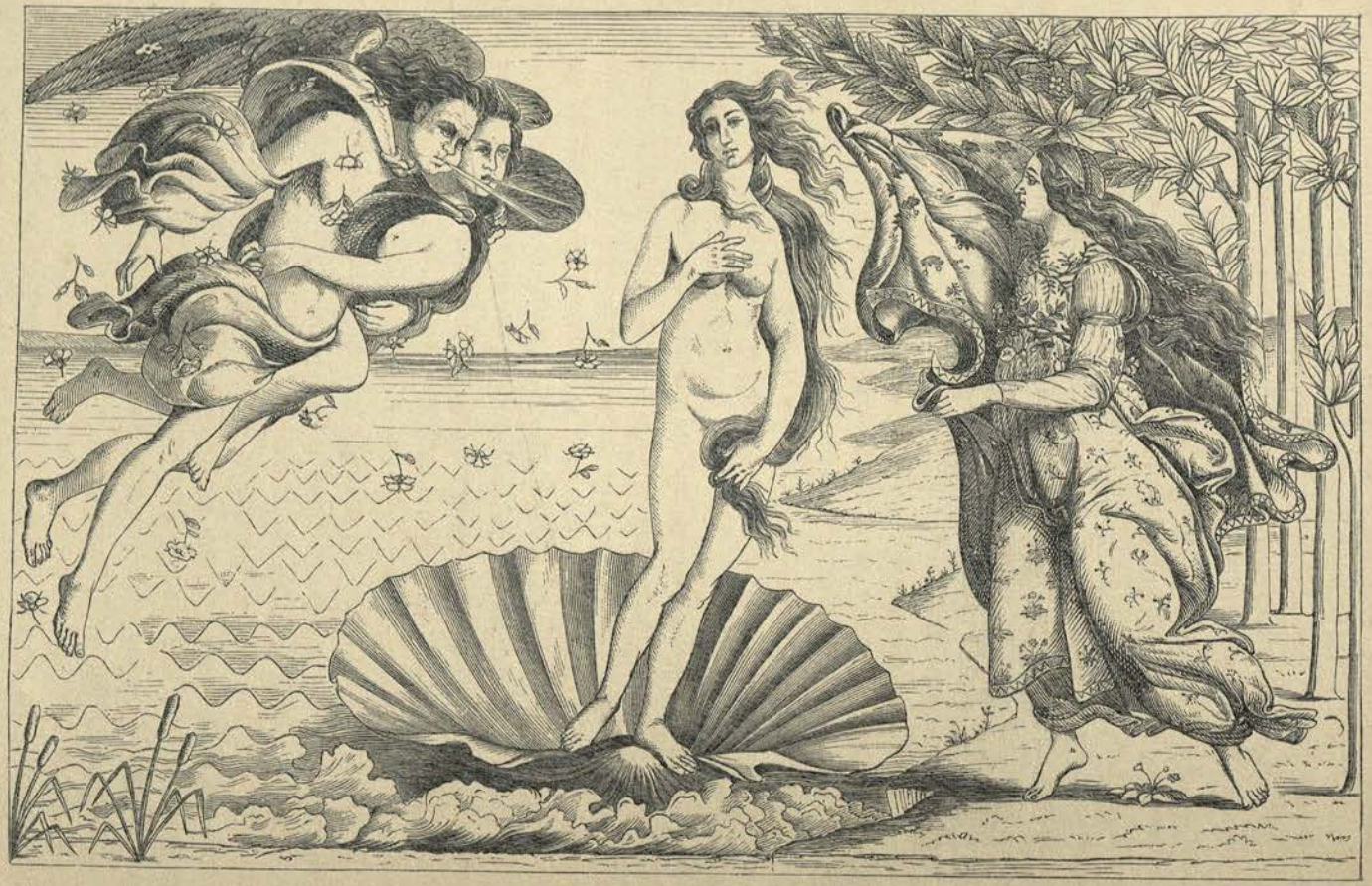


Fig. 264.

Filippo Lippi the younger, known as *Filippino Lippi*, the son of Fra Filippo and the nun Lucrezia Buti, was born at Prato in 1457 and died at Florence in 1504. His father before his death commended him to the care of *Fra Diamante*, his assistant; and he was subsequently, according to Vasari, a pupil of *Sandro Botticelli's*, whose influence is very perceptible in his easel pictures and especially in the type of his female heads; but he also studied his father's works and Masaccio's paintings in the Brancacci Chapel, and in his frescoes he is essentially their disciple. He was still young when he was commissioned to complete this chapel, which had already been the glorious exemplar for several generations of artists; this was probably in 1480-85, about sixty years after Masaccio had worked there. He began on the lower division of the left-hand wall. Masaccio may have already finished the composition of S. Peter Preaching (No. 11 in the diagram, Fig. 250). The larger portion was yet to be done—the raising of the dead youth by SS. Peter and Paul. It is generally supposed that the central group of this composition, and particularly the figures of the apostles, are also by Masaccio; but this is the utmost that can be attributed to him. A new phase of feeling is evident in the crowded groups of spectators who stand sympathisingly round the principal actors. Vasari tells us that some of the heads are portraits, the beautiful kneeling youth who has just been restored to life being that of *Granacci* the painter. The two lower pictures on the opposite wall are also by Filippino Lippi—Peter and Paul before Nero (No. 14), and the Crucifixion of S. Peter. Here we no longer find the dramatic confusion that prevails in Botticelli's frescoes. The architectural scene is all one, but the two incidents are as completely distinct as if they were parted by a frame. In the former picture Nero's head is faithfully studied from the busts, and the accessory personages are also portraits; Vasari tells us that one, quite to the extreme right, is that of the young painter himself, and *Antonio Pollaiolo* may perhaps be identified in the thin face with a tall cap close to the Emperor. The nearest figure in the adjoining picture is that of *Sandro Botticelli*. In this the erection of the Cross with the head downwards is very vigorously depicted (Fig. 265). The excitement of the bystanders is perhaps hardly adequate to the horror of the scene, but the groups are well arranged, and we cannot fail to admire the drawing and well-considered action of the three half-naked executioners. The two narrow pictures on the lower half of each pilaster are also by Filippo Lippi—the Angel leading Peter out of Prison (No. 15), and Paul with Peter in Prison. These frescoes are clear and harmonious in colour, and finely executed. It has often been assumed that the young painter worked from cartoons left by Masaccio, but there are no grounds for this hypothesis. He may indeed have endeavoured to model the apostles on the type set before him by his precursor, and has conceived the grand figure of S. Paul quite in his spirit, but a glance at the graceful attitude of the sleeping guard in the opposite picture is enough to show the difference between the two, caused by the lapse of years, which

Fig. 265.

is revealed in the action of the figures, in the character of the heads, and even in the scheme of composition. Filippino has surpassed both his father and Botticelli in these frescoes.

Of his easel pictures one of the finest is the vision of S. Bernard in the Badia at Florence (Fig. 266), painted in 1480 for Piero del Pugliese.[18] He took his

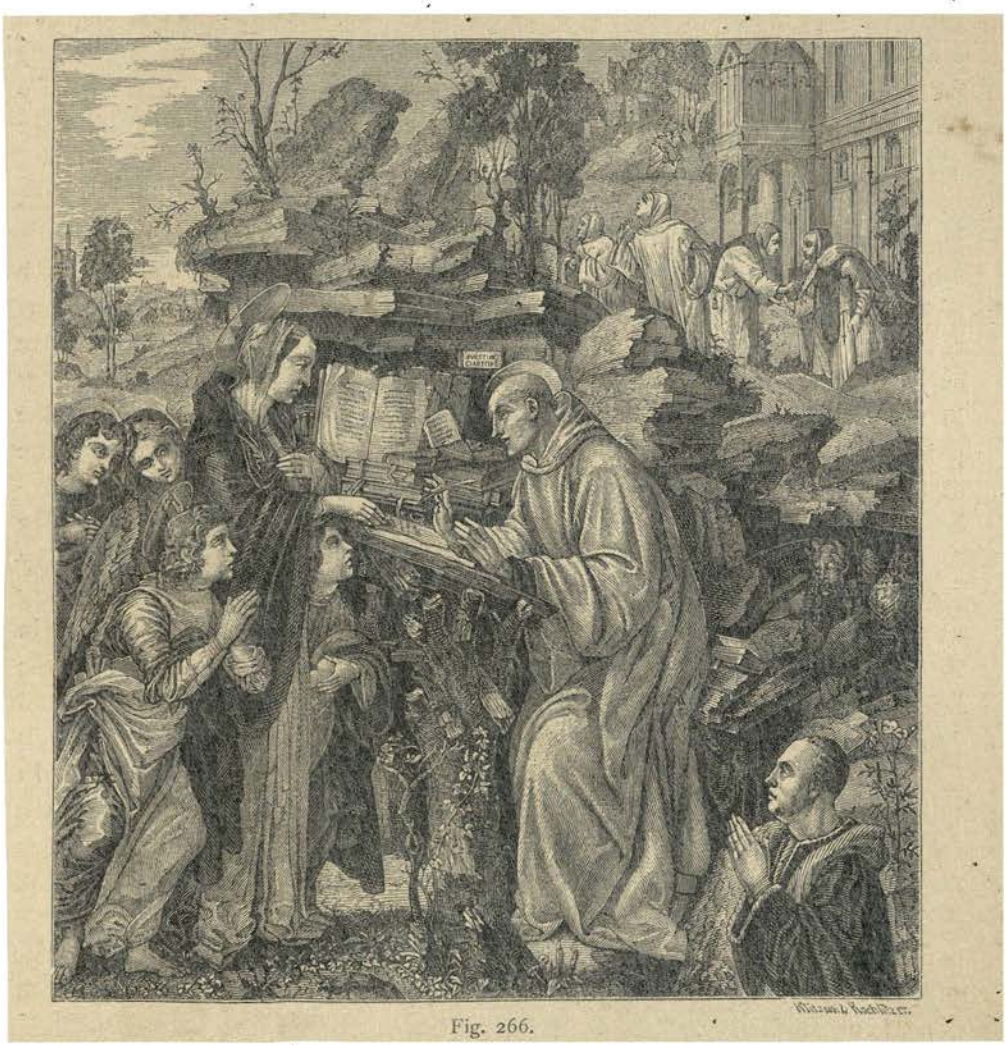


Fig. 266.

father's picture in the Palace of the Signoria as his model, but has excelled him in fervour of expression and beauty of treatment. The convent and some Cistercian monks form appropriate accessories in the landscape, and in front is the half-length portrait of the donor. The expression is admirable, and the finish of the painting is spoken of by Vasari. It is executed in tempera, but with a solidity and brilliancy as perfect as those of an oil-painting. There is a large picture in the Uffizi which Filippino painted for the Chamber of the

Council of Eight in the Signoria—the Virgin enthroned with saints and angels. This work, which in arrangement and the type of heads and in many portions of the drapery greatly resembles *Botticelli*, is dated 20th February 1485, or by modern reckoning 1486. In the Church of S. Spirito is another Madonna, painted by order of Tanesi de' Nerli; the painter has here surpassed himself in the dignity of the figures and subtlety of expression. A Madonna sitting in a landscape with SS. Dominic and Francis, which Vasari tells us was originally painted for the Rucellai Chapel in S. Pancrazio, is now in the National Gallery (No. 293) [with five others, two of which are said to be by Botticelli. See above, p. 296].

There are several Madonna pictures by this artist in the Berlin Museum, and a fine Crucifixion with the Virgin kneeling with an expression of intense anguish and S. Francis with a look of rapt ecstasy. In the Pinacothek is a picture from Prato representing Christ appearing to His mother after His resurrection; the background is a landscape, and God the Father is seen above supported by angels.[19] This work, and even more the Adoration of the Kings in the Uffizi, painted in 1496 for S. Donato degli Scopetani, represent the painter's later style. The delicate finish which is so remarkable in the picture at the Badia has given place to a broader handling. The composition is elaborately thought out, and the whole work full of admirable details and lifelike figures, but not satisfactorily distinct in all parts, and overcrowded. A very famous work, signed 1497, is the meeting of Joachim and Anna, in the gallery at Copenhagen. The finest of his quite late works is the great altar-piece in S. Domenico at Bologna, dated 1501—the marriage of S. Catherine with the infant Christ in His mother's lap. By the side of the throne stand SS. Peter and John the Baptist, Paul and Sebastian; in the middle distance is Joseph; angels look down on the scene. The architecture and landscape are beautiful. In this lovely picture there is no artificial or forced display of grouping; the saints are all absorbed in the action, and are full of life and nature, the two female figures very charming, and the study of the nude, especially in the S. Sebastian, astonishingly fine. The Deposition from the Cross in the Accademia is not equal to this splendid picture; it was finished by Pietro Perugino after Filippino's sudden death in 1503, and the upper portion, which was all he had done, is unsatisfactory.

In some of his late frescoes his striving after a freer and more modern style is even more conspicuous. In 1488 he was commissioned to paint a chapel in the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome for Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa, and finished the undertaking in 1493. The subject of these frescoes, which were painted for a Dominican prelate, is a cycle illustrating the dogmas of the order, the chief hero being S. Thomas Aquinas. The picture on the left wall, which represented, says Vasari, the triumph of Faith over Heresy and Infidelity, was destroyed to make way for the tomb of Pope Paul IV. Over the altar is

the Annunciation, with a portrait of the donor, presented to the Virgin by S. Thomas Aquinas, and the Assumption of the Virgin above. On the wall to the right, at the top, is S. Thomas praying before the Crucifix; which, being miraculously endowed with the gift of speech, says to him, "*Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma.*" Below is the Triumph of this famous champion of the faith (Fig. 267); this is a Dominican allegory, and the painter had to work by a strict ecclesiastical programme. The saint sits enthroned under a canopy; the arch-heretic Averrhoes lies at his feet; the four figures seated by his side represent Philosophy and Theology, Grammar and Rhetoric; the groups in front represent Arius and Sabellius, and their followers put to confusion by the confounding of their leaders. The subject was imposed on the painter, but he has handled it with masterly skill; the allegorical personages and the realistic figures in the dress of the period are equally characteristic and lifelike; the composition, based on the conventional pyramid, is admirably balanced, and, in spite of some superfluity in the drapery, the harmony of lines is well felt throughout. But what is most remarkable is the sense of proportion between the figures and the space; the perspective is good, and the architecture grand and beautiful.

Rome and its monuments had made a deep impression on the painter. Benvenuto Cellini mentions in his memoirs that he had looked through a collection of fine sketches of Roman antiquities by this master, and his son *Francesco Lippi*. It was with his mind full of these impressions that on his return to Florence he undertook to decorate the chapel of the Strozzi on the right hand of the choir in S. Maria Novella. The commission was given in 1487, but the work was not finished till 1502. The principal subjects are derived from the legendary history of SS. John and Philip. The Raising of Drusiana from the Dead by S. John is highly dramatic and full of expression; the astonishment of the bystanders is admirably depicted; and in the Exorcising of the Dragon, a legendary achievement of S. Philip's, a boy who swoons at the serpent's poisonous breath is extremely fine. The painter's classical reminiscences are perceptible in the candelabra in this picture, in the bier in the one opposite, in the architecture and friezes, and especially in the decoration of the wall where the window is, with pilasters, cornices, and arches, angels and personifications of the Virtues, all in monochrome and of amazing variety and beauty. Filippino is feeling after a quite free and classical style; but, while his contemporary *Leonardo da Vinci* had already taken a decisive step in the right direction, Lippi's powers were unequal to the effort of shaking off the old traditions. Where he tries to be energetic he is restless and undignified; his draperies are often turgid, and the action forced and painful. The whole effect is not therefore perfectly satisfactory; but it is a monument of an earnest endeavour in which only more perfect self-command and certainty of aim have been lacking.

Raffaellino del Garbo,[20] born in 1466, died in 1524, was a pupil of Filippino Lippi's, and an instance of a painter who, after promising great things,

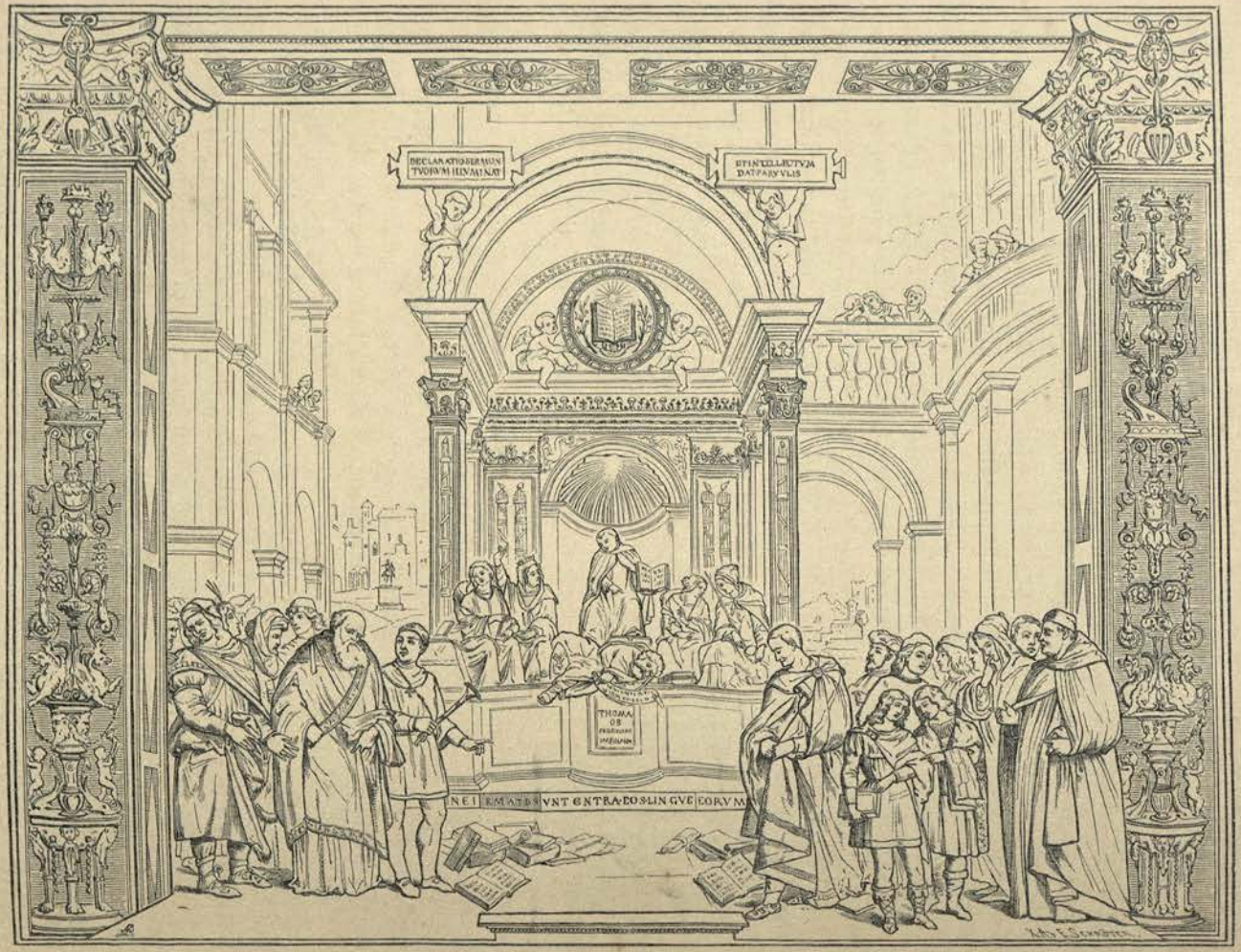

DECLARATIO SERMON
TVORVM ILLVMINAT
ET INTELLECTVM
DAT PARVVLIS
THOMA
OB
NEI EMATDS VNT ENTRA EOS LINGVE EORVM

Fig. 267.

could not adapt himself to the new order of things that was dawning on art, and finally became no more than a craftsman. In his earlier and better time he was a follower of his master, never original but pleasing and graceful. In a Coronation of the Virgin, now in the Louvre, from S. Salvi near Florence, there is excellent work, and the Virgin's head is charming. The Resurrection in the Accademia, though well painted, is weak; the artist was not equal to a subject so full of action and emotion. In the gallery of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence is a good altar-piece by this painter, signed RAPHAEL · DE CAPONIBVS · ME PINSIT A.D.MCCCCC.[21] This surname is not met with elsewhere. In this the heads of the donors are simple and lifelike, and all the faces are full of tender melancholy. The same feeling characterises a Madonna in the right-hand transept of the Church of S. Spirito, dated 1505. Two of his Virgins enthroned are in the Berlin Museum, and a third—a circular picture of the Madonna standing, with the Infant asleep in her arms—displays two distinct phases of art,—the severe and sober feeling of the older epoch and the freer treatment of the modern school. Raffaellino has never done anything better than this in grace of line and pure loveliness of expression. [An interesting example of this painter was exhibited by Mr. W. J. Farrar in 1884; it was formerly in the possession of Mr. Fuller-Maitland, where Waagen saw it. The only other work by *Raffaellino del Garbo* that he mentions as existing in England is "a very delicate and finished picture of his earlier time at Alton Towers."]

IV. OTHER BRANCHES OF THE FLORENTINE SCHOOL.—While these masters, all closely allied in aim and feeling, were perpetuating the traditions of *Fra Filippo*, many off-shoots were growing in other directions. An immediate pupil of *Fra Angelico da Fiesole* was *Benozzo Gozzoli*, whose real name was *Benozzo di Lese*, born in 1420, died in 1498; we hear of him as his master's assistant in 1447-49 at Orvieto. His first independent works of which we have any record were executed for the little town of Montefalco, near Foligno. In 1450 he painted a façade-fresco for the Church of S. Fortunato there, as well as an altar-piece which is now in the gallery of the Lateran—the Assumption of the Virgin, who throws down her girdle to S. Thomas. The execution is excellent and the modelling careful; the similarity of feeling to Fra Giovanni is still conspicuous. In 1452 he finished a cycle of frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco at Montefalco, besides a wall in the Chapel of S. Jerome—the Virgin with saints, and some legendary scenes, with the Crucifixion, in several panels, arranged after the fashion of an altar-piece. He probably lived in the neighbourhood for some years; a Madonna with four saints in the Pinacothek is dated Perugia, 1456.

Not long after this we find him once more at Florence, where he executed the frescoes in the chapel of the Medici Palace, now the Palazzo Riccardi.

Letters are extant from the painter to Piero de' Medici, written in 1459, and reporting the progress of the work. These pictures, which are to be well seen only by artificial light, are more tender in treatment than any of the master's other works, and they are actually the best preserved frescoes perhaps in all Italy. The altar-piece was probably a Madonna picture—perhaps that by Filippo Lippi now in the Uffizi—towards which the two ranks of angels, some kneeling and some standing, bear an evident relation. They fill a niche which has been turned into a bower of roses by the painter's art. The variety of tenderness and beauty in these heads is simply amazing, and they have not the sweet monotony of Fra Angelico's, but are full of life and vigorous individuality. On the walls, again, we are struck by the innocent grace that animates the whole. The subject is the procession of the three Kings on their way to worship Christ, figures in rich and elegant costumes moving through a wooded landscape. The scenery is somewhat conventional in details, but the animals are carefully studied.

On 23d October 1461 Benozzo Gozzoli agreed with the Compagnia di S. Marco to paint the altar-piece which is now in the National Gallery (No. 283). Good as this work is, the painter was always most famous as a fresco-painter—"*Ottimo maestro imuro*," his pupil *Giusto d'Andrea* says of him—and the next scene of his labours was S. Gimignano. A votive fresco in the Church of S. Agostino on the occasion of the plague is dated 1464; S. Sebastian, the saint invoked as a protector, stands on a pedestal surrounded by all sorts and conditions of men; above, Christ is seen, and the Virgin as intercessor kneels, baring her breast, before the Almighty, who lifts an arrow. Many of the heads are fine, but some of the figures are stiff; and a finer work is the series of pictures from the history of S. Augustine which cover the walls of the same church. In these the painter has done that which he could do best—represented a simple story in pictures full of portrait figures, and a variety of episodes from daily life, with pleasing interiors, distant landscapes and streets in perspective. One of the most delightful represents S. Augustine preaching in a pulpit like a professor of the time.[22] Two Madonna pictures of 1466 in the Churches of S. Gimignano and S. Andrea, outside the town, may also be mentioned.

Benozzo's most celebrated easel painting is that in the Louvre—the Triumph of S. Thomas Aquinas, in the style of *Traini's* picture (see vol. i. p. 458); above are Christ with Moses and S. Paul, in the middle S. Thomas Aquinas between Plato and Aristotle, Guillaume de Saint-Amour lies vanquished at his feet. The picture came from the cathedral at Pisa, where from May 1468 till May 1484 Benozzo Gozzoli was employed in completing the mural decorations of the Campo Santo.[23] He continued the series of subjects from Genesis that *Pietro di Puccio* had begun, in twenty-two frescoes. The Drunkenness of Noah is highly characteristic of the painter (Fig. 268); for instance, the woman who covers her face with her hands and peeps through her fingers—

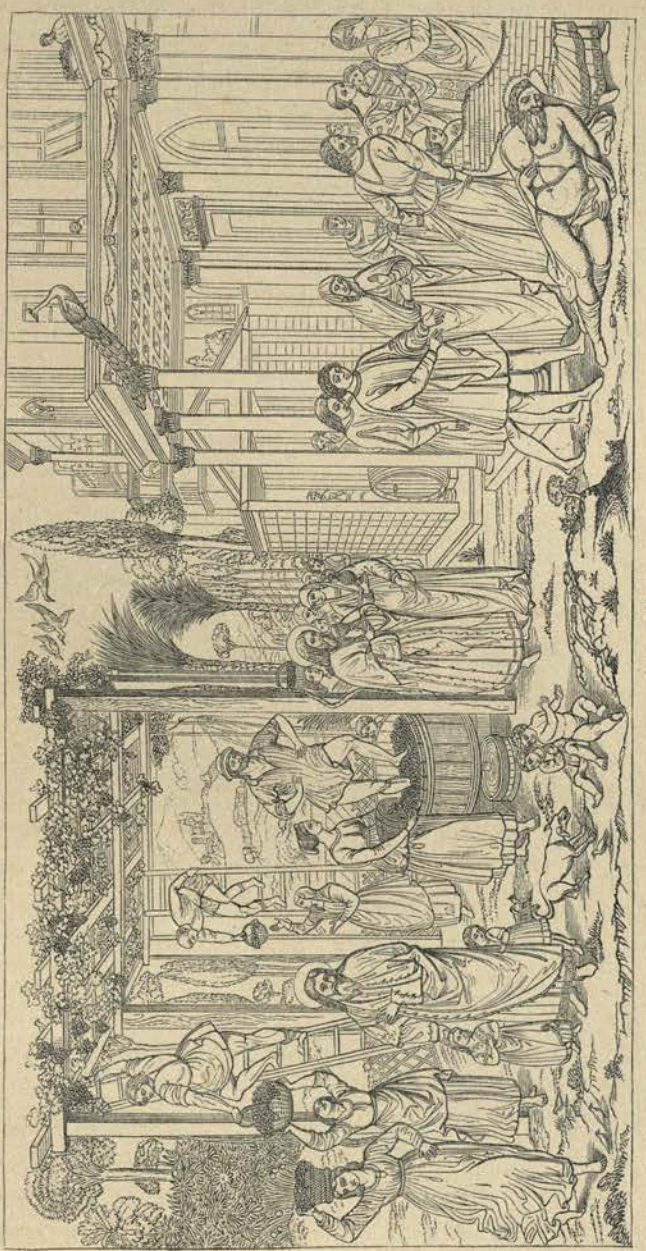


Fig. 268.

"la vergognosa di Pisa"—and the groups representing the vintage in Tuscany, that fill up the picture. The background is partly elegant architecture and partly a distant landscape. In the history of Abraham we have a battle-scene and the destruction of Sodom, but most of the incidents are peaceful, and idyllic in treatment. The episodes are generally as important as the principal event; children and domestic animals are introduced everywhere, and the accessory figures so crowd the scene that it is difficult to decide which are, in fact, the principal actors in the story. The architecture and scenery are no less delightful than the figures—triumphal arches, pillars like that of Trajan, palaces and temples, and the familiar Tuscan landscape. In this cloister of the dead, where, only a century earlier, the Triumph of Death and the terrors of the Last Judgment had been depicted, Benozzo Gozzoli now painted pictures which have no bearing whatever on the solemn associations of the place, but which enchant us with gay scenes of actual life. This constantly romantic mood leaves, it must be owned, a rather desultory impression. We feel the absence of any adequate and independent motive in the principal actors, and Benozzo, though amiable, is not strongly original. He reminds us constantly of Ghiberti in his bronze gates of the Baptistery, particularly in cases where they have treated the same subject. In detail of drawing we constantly detect the painter's lack of anatomical knowledge; in all his works it is very perceptible that he has learned in Fra Giovanni's school of Fiesole, in which the human figure was always built on a fixed standard in contradistinction to the realistic tendency that had developed itself in Florence, where the diligent study of nature was seconded by such scientific knowledge as was available. He selects graceful attitudes and attempts bold foreshortening, but without success; the proportions are incorrect and the joints ill constructed; his perspective also is weak. He cannot rank as an artist with *Filippo Lippi* and *Sandro Botticelli.* [Besides the grand altar-piece in the National Gallery above mentioned, Waagen mentions "an Annunciation of very original conception of the early time of this admirable master" in the University Galleries at Oxford. No examples have been exhibited at Burlington House since Mr. Bale's Madonna in 1870. A work belonging to Lord Dudley was, however, to be seen when his fine collection was on view in Piccadilly, "under the name of Ghirlandajo," which Waagen ascribes to Benozzo Gozzoli.]

Cosimo Rosselli, born in Florence in 1439, died 7th January 1507, was a pupil of *Neri di Bicci*—himself but a mediocre imitator—and in his independent work shows a marked realistic tendency, but he always lacked decision and training. A figure of S. Barbara, between S. Matthew and the Baptist, from the Annunziata and now in the Accademia, is still slightly archaic. A finer work, and his best easel picture, is the Coronation of the Virgin, with numerous saints and angels, in S. Maria de' Pazzi; the heads have character but lack refinement, and the colouring though powerful is hard. He painted frescoes for

Pope Sixtus IV. in the Sistine Chapel, but of all the painters who were employed there he is perhaps the least remarkable. Two of the Old Testament series are by him, as well as the Sermon on the Mount, and the Last Supper on the wall opposite. The principal action in all is insignificant and expressionless, but, as with *Gozzoli*, many of the episodes are graphic, and the figures of the women very pleasing. The same criticism applies to his fresco of 1486 in the Capella del Miracolo in S. Ambrogio at Florence. He also painted in the cloister of the Annunziata the Investiture of S. Filippo Benizzi, the first of a series that was subsequently carried out in a quite different manner by *Andrea del Sarto*. [A picture on panel in tempera of S. Jerome in the desert with angels, in the National Gallery (No. 227), was originally in the Ruccellai Chapel at Fiesole; Dr. J. P. Richter disputes its authenticity. An altar-piece belonging to Mr. Fuller-Maitland, of which the subject was described as uncertain, was exhibited in 1875; Waagen speaks of this as a fine example, and he mentions another work by this painter at Wootton Hall as "a genuine picture of the earlier and better time of this master." In 1878 the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres lent a Virgin enthroned, with figures of Tobit and S. Francis, a painting on panel.]

A pupil of his was *Piero di Lorenzo*, better known as *Piero di Cosimo*, as he was called after his master, who loved him as a son (born 1462, died 1521). His was an eccentric and dreamy nature, and in later years, when he found he could not adapt himself to the new *régime* of art, he led the life of a recluse. He had a particular genius for landscape; Vasari says that he painted the mountain background to the Sermon on the Mount in the Sistine Chapel. But he also was influenced by other and superior Florentine painters, as, for instance, by *Filippo Lippi*.[24] His chief sacred work is the Holy Conception in the Uffizi from the Church of the Annunziata. The Virgin stands apart on a pedestal and the Holy Ghost hovers above. On the ground six saints kneel in adoration. It is a grand composition, rich but a little heavy in colouring. His favourite subjects were, however, mythological or poetical; many of his pictures of this kind, crowded with figures on a small scale, have served to decorate chests and furniture, such as three of the story of Andromeda in the Uffizi, and a single picture in the same gallery, still more beautiful, of the Release of Andromeda, executed for Filippo Strozzi. They are often slight in execution, and the figures ill proportioned, but poetical in feeling and quite modern in conception. Finer than these are the Death of Procris in the National Gallery (No. 698), and the Mars and Venus in the Berlin Museum. This last is the picture which belonged to Vasari. Venus is reclining under myrtles, while Cupid points to Mars, who lies asleep; the landscape and accessories are delightful, and though the drawing of the nude is not wholly satisfactory the modelling is surprisingly tender. It is less antique in sentiment than Botticelli's work; all that Piero derived from the antique was its poetry; his spirit has the

fairy-like grace of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream.* [Besides the very lovely Death of Procris here mentioned, two Bacchanalian subjects in the collection of Sir T. Sebright at Bowood were identified by Waagen as having been painted for Giovanni Vespucci; a portrait in the Dulwich Gallery (No. 133) is ascribed to this master in the Critical Catalogue compiled by Richter and Sparkes.]

Many Florentine painters of this period were the sons of goldsmiths, or had begun their training by doing goldsmith's work, including modelling in clay, and when they subsequently took to painting, their technique and treatment had a peculiar stamp of its own—only in easel pictures, however, for they never undertook works in fresco. The first in importance of the painters who studied under these conditions was *Antonio Pollaiolo*, who was born in Florence in 1429, and died in 1498 at Rome, whither he had gone to execute the monuments of Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII.; associated with him we may also speak of his younger brother *Piero*, born 1443, died 1496. There is a monument to the two brothers in S. Pietro in Vincoli at Rome, and during life they commonly worked together without any distinction being made between them. It is, however, to be noted that Albertini in the *Memoriale* of 1510 only speaks of "*Piero Pullaro*" as a painter, and distinctly ascribes to him and him alone the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian in the oratory of S. Sebastian de' Pucci in the Annunziata, now in the National Gallery (No. 292); while Vasari expressly ascribes it to *Antonio*, after mentioning several works as those of the two brothers. Apart from Vasari there is no evidence of Antonio's having worked as a painter; the corroboration of Vasari's statement is to be found in the resemblance of this S. Sebastian, which was finished in 1475, to the drawing and style of Antonio Pollaiolo's engraved works, one of which—a combat between naked men—is signed with his name in full (B. 2). As a whole, the S. Sebastian lacks compactness and harmony of line, but the seven nude or semi-nude figures show a realistic and careful study not only of the figure but of anatomy, with an extraordinary knowledge of foreshortening (Fig. 269). The habit of working in metal is plainly stamped on the treatment alike of the flesh and of the draperies, in the sharp rigidity of the outlines, a rather laboured finish of the surface, and a strength of relief that is almost illusory. The technique by which this is attained consists in a free use of glazing, particularly in the draperies, combined with a heavy impasto in the nude flesh. This is in fact the method of the older art of tempera painting, but for the glazing oil has probably been used. There is no sign of the knowledge of the true technique of oil painting as it was understood in the Flemish schools; the execution is cold, and the high relief is obtained at the sacrifice of texture, especially in the flesh. A picture signed by *Piero Pollaiolo* and dated 1483 is in the choir of the church at San Gimignano—the Coronation of the Virgin, with angels and six kneeling saints; the expression of ascetic

rapture is very remarkably rendered. Here again we trace the practice of plastic modelling, but with far less knowledge of form than his brother had, and a taste for splendour of costume with less apprehension of style in the draperies; the colouring is rich and brilliant, and the technique is better understood.

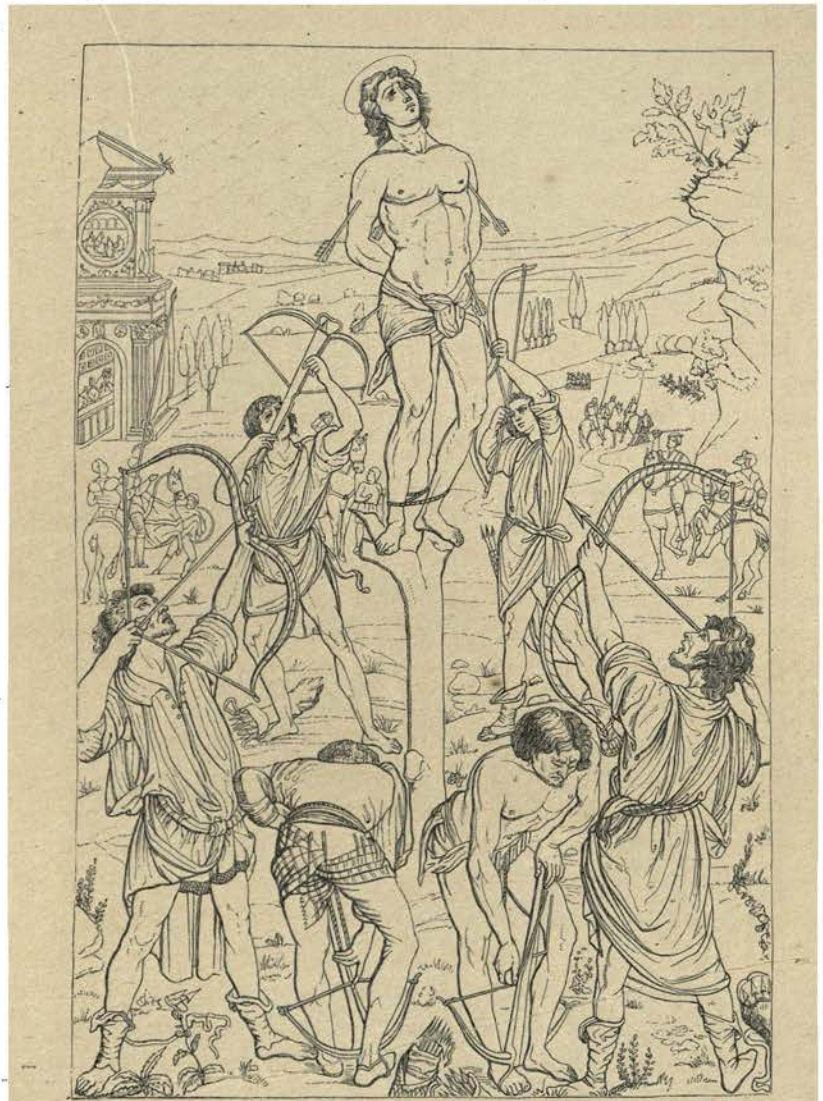


Fig. 269.

Most of the pictures attributed by Vasari to the two brothers resemble this picture rather than the S. Sebastian; for instance, the three grand figures of saints in the Uffizi, and Tobit with the angel, now at Turin. In these again the richness of the costumes is characteristic. The allegorical figures of the Virtues executed for the Mercatanzia are no less remarkable for the careful

treatment of the drapery; the Prudentia hangs in the gallery of the Uffizi, where the five others are preserved but not exhibited, being for the most part in a damaged state. In these there is also a dignified simplicity of style, even finer than in *Sandro Botticelli's* Fortitude, which formed one of the same series.

Fig. 270.

Two quite small pictures of Hercules vanquishing Antæus and slaying the Hydra are, on the other hand, more like *Antonio's* work. These are not the pictures of Hercules mentioned by Vasari, who speaks of three, each five braccia high, in the Casa Medici. Finally, we come to a number of Madonna pictures, as to the authenticity of which the opinion of connoisseurs is divided, but which in my judgment are undoubtedly by Pollaiolo. The most important of

these is the Virgin adoring the infant Christ in her lap—almost of life-size—in the National Gallery (No. 296). Here we are able to compare it immediately with the S. Sebastian, and the identity of handling, modelling, and technique seems to me complete, as well as the character of the type and the arrangement of the landscape.[25] The same hand stands confessed in a Virgin and Child lately acquired for the Berlin Museum and attributed to *Verrocchio* (Fig. 270). It is unfinished, for the glazing colours, with which the tempera was to have been finished, have not been applied, and consequently, though it is interesting as a study of method, it is unpleasant in effect.

There are other pictures of this class which, in spite of a certain resemblance to the work of the two brothers Pollaiolo, are less vigorous, though at the same time less crude, the modelling being softer and the material better understood; there is an example in the Berlin Museum (No. 108 in the catalogue), and one in the Städel Institute, ascribed to Pesello. These I consider as the work of *Piero Pollaiolo.* [Three other pictures in the National Gallery are ascribed in the catalogue to *Antonio Pollaiolo;* but Dr. Richter denies the genuineness of No. 296 mentioned above, and of 721, agreeing with Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Waagen speaks of two portraits in private collections as being by him. Two small figures of Hercules belonging to Mr. Charles Butler were exhibited in 1884, and in 1877 Mr. G. P. Boyce lent to the Old Masters' Exhibition a Virgin and Child under his name.]

A master who stands in close relation to these is *Andrea Verrocchio,* born at Florence 1435, died at Venice 1488; here he was engaged on the equestrian statue of Colleoni, the great Venetian general. He was goldsmith, sculptor—in marble, clay, wood, and bronze—painter, musician, and mathematician. His best work was in sculpture, and he stands forth as Donatello's worthiest successor. In painting he was less famous, and his glory rests mainly on his pupils. Vasari speaks of a cartoon by him drawn in pen and ink—a combat of naked men; but this composition, which he intended for the frieze of a façade, and a few easel pictures that he began were never executed. In fact only one authentic painting by him is known to exist, the Baptism of Christ, from S. Salvi near Florence, now in the Accademia (Fig. 271). Though the modelling is learned and careful, and the action of the Baptist free and expressive, there is a grace in the two kneeling angels that is far removed from severe realism. Vasari tells us that the head of one of them—probably the foremost one—was painted by Leonardo da Vinci, who at that time was Verrocchio's pupil; it is in fact the prototype of a head which frequently recurs in Leonardo's own works, and the execution of the hair is softer than in the other figures. Verrocchio's draperies are lighter and more flowing than Polliaolo's. We detect the "hardness of manner, revealing patient study rather than natural gifts" of which Vasari speaks; but we admire the thorough mastery of the details of the figure. His technique, again, is to paint in tempera and glaze with oil colour.

While Leonardo struck out a path of his own, another of Verrocchio's scholars followed in his master's steps; this was *Lorenzo di Credi*, born 1459, died 12th January 1537. He indeed carried into practice the principles that Verrocchio had been striving to apply; he painted only easel pictures, and carried his conscientious care to over-smoothness of finish. Though his method and treatment were based on Verrocchio's principles, Lorenzo di Credi had felt the influence of Leonardo's superior genius, and in his drawings

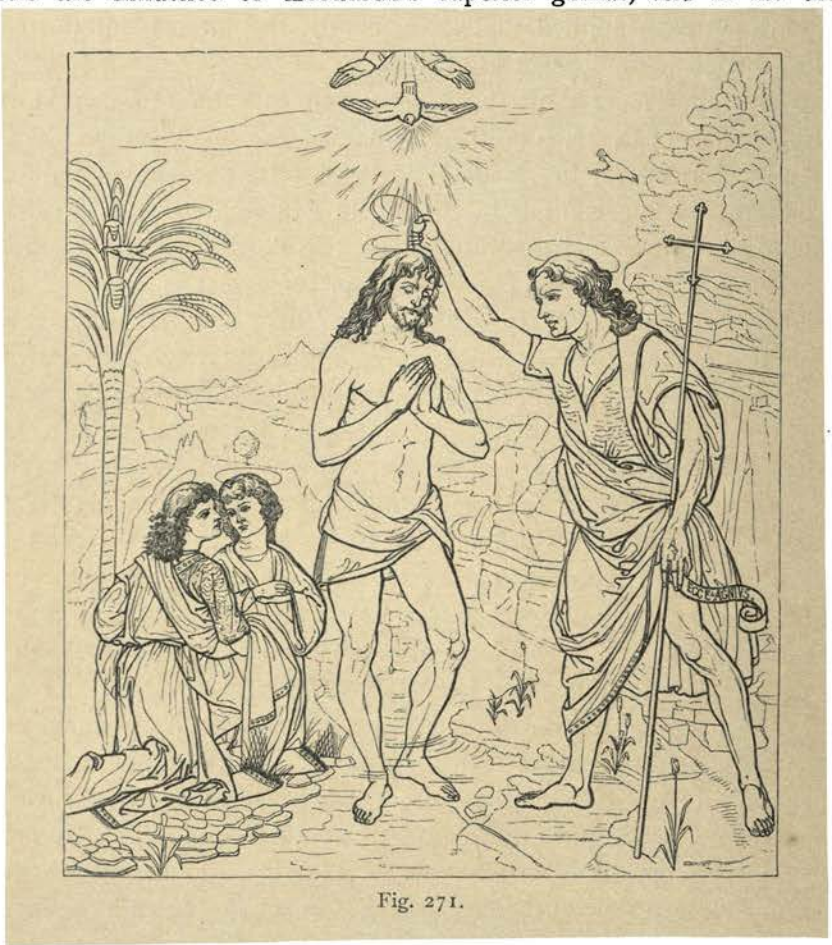


Fig. 271.

especially often resembles him; but he lived through the most splendid period of the Renascence without swerving from his first style. One of his principal works is the Nativity in the Accademia (Fig. 272). In all his pictures of this class the treatment of the infant form is characteristic of the painter; it is always very round and plump, the joints appearing as mere creases. With all his crudeness we often find a tender grace which occasionally degenerates into affectation, as, for instance, here, in the young shepherd who stands in an attitude in the foreground and takes no part nor interest in the action. The principal motive of this picture, the adoration of the Holy Infant by His mother,

was a favourite with this painter, and many examples may be seen in most of the important galleries of Europe. There are two characteristic specimens in the National Gallery (Nos. 593, 648); one at Dresden is erroneously ascribed to Leonardo. Of his large altar-pieces one of the finest is in the Cathedral at Pistoia—the Virgin enthroned, with SS. John the Baptist and Zeno. The head and feet of the Baptist are particularly fine, and the marble throne and steps well designed and painted. Even finer is the altar-piece in the Louvre from

Fig. 272.

S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi of which Vasari says that the painter had surpassed himself. [Lord Methuen's Madonna was exhibited in 1877. There is a Madonna by Credi in the Liverpool Gallery.]

V. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO, whose family name was Bigordi, was born at Florence in 1449, and died there in 1494. We have seen that the Florentine school developed in several directions, but in Ghirlandaio we meet with a remarkable union of the various tendencies it had taken. He was brought up

as a goldsmith, and afterwards became a pupil of *Alesso Baldovinetti*, principally as a worker in mosaic (*ante*, p. 269), but he was fully alive to the merits of all his great predecessors among the Florentines, ancient and modern. We see from his works that he was acquainted with those of Giotto, and he made a special study of Masaccio whom he followed as a painter of fresco.

The first we hear of his employment as an artist is in 1475, when, on the 28th of November, he began a painting in the Vatican Library, and we find at the same time records of payments to his brother *David* for work done at the same place down to May 1476.[26] All that is now left of Ghirlandaio's work in Rome is a picture in the Sistine painted then or later—the Call of SS. Peter and Andrew. The composition is well co-ordinated, the principal group is sufficiently conspicuous, the landscape and episodes picturesque, and the perspective thoroughly understood; the colouring is harsher than usual in a Florentine, but for simplicity and clearness the picture is one of the best in the chapel.

In Florence his chief works were some frescoes in the Church of Ognisanti—S. Jerome, as a companion to Botticelli's S. Augustine, a grave and dignified figure; and the Last Supper, in the refectory, simply treated. The smaller picture of the same subject in the refectory of S. Marco is but a replica in the main of this—the traditional long table, with S. John leaning on Christ and Judas alone in the foreground. From 1481 till 1485 he was busy with a wall in an upper room of the Palazzo Vecchio—a grand architectural composition, with S. Zenobius enthroned and other figures; quite in the distance spreads a landscape. This was followed by a still more important work, the decoration of the chapel of the Sassetti family in Santa Trinità, signed and dated 15th December 1485. At the sides of the altar kneel the donor Francesco Sassetti and Nera his wife. Italian art had at this date produced nothing that so nearly approaches the figures of the donors in the great Ghent altar-piece; nor is it in technique only, but in the dignity of realism that Ghirlandaio comes near to the Flemish painters. On the three walls are frescoes of scenes from the life of S. Francis of Assisi—his parting from his father, the founding of the order, the ordeal by fire, the reception of the stigmata, the raising of a dead child, and the death of the saint (Fig. 273). We see that Giotto's work in S. Croce had made its mark on the younger painter, but he has translated him into the newer style. The action is carried on with calm simplicity, the heads have all the character of portraits—indeed some of the most distinguished sons of Florence figure in the second subject—and the scenes are set amid views of Florence itself. In the last of the series an impressive contrast is marked between the lamenting brethren who kiss the Saint's feet and hands and the ceremonial gravity of the priests, at their head the abbot with his glasses on his nose; in treatment, drawing, and modelling Ghirlandaio excels every fresco-painter since Masaccio, and on these walls he shows a

marked advance on all his former works in colour and technique. In the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Fina at S. Gimignano the ceiling and arches are filled with figures; on the walls are the Mass of S. Gregory and the death of that saint,—in all essential details a repetition of that of S. Francis.

After the Sassetti Chapel he began a still more extensive work. He was commissioned by the Tornabuoni family to paint the choir of S. Maria Novella, replacing a series of frescoes by Orcagna that had perished. On each wall

Fig. 273.

there are six pictures, two and two, above each other, with a seventh in the lunette of the arch. In the narrow spaces on the wall where the window is, are figures of the donor Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. In the lunette God the Father appears surrounded by the patron saints of Florence; the two top figures are S. Dominic and S. Peter Martyr. Below these, the Annunciation is seen on one side, and the Baptist on the other, as typifying the sacred stories that occupy the walls on either hand. Thus, on the left-hand wall the legend of the Virgin is illustrated, and opposite is the history of S. John the Baptist.

On the vaulted roof are the four evangelists. The invention of these scenes is not original, but the incidents are represented with much simple dignity, and are impressive from the marked individuality of the figures and the masterly disposal of the masses. Ghirlandaio shares with the two Lippis, father and son, a fondness for introducing subordinate groups which was unknown to Masaccio; and here again he painted portraits of his brother and others, taking for his female heads the famous beauties of the day, but he always keeps the main subject distinct. The manners and life of Florence are recorded in these

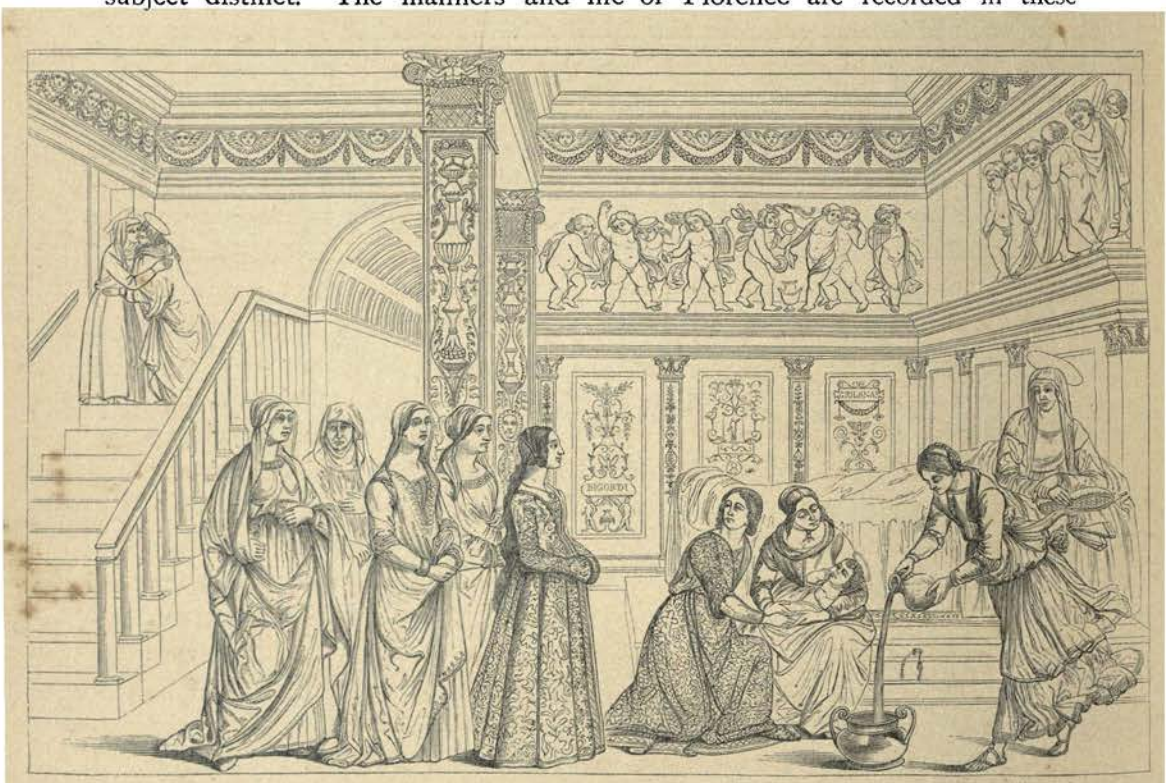


Fig. 274.

pictures with frank truthfulness; but with all this accessory *genre* there is a lofty nobility of feeling, as in the Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 274). The costume of the time is freely introduced, but the influence of the antique is also perceptible in the draperies, and the effort after an elevated style is not unfrequently strained, as in the flying skirts of the damsel who fills the bath in the same composition. The architecture and scenery are always delightful, decorative, and thoroughly well constructed. As compared with Filippino Lippi, who had also studied in Rome and aimed at the same results, Ghirlandaio is more sure and less pretentious.

A mosaic by this master, dated 1490, is preserved over a north door of the Duomo at Florence.

Ghirlandaio is seen at his best only in fresco, which he made especially his own; but he painted many easel pictures stamped with his characteristic loftiness, vigour, and thoroughness; he has none of the tender sentiment of Fra Filippo and his successors; his sacred works are essentially church pictures,

Fig. 275.

and not for the closet. The altar-piece formerly in the Sassetti Chapel is now in the Uffizi, dated 1485; he did not sign his name even when he dated his pictures. There is documentary evidence to show that the Coronation of the Virgin in the Palazzo Pubblico at Narni was finished in 1486;[27] the circular Adoration of the Kings in the Uffizi, dated 1487, is one of his finest works, only excelled by the altar-piece of the same subject in the Church of S. Maria

degli Innocenti, which was painted in 1488 (Fig. 275). A delightful incident in this picture is the presentation of two exquisitely natural little children by the Baptist on one hand and S. John the Evangelist on the other. In this admirable work the master has come near indeed to the monumental grandeur of his frescoes, and we may rank on the same level another altar-piece from S. Giusto in the Uffizi—the Virgin enthroned, with the archangels Michael and Raphael on either hand and two bishop saints below. A wonderful example of execution is the carpet in a Madonna with four saints, in the Accademia. The altar-piece of S. Maria Novella, which was probably painted in 1490, when the frescoes there were completed, is now in two parts, of which the centre portion graces the Pinacothek at Munich and the remainder the Berlin Museum. The back of the shrine is also at Berlin; this Vasari attributes for the most part to *Domenico's* brothers, *David* (born 1452, died 1525) and *Benedetto* (born 1458, died 1497); the hard and gaudy treatment verifies his statement. The Visitation in the Louvre is one of the latest of Ghirlandaio's dated works, 1491. The style is dignified; the two accessory female figures are indeed too sculpturesque in character and the drapery overloaded. In this, again, Vasari says that he was helped by his brothers.

Ghirlandaio represents the highest development of realism in the Florentine school of this period; a realism kept in check by dignity of style. He has no tenderness of expression, but much skilful individualisation, a thorough knowledge of perspective, never degenerating into illusory trickiness, ample classical knowledge, and a careful study of the nude without a parade of forced attitudes. In colouring and handling, though timid at first, he made rapid advance both in fresco and tempera, to which he remained constant in painting easel pictures. Masaccio was no doubt the more original genius, but next to him Ghirlandaio was by far the most remarkable and important master of the Florentine school in the fifteenth century. He closed and crowned the tentative work of his predecessors, and at the same time prepared the way for the coming epoch; for the greatest painter that Italy has known—Michael Angelo—was for a time his pupil. [Several pictures by Ghirlandaio from private collections have been at different times exhibited at Burlington House, and they cannot be regarded as excessively scarce in England. It must be added that doubts have been cast on the authenticity of most of them.[28]]

Bastiano Mainardi, Ghirlandaio's brother-in-law, was one of his earliest disciples (died in 1513). There are many frescoes and easel pictures by him at S. Gimignano, which was his native town. The Louvre possesses an example of this painter, a circular Madonna with the boy S. John, the background a lovely landscape seen through a colonnade; and there is another of his Virgins in the Berlin Museum. Mainardi's resemblance to his master is conspicuous; he is less vigorous in treatment, but tenderer in sentiment.

CHAPTER II.

ENGRAVING AND MINIATURE.

ENGRAVING—German and Italian engraving—Maso Finiguerra—Baccio Baldini—Robetta—MINIATURES—The mediæval tradition—Missals at San Marco, Florence—Missals in the Laurentian Library, Florence—In private collections—The calligraphy—*Attavante's* work for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and other specimens of his work—Illuminated Homer at Naples.

I. ENGRAVING is in the history of German art a subject of the highest interest, supplying an important factor; for it figures as scarcely second in importance to the art of painting, and was cultivated by the greatest artists. It is not the same when we treat of art in Italy,[29] where the technique of engraving was neither so well understood nor so diligently developed, and the mechanical art of printing was less careful and complete. It could not become so popular in Italy as in Germany, since the artistic needs of the people were so largely supplied by public monumental works. Nor was there in Germany the same demand for pictures of saints; and as printed pictures lent themselves less to the edification of the worshipper than to the intelligent enjoyment of the man of taste, the mythological and allegorical subjects which the Renascence brought to the front became more common. Finally, in Italy the inventive draughtsman and the goldsmith—the original engraver—were rarely united in the same person.

The art was first practised in Italy at Florence. We cannot, it is true, agree with Vasari in calling *Maso Finiguerra* the inventor of it; the fact that he struck off a few prints from a *niello* on paper and afterwards sold them does not prove that he ever engraved for the purpose of reproduction. But a name occurs among the many anonymous engravers in the later half of the fifteenth century which we may safely attach to several known Italian prints,—*Baccio Baldini*, born at Florence in 1436. According to Vasari, he was not an inventor, but contented himself with engraving after the works of Sandro Botticelli, who availed himself of this means of making his inexhaustible inventions known, and whose illustrations to Dante's *Divina Commedia* were published in 1481 by Niccolò di Lorenzo della Magna. The idea that Botticelli himself engraved these plates is founded on an error. Fra Filippo has also largely been credited with certain engravings, but equally without reason. It has already been observed, however, that a signed plate exists by Antonio Pollaiolo, who was a goldsmith too; and two others seem to be the

work of the same hand. The last of the Florentine engravers of this period was the goldsmith *Christofano*, known as *Robetta*, who lived on till the early years of the sixteenth century.[30] His plates are for the most part from drawings by *Filippino Lippi*, and the figures, in the style of the Italian Renascence, are often placed in a landscape copied from Dürer's engravings. The technique is in most cases very inferior. [Examples of his work exist in the British Museum, some of them being exceedingly rare and some very good impressions. The Museum is also particularly rich in impressions from nielli by Maso Finiguerra and other masters. A large proportion of the known plates by Baldini are also part of its treasures, including Sandro Botticelli's designs illustrating Dante.]

II. MINIATURE PAINTING was on the whole of small importance in the history of Italian art, and even less so in the fifteenth century than in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Very lovely works of this kind were produced, and they reflected the spirit of the Renascence; but they were in no respect independent of the greater arts, and, though there were still admirable illuminators, none of them displayed a marked individuality. It is quite intelligible that this minor art should continue to cling to old traditions and not yield to the newer influences till the middle of the fifteenth century. An instance is afforded by the *Vite degli Imperatori Romani*, 1431, at Paris (Bib. Nat. *Ital.* 131), with figures of the emperors, or scenes in which they take part, in the initials. The execution is elegant, but the style is essentially Gothic, and we still meet with the diapered background. *Il Dittamondo*, a work by *Faccio degli Uberti*, in the same collection, written out in 1447 by Andrea Morena of Lodi, is still mediæval in character. When the Renascence had gained the day miniature painting in the new style long held an important place, for, even after printing had become universal, books were still copied by hand and illuminated as objects of luxury, and it is not uncommon to find printed books with not merely the initials painted by hand but with highly artistic miniature pictures.

Among the earliest and most splendid examples of the art in Florence were those gigantic choir-books of which a splendid collection is to be seen in the Library of S. Marco at Florence. Many of those originally belonging to that church are very fine; the miniatures were formerly supposed to be the work of *Fra Benedetto*, the brother of *Fra Angelico da Fiesole*, but in fact he only wrote the text. They are more likely to be the work of *Zanobi Strozzi*, born 1412, died 1468, who was a skilful imitator of Fra Giovanni. Even finer than these is the fourth part of the *Diurnale* from S. Maria degli Angeli, in the Laurentiana, containing two large miniatures with figures 14 centimètres high. In this the borders even have lost the Gothic scroll and leaf work of an earlier date, and are designed in a new taste. The Laurentian Library also

possesses another work of the very highest class and of the same date, the *Ordo Missale* from the Cathedral, a small folio volume illuminated in—or soon after—1492 by *Gherardo del Fora* (born 1445, died 1497) and his brother *Monte*.[31] *Gherardo*, who also worked in mosaic and on larger paintings, formed himself on *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, whose influence is perceptible in these miniatures. A graceful picture of the Annunciation heads the text, followed by numerous vignettes; and there is a large picture of Christ on the Cross, with S. John and the Virgin, framed with a design representing a high altar with a bas-relief of tritons above and garlands of roses hanging from the cornice. For vigour and brilliancy of colour there is hardly another manuscript of this school to compare with this; the landscapes betray Flemish influence.

Many books decorated for the private libraries of persons of rank show an even freer acceptance of the new principles of taste; very large sums were expended on them, and their smaller size involved a still more exquisite treatment. The Medici were distinguished lovers of books, and the Laurentianâ founded by them still contains many a costly volume executed by their orders; among others *Augustinus de civitate Dei* and an *Aristotle* executed for Pietro, the son of Cosmo, and a *Livy* dated 1466. Other Italian princes ordered books from Florence; Federigo, Duke of Urbino, commissioned Vespasiano Filippi, a bookseller of Florence,[32] to procure for him the splendid folio Bible in two volumes, dated 1478, which is now in the Vatican Library.

Of foreign princes who employed the Florentine scribes and illuminators the most distinguished was Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary from 1458 till 1490, whose passion for books outdid even that of the Medici.[33] The magnificent library that he collected is dispersed throughout the world; several volumes are in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and some of those which had been carried off by the Turks have lately been restored by the Sultan to the National Museum at Buda-Pest. In these Florentine books the writing and the illuminations are equally admirable; the calligraphy, for instance, of *Niccolò di Faenza* and of *Antonio Sinibaldo* of Florence shows the influence of the Renascence; it has lost the Gothic angularity with its knots and flourishes, and has reverted to that classic cursive which was subsequently employed in Italian printing, and which to this day is the standard of its character. The ornamental frames and borders are at first distinguished by a white strap-work in which animals and monsters disport themselves in the mediæval manner, while often little winged boys in the taste of the Renascence are likewise introduced. The work just mentioned, *Augustinus de civitate Dei*, in the Laurentian, and the Italian version of Sallust's *Wars of Jugurtha* at Paris (Bib. Nat. *Ital.* 125), afford characteristic examples of this style. As time went on a new scheme of decoration began to prevail, derived from the increasing study of the works of antiquity. The borders, besides being frequently ornamented with medallions and shields of arms, are divided into little panels of various colours,

Fig. 276.

on which the arabesque is painted in gold or monochrome with infinite delicacy. There is no variety of the grotesque or the graceful that does not find a place in these beautiful designs, which often include cameo-like miniatures of heads (Fig. 276).

The most famous illuminator of this school, who was largely employed by Matthias Corvinus, was *Attavante degli Attavanti* (or *di Gabriello* after his father), born 1452. Vasari describes at great length a codex of the poem by Silius Italicus on the Second Punic War as being his work, and the volume still exists in the Marciana at Venice (Cl. xii., Cod. lxviii.)[84] But all the larger pictures that he describes have disappeared; only the richly-decorated first page remains, with the initial O and a figure of the author and an elegant frame, including medallions of various forms with half-length figures of heroes, and winged boys with arms and emblems. The intervening spaces are filled with white ribbands and foliage on a coloured ground with birds and insects. The exquisite finish fully justifies Vasari's praise, but the style is too early, and the fact that it was executed for Nicolas V., 1447-55, precludes the possibility of its being Attavante's work. Several books by him do, however, exist, authenticated by his signature. Very splendid specimens are *The Marriage of Mercury with Philology*, by Martianus Capella, among other works in the Marciana, Cl. xiv., Cod. xxxv. In this the title-page is very singularly arranged; against a richly-designed white and gold tapestry, with a crimson and gold border, hangs a steel-blue shield on which the scroll-work is more heavily painted to look like *repoussé* work, with "putti" and small medallions. The title is written on a blue disk framed in gold, and at the top is Mercury's marriage before the council of the gods. The opposite page also has a rich border, and there are several others in the course of the book, besides seven full-page pictures of the personifications of the liberal Arts enthroned. The coats of arms in the borders have been intentionally defaced, but a raven with a ring in its beak is occasionally introduced, the emblem of Matthias Corvinus. The emblem of the Medici, the giraffe adopted by Lorenzo de' Medici, is also met with, so that it was probably begun for the King of Hungary,

and not being finished at the time of his death was acquired by Lorenzo.[35] Other books that bear Attavante's name, with the arms or emblems of Matthias Corvinus, are a missal in the Bib. de Bourgogne, with the dates 1485 and 1487; S. Jerome's comment on the book of Ezekiel at Vienna (Hofbib., No. 654); and the *Breviarium in Psalmos* of S. Jerome, 1488 (Bib. Nat. Paris *Lat.* 16839). All these manuscripts, which are incomparable in point of design, are, as regards the figures, unmistakably Florentine. While *Gherardo* shows an affinity to *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, *Attavante* reminds us more of *Sandro Botticelli* or *Filippino Lippi*. The heads, especially those of the Arts in the Venice example, are expressive, and at the same time have an innocent simplicity quite remote from any ideal treatment. There are other works of the same date which, though not authenticated, are no doubt the work of Attavante; among them the splendid breviary of the Bishop of Gran at Paris (Bib. Nat. *Lat.* 8897).

As a specimen of the art of illuminating as applied to a printed book a splendid copy of the Florentine edition of *Homer* in Greek, 1488, may be mentioned; it is at Naples. The arms introduced are those of the Farnese family, and a portrait of a young man seems to be that of Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III. It is full of life, broadly executed, showing the hand of a practised portrait-painter. [A folio copy of Boccaccio's *Filicolo* in the Bodleian Library was executed, in Waagen's opinion, in the later half of the fifteenth century. In the same library is a very beautifully-written prayer-book and psalter, with elegant initials and a few architectural and figure pictures. Of even greater value is the Italian *Pliny*, printed at Naples in 1476. It seems, says Waagen, to have been executed for a present to Ferdinand II. by order of one of the Strozzi family; he attributes it to some excellent Florentine painter not much earlier than Attavante.]

CHAPTER III.

THE SCHOOLS OF TUSCANY AND UMBRIA.

THE SIENA SCHOOL behind the Florentine—*Matteo di Giovanni, Bernardino Fungai*—The Cathedral pavement—*Gentile di Fabriano*—The provincial character of the early Umbrian schools—*Lorenzo di San Severino, Niccolò Alunno (da Foligno)*—PERUGIA—*Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*—PIERO DEGLI FRANCESCHI—His frescoes at Arezzo—His advance in style and affinities with Mantegna—*Melozzo da Forlì*—The Seven Liberal Arts, and fresco in the Vatican library—URBINO; Duke Federigo da Montefeltre—*Giovanni Santi*—His rhymed chronicle—His frescoes at Cagli—His style and progress—LUCA SIGNORELLI—His masters—Early works—Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel—The Capella Nuova at Orvieto—His eclipse in later life.

I. THE SIENA SCHOOL OF PAINTING was far from sharing in the brilliant movement which had borne Florence to such an eminence. That movement indeed was little felt throughout Tuscany, and none of the larger centres experienced its influence, though good work was still doing and to be done in architecture and sculpture. At Siena, for instance, little of note was done in painting during the whole of the fifteenth century.[36] Her painters had neither the theoretical knowledge nor the practical love of nature of the Florentines, and their taste is less refined. The one merit of their pictures, more particularly easel pictures, is their careful and dainty though soulless execution. To examine them in detail would be but a thankless task. *Domenico di Bartolo*, a native of Asciana, whose career can be traced down to 1444, is best known by his great altar-piece, dated 1438, now in the Pinacotheca at Perugia, whither it was removed from the Church of S. Giuliano: the Virgin enthroned, with four saints, and the donor kneeling—these are half-length figures in niches with pointed arches; the history of S. John the Baptist on the predella is the best part of the work. The ascetic leanness of the men and the affected attitudes of the women are unpleasantly conspicuous, the drawing is feeble, and the drapery stiff. His frescoes in the *Pellegrinaio* of the hospital of S. Maria della Scala at Siena are even less important.

Stefano di Giovanni, called *Sassetta*, who died in 1450, painted the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin by the Porta Romana, and in this the formal arrangement and the repulsive meagreness of the figures are still more archaic. [A very small panel by this painter, a Virgin enthroned, belonging to Mr. C. Butler, was exhibited at Burlington House in 1884. The background is gilt; the picture has suffered injury.] In *Sano di Pietro*, born 1406, died 1481, this dry ecclesiastical style is at any rate somewhat ennobled; the expression

is more attractive, the treatment of the material (tempera) is delicately tender; still the whole result is very mechanical. [Waagen mentions various pictures by this master, among others a Madonna in the University Galleries at Oxford; and an example belonging to Sir F. Leighton, P.R.A., was exhibited in 1882.]

It more often occurs that skilled artists in other branches also attempted painting, but we do not here find that sculpture and the goldsmith's art exerted any such influence on painting as in Florence. *Francesco di Giorgio*, a famous architect and engineer, occasionally practised painting, but a more diligent painter was *Lorenzo di Pietro*, known as *Vecchietta*, born 1412 at Castiglione di Valdorcia, died 1480, who was also an architect, sculptor, and gold-worker. He, though he often attained an expression of grand solemnity, did not break the bonds of the old traditions. There is a Madonna picture by him in the Siena Gallery, and another, dated 1447, in the Uffizi. At Pienza he painted a large altar-piece of the Assumption, of which a small replica is in the Pinacothek at Munich.[37] Some frescoes by him have lately been discovered in the sacristy of the hospital at Siena.

Rather higher than these may rank *Matteo di Giovanni*, born 1435. He was to some extent influenced by the art of Florence, but his theoretical knowledge was too small to enable him to compete with it; still we can trace an attempt to learn from nature in the greater freedom of the drapery, in a nobler type of female beauty, and more freedom of action; the outline and colouring are still hard and dry. Of several pictures in the gallery at Siena a Virgin enthroned is on the whole the best; the figure of S. Sebastian shows marked progress in the comprehension of the nude. A Madonna in the Church of S. Maria della Neve, signed and dated 1479, also deserves mention. [An *Ecce Homo* (No. 247) in the Nat. Gal. is, Dr. Richter says, a genuine example. A larger picture of the Assumption of the Virgin is a recent addition to the collection.] *Benvenuto di Giovanni* and some other painters of this period need not be discussed.

Bernardino Fungai continued the traditions of this school in the sixteenth century, one of his pictures in the Siena Gallery being dated 1512. [In 1879 a circular picture of the Virgin seated, by *Bernardino Fungai*, was exhibited at Burlington House, the property of Mr. William Graham.]

An interesting work of art in Siena is a vast decorative mosaic that forms the pavement of the Cathedral, a work begun in 1369 but not finished till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Groups of figures from the designs of native and foreign artists were executed in black, white, and red marble, and the late work differs from the earlier portion by the subjects being light on the dark ground, with the effect of a hatched shading. The designs of *Domenico di Bartolo*, representing the Emperor Sigismund and his knights, the figures of the Virtues, and several scenes from the Old Testament belong to this period of Siennese art.

II. THE UMBRIAN SCHOOLS is a designation first adopted by Rumohr,[38] and it is now very generally accepted, though it is so far inaccurate, that the limits of these schools do not coincide with those of the ancient province of Umbria. Their centre at first lay in the valley of the Upper Tiber, extending eastwards to the Apennines and over the marches of Ancona. To the north too we must include some towns in what the ancients called Gallia Cispadana, and to the west Perugia, with Arezzo and Cortona, though these two cities were at this period dependent on Florence. As compared with the Florentine these schools may be said to have a provincial character; painting was not centralised in the great cities, but flourished sporadically in small towns and retired valleys. Hence the older traditions held their ground; the religious feeling of the Middle Ages not only survived, but here, in the native land of S. Francis of Assisi, assumed an ecstatic and sentimental type which is characteristic of the Umbrian schools generally.[39]

This provincialism was strongly marked in *Gentile da Fabriano*, who not only worked at Perugia and the neighbouring towns but in other parts of Italy. We find him in Brescia, in Venice (where he executed some of the paintings in the Doge's Palace), in Florence (where he was admitted to the Guild in 1422), in Siena and Orvieto in 1425, and in Rome, where he was employed by Pope Martin V. in 1427, at the high salary of twenty-five gold marks a month,[40] on some decorations in the Lateran, which have perished. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. We may form an idea of the character of his work from the Adoration of the Kings, in the Accademia, from the Church of the S. Trinità, which is signed and dated 1423 (Fig. 277). Two of the predella panels are also there; the third, the Presentation in the Temple, has found its way to Paris. In these there is no archaic austerity, but the compositions are crowded and inartistic. Still the grace and sentiment of the heads are very pleasing, especially that of the Virgin, but they lack depth of individuality. The painter delights in accessory incidents; thus a squire is taking off the spurs of the youngest king, and two graceful girls behind the Virgin are examining a gold vase. The forms and action of the figures lack purpose, but the foreshortening is conscientiously attempted. The colouring, though harmonious, is almost devoid of shadow—a reminiscence of the earlier style; its brilliancy is obtained from the gorgeous dresses heightened with gold. If we are inclined to regard this master's wide success as ill justified by this pleasing but by no means great work, we must remember that he painted before the Brancacci Chapel was decorated and before even the more important of Fra Giovanni da Fiesole's works were executed. [Lord Methuen's example of this master, a Coronation of the Virgin, on panel, spoken of by Waagen as "a careful work of his earlier time," was exhibited in 1877 at the same time as a much smaller picture of the Adoration of the Magi lent by Mr. William Graham. The motive of this is in some respects similar to that of the picture

above described ; one of the kings kneels, having cast off his crown, and S. Joseph stands behind the Virgin examining one of the gifts. A Madonna belonging to Mr. Edward Sartoris was lent in 1876. In the British Museum there is an impression on paper from a niello by Maso Finiguerra, in which "the artist has evidently taken for his model the exquisite picture by Gentile da Fabriano in the Accademia at Florence."—Waagen.]

A somewhat later artist of the Eastern school was *Giovanni Boccaccio* of

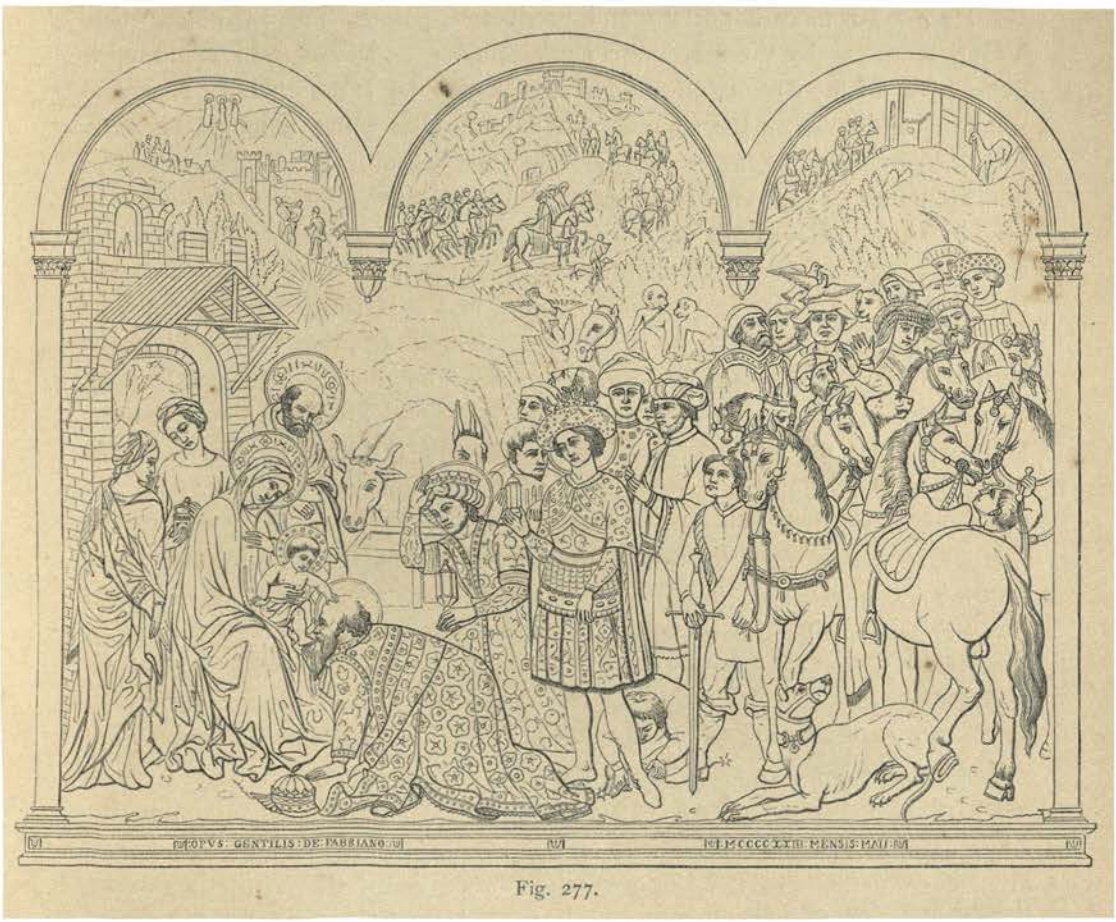


Fig. 277.

Camerino, who in 1445 was made free of the city of Perugia,[41] and in 1447 painted an altar-piece for the Church of S. Domenico. The Virgin sits enthroned, with the Child, whose hand is licked by a dog. Angels play and sing to them, while below stand the four Fathers of the Church with S. Francis and S. Dominic, who kneel. The figures and drapery of the saints are over-simple ; the connection with the Siennese is perceptible in the rapturous and rather affected expression of the Virgin and the angels, and in the regular symmetry of the composition, but there is a foreshadowing of perspective in the arrangement of the space. *Matteo da Gualdo,* who was working in 1468

and still living in 1503, was a follower of *Giovanni Boccaccio*, as may be seen from his Madonna picture at Assisi, but feebler and stiffer than his master. A contemporary painter, died 1503, was *Lorenzo di San Severino*, or *di Maestro Alessandro*, after his father.[42] His works display that ascetic tendency which was then rife in the school of Foligno. This may be seen in his altar-piece at Pausola and a fresco of 1483 at Sarnano, and in a panel on a gold ground of the Marriage of S. Catherine, in the National Gallery (No. 249).

Here a far more important and productive painter finds his place, whom Vasari mentions by the inaccurate name of *Niccolò Alunno*, from a misapprehension of an inscription on a picture, in which he is designated "Nicholaus Alumnus Fulginie," in the Church of S. Niccolò, but whom it would be better to call *Niccolò da Foligno* or *di Liberatore* after his father.[43] Works signed by him are dated 1458. In 1467 he was a member of the Town Council, and he died in 1502. His numerous works are for the most part large altar-pieces in several panels of Gothic form, divided by little pointed arches with small paintings in the gables and on the pilasters, and a lavish expenditure of gold in the attributes of the holy personages. The conception of the figures is archaic, but they are not devoid of character, and though their attitudes are awkward or stiff the draperies are often very happily disposed. A realistic landscape background is rare. The modelling is skilful, brownish in the shadows; the colouring powerful, with a pervading brown tone; and the light not well distributed. In expression he is deeper and franker than the Siennese; his warm Umbrian sentiment often rises to great beauty in his Virgins and angels; at the same time he can render ascetic rapture, grief, and suffering, though he occasionally falls into the grotesque. We can trace in him the unmistakable influence of a great Venetian master who worked for some time after 1468 in the Abruzzi and the marches, particularly at Ascoli —Carlo Crivelli.

His most interesting works are also his earliest. One, dated 1458, a Madonna with saints, in the Palazzo Municipale at Deruta, came from the Church of S. Francesco; another, in the Brera, is dated 1465; his largest altar-piece, 1466, is in the Vatican—the Coronation of the Virgin, with half-length pictures of saints, six on each side, and the apostles below, all highly realistic heads; there are small figures on the pilasters, and cherubs and saints in the arches. Of the same year is a processional standard on linen in the Pinacotheca at Perugia (Fig. 278), painted for the brethren of the Annunziata. Below the picture of the Annunciation S. Francis and S. Clara intercede for the fraternity, and above sits the Father surrounded by angel musicians. The differences of proportion are quaint and mediæval, but as regards expression it is a noble work. Mary and the Angel are most delicately conceived, and their graceful absorption can hardly be criticised as affected. Another banner of 1468, in the gallery at Carlsruhe, is remarkable for the depth of

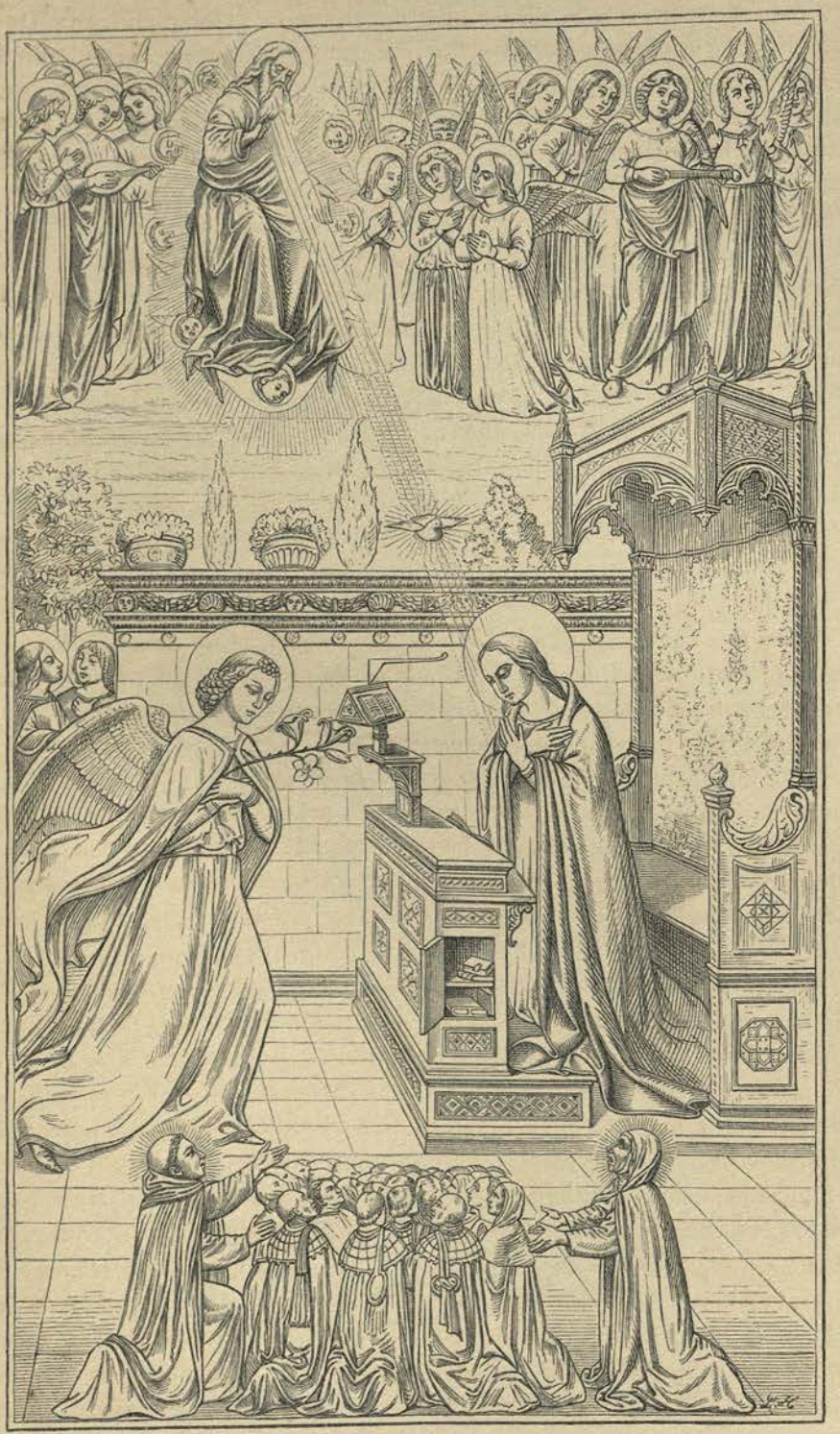


Fig. 278.

woe in the faces of the crucified Redeemer, and S. John and the Virgin. Quite similar in character are the five panels of the altar-piece in the Church of S. Francesco at Gualdo Tadino, and one in the Villa Albani near Rome, 1471 and 1475. The fine painting in the Cathedral at Assisi has lost the date, which has been effaced ; in this the composition is nobler, and the attitudes are freer than in the former works. The altar-piece at Foligno, in which the name and birthplace of the artist are recorded in a verse, has also had the date defaced ; this, which is one of his best pictures, represents the Nativity with figures of saints, and scenes from the Passion. The last dated picture by Niccolò bears the date 1499—a triptych at Bastia near Assisi. [There is a Crucifixion, with four side panels by *Niccolò Alunno*, in the National Gallery (No. 1107), which Dr. Richter considers as a genuine example.]

A contemporary painter who worked in a very kindred manner was *Pierantonio Mezzastri* of Foligno. Though weaker in drawing and expression than Niccolò, he could still be very charming, as may be seen in a fresco of 1471 over the door of the Convent of S. Lucia at Foligno. There are other works of his in his native city. He is first heard of in 1458, and his will is dated 1506.

The most important city of Umbria was Perugia, where there was an active demand for works of art ; many Umbrian, Siennese, and Florentine painters worked for the municipality, but the indigenous school did not for a long time rise superior to those of the provincial towns. The most noteworthy master after the middle of the century was *Benedetto Buonfigli*,[44] of whose employment we have record from 1450, and who made his will in 1496. He may be regarded as a follower of Gentile da Fabriano, but he gradually yielded to the influence of a more advanced style. He began to study the nude from nature, but he never quite mastered drawing, and he arranges his compositions with some regard to perspective, though still in a formal and conventional manner. One charm of his work is his warm and harmonious colouring. He was engaged at Rome in the service of Pope Nicolas V. in 1450, but nothing remains there that can be ascribed to him with certainty. In 1454 he was commissioned to decorate the Chapel of the Palazzo Municipale ; these frescoes are now much injured. Fra Filippo Lippi was called upon in 1461 to value the first portion, and the rest were not yet finished in 1496. In the Death of S. Louis the monotony of expression renders it inferior to such a scene as treated by Fra Filippo or Ghirlandaio ; but he has succeeded in representing an interior with pillars in perspective—simple enough, it is true. Of his easel pictures in the Pinacotheca at Perugia the enthroned Virgin with four saints and angels behind a balustrade may be particularly mentioned ; the arrangement is archaic, and the one incident which might have lent it life has unluckily failed in the execution ; the infant Christ leans forward to lay His hand on S. Jerome's shoulder, but the distance between them is too great.

A further step was made by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* No precise dates can be assigned to him. The first record of an altar-piece being ordered of him is of the year 1472, and as he was elected a member of the common council in the same year he must already have been a man of some mark. In 1521, when he was required to value works by another painter, he must have been a very old man. All his pictures belong to the fifteenth century. Of those in the Pinacotheca at Perugia we may mention an altar-piece signed and dated 1487; on each side of a niche which once held a statue, are the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, and in the lunette the Madonna with angels and cherubim; there are others in the same gallery. An important work by this master is in the Berlin Museum—a whole length figure of the Virgin on a gold ground; she and the Child on her lap both hold a pomegranate, out of which He offers His mother a seed. The frescoes in the oratory of S. Giorgio—the Marriage of S. Catherine—are by this master. Rumohr has pointed out that *Benozzo Gozzoli* seems to have influenced him in this work, but *Fiorenzo* himself often selects a type much resembling that of Ghirlandaio. Though he adheres to the severe arrangement and fervent sentiment of the Umbrian school, in action he is freer, and in his children especially it is evident that he often painted from life. [A triptych ascribed to this painter was acquired by the National Gallery in 1881; the gold background and the smaller scale of the donor are in the early style; none seem ever to have been exhibited at Burlington House.]

III. PIERO DEGLI FRANCESCHI was the first of the Umbrian painters to break the bonds of provincial mannerism and throw himself into the spirit of the Florentine Renascence. He was the son of Benedetto degli Franceschi, and born at Borgo San Sepolcro, east of Arezzo, probably in or about 1420, whence he is not unfrequently designated *Piero Borghese.* The first documentary mention of him is as the assistant of *Domenico Veneziano* in 1439 and 1440, when that master was at work on his frescoes in S. Maria Nuova at Florence. He died in his native town in 1492.[45] Though the master under whom he worked in Florence was of no great mark, this early visit to the city was highly influential on the young artist's development. He there laid the foundation of his whole practice, which was based on theoretical study. First in importance, he studied perspective on the lines laid down by *Brunelleschi,* and attached himself to those painters who carried them into practice—*Paolo Uccello* and *Andrea del Castagno;* he himself in later years wrote a treatise on perspective for painters which, though it was never printed, was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and much used both in the original Latin and in the Italian translation by Matteo dal Borgo.[46] His pictures amply prove his mastery of the science. He at the same time studied effects of light and shade and the perspective of tone, while in his figures, and especially in the nude, he betrays an unusual degree of anatomical knowledge. His technique,

like that of *Pollaiolo* and *Verrocchio*, was a combination of tempera and oil painting, but he was their superior in his use of the two vehicles.[47] The first record we have of an independent work by him is of the year 1445, when he undertook the altar-piece for the chapel of the hospital of his native town, by order of the brethren of the Misericordia;[48] this, which remains in its original place, represents the Virgin as the Mother of Mercy sheltering all conditions of men under her mantle (these are represented on a smaller scale), with saints in niches and on the pilasters; on the predella are scenes from the Passion and the Resurrection. He was soon known and employed elsewhere; at first by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, the lord of Rimini, whom he represented in a fresco painted in 1451, in the Church of S. Francesco at Rimini, kneeling before S. Sigismund with two dogs by him; the figures are placed in an architectural scene of classical purity of style. Pacioli tells us that he worked also at Bologna and Ferrara, but no trace of this remains. Vasari indeed says that his paintings in the Palazzo Schifanoia were destroyed when he wrote; the frescoes lately discovered in a room on the upper story are not by him, but an effort of native talent; nor is it known what has become of his paintings at Pesaro, Ancona, and Rome, where Vasari tells us that he executed works in the Vatican for Nicolas V., which were removed to make way for Raphael's Mass of Bolsena and Release of S. Peter.

As a fresco-painter we can now chiefly study him in the picture of the Resurrection in the Palazzo Pubblico at Borgo San Sepolcro, and in a series of subjects from the legend of the Cross in the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo, which has unfortunately suffered severely. The picture at Borgo San Sepolcro is remarkable for the admirable foreshortening in the guards, and a wonderful union of solemnity and realism in the figure of the Saviour, who still has one foot on the edge of the grave. The cycle at Arezzo was finished before 1466, for Piero is named in a document of that date as "the master of the choir chapel." The cycle begins on the left with the death and burial of Adam, on whose grave grows the tree from which the Cross is subsequently made; below is the queen of Sheba on her knees before a bridge which, as it is revealed to her, is made of the wood of that tree. Then comes her reception by Solomon. At the bottom is the battle for the possession of the Cross, between Kosroes, king of Persia, and the Emperor Heraclius. On the end wall we see the removal of the holy bridge by order of Solomon and the search for the Cross in a well, with the dream of Constantine, to whom an angel appears to promise victory through the Cross, and at the side the Annunciation (Fig. 279). On the right-hand wall, in the middle, is the finding of the three crosses and the test of the true Cross by the miraculous raising from the dead in the presence of the Empress Helena; above this is the solemn erection of the Cross at Jerusalem, and below are the victory of Constantine and the destruction of Maxentius.

Piero degli Franceschi is a thoughtful painter; he constructs his composi-

Fig. 279.

tion on theoretical principles; his figures are plastic objects, having their due place and proportions, amazingly accurate in perspective and relief. He displays advanced anatomical knowledge of the nude, as in the picture of Adam's death, and has mastered the difficulties of position and foreshortening. At the same time he is strangely unsatisfactory in his choice of types, and often

dependent on an inferior model. He is fond of introducing the costume of the time, or oriental dress, of which he would see examples in the Eastern coast-towns. His study of armour and its reflections are superlatively careful; his horses are well drawn so long as the action is not too energetic. In some of his pictures he makes experiments in chiaroscuro, as in the Emperor's Dream, where the light proceeds from the angel and falls on the bed, the chamberlain, and the guards. The architecture is thoroughly well constructed, and in that we see a conscientious study of antiquity which is not perceptible in his realistic treatment of the figures. Still, in spite of remarkable truth to nature, the petrified rigidity of the figures is surprising; even in the faces there is a stony lack of expression, and though the men's heads are occasionally fine in spite of their coldness, the women with their long necks, high foreheads, and sleepy eyes are most uninteresting. Even the Virgin in the Annunciation, to whom he has evidently intended to give an ideal character, with her short upper lip, is haughty rather than noble looking, and her stiff statuesque dignity is somewhat affected; with all his learning he never achieves any glow or spontaneity of effect.

Among his easel pictures the Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery (No. 665), in spite of its bad state of preservation, comes the nearest to his frescoes in treatment, especially of the nude. It was originally in the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo San Sepolcro; of other later pictures the Assumption of the Virgin in S. Chiara at Borgo San Sepolcro may be mentioned;[49] and among his small works of higher interest and merit are a S. Jerome, before whom a donor kneels in a red dress, in the Accademia at Venice, and a few pictures done for the Court of Urbino. His visit there took place in 1469, as we learn from the accounts kept by Giovanni Santi.[50] In the sacristy of the Cathedral is one of his masterpieces—the Flagellation of Christ; it takes place in a splendid Renascence hall. To the right, in front, stand three fine portrait figures, and the whole is a grand design in perspective, admirably worked out. In the Uffizi there are portraits by him of Federigo di Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino, and Battista Sforza his wife, finely painted and well modelled, but absolutely cold and expressionless. [Besides the picture above alluded to, the National Gallery possesses other three examples of this master—two portraits, answering to the description of his work given above (No. 758 Morelli believes is by P. Uccello), and a small picture of the Nativity.] Piero degli Franceschi's style has various affinities with that of one of his greatest contemporaries in the northern provinces, *Andrea Mantegna*, of whom we shall speak presently; but Mantegna was his superior, not only in inventiveness and power but in taste and expression. Still, though dogmatic severity set such strict limits to his creative talent, Piero was certainly one of the most important masters of his time, from the influence he exerted far and wide as a teacher, and as a model for imitation.

A painter who at first followed in his footsteps was *Melozzo da Forlì* (his family name was *Melozzo degli Ambrosi*), born 1438, died at Forlì on 8th November 1494.[51] His early progress is lost to our ken; we find him at the height of his powers in Rome, where he worked for Pope Sixtus IV., and not merely as a visitor, like many of the Florentine painters, but for several years. When that pope founded the Accademia di San Luca his name as *Melotius Pictor Papalis* was one of the first on the list of members. His chief work, of which Vasari speaks in terms of admiration, was the Ascension, in the tribune of the Church of SS. Apostoli, finished in 1472 as a commission from Car-

Fig. 280.

dinal Pietro Riario, nephew to Sixtus IV. The choir of the church was altered in 1711, and only fragments of this fresco now survive. The figure of Christ floating upwards on clouds—now on the staircase at the Quirinal—is so perfectly foreshortened, says Vasari, that He seems to be piercing the clouds. In point of fact the painting on the coved apse is not treated as though it were painted on a flat surface and then fixed into its place; the painter has ignored the existence of the enclosing roof, and devised a new aspect and use of perspective from below upwards, thus giving the figures a realistic treatment, as though they were actually overhead. The same problem was almost simultaneously worked out at Mantua in 1474 by Mantegna. Whether the two painters had ever been fellow-students, or had independently conceived and solved the

problem, is not known. Though this figure of Christ fails of the intended ideal, the other fragments of his fresco preserved in the chapter-room of S. Peter's are exceedingly beautiful; they are three heads of apostles gazing upwards and eleven half-lengths of angels (Fig. 280). The inspiration that created them is not religious, but purely poetical; they seem rapt by their own music, and either look down in tender meditation or upwards in ecstasy, more lovely than almost any other painting of that period.

From 1477 till 1480 Melozzo was engaged on the fresco in the library of the Vatican, which is now preserved, transferred to canvas, in the picture gallery there. It is a memorial of the building of the library by Sixtus IV. (Fig. 281). The pope, seated, is seen in profile; in front of him kneels Platina the historian, and behind them stand four of the pope's nephews. The treatment of the architecture approaches that of *Piero degli Franceschi*, and it is in his manner too that there is no common purpose uniting the figures of the composition; they simply stand two and two; but the portraits are immeasurably more living than degli Franceschi's. Although all the authenticated works by Melozzo are frescoes, we are probably safe in attributing to him a series of easel pictures that were executed for Federigo di Montefeltre. There may originally have been twelve, but only three are extant, one in the Berlin Museum and two in the National Gallery.[52] In each of these a dignified female figure is represented sitting on a throne; one of those in London clearly represents Music, and the others are personifications of the Liberal Arts. In front of each kneels a portrait figure taking a book from the hand of the enthroned female; in that at Berlin the duke himself is thus represented, and his name and title are inscribed on the frieze of all three. A work of very similar character is in the Queen's gallery at Windsor; this, too, came from the palace at Urbino; the duke enthroned and his son Guidobaldi with a suite are listening to a reader who holds a book. [Her Majesty lent it for exhibition in 1876.] The youth looks about eight years old, and the picture may therefore have been painted about 1480, not long before Duke Federigo's death in 1482.

His best pupil was *Marco Palmezzano da Forlì*, who worked with his master on the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Biagio at Forlì, but was more successful in architecture and ornament than in figures. He, too, attempted effects of perspective as seen from below. He painted many easel pictures, which are dated even so late as 1537. Besides several which exist in his native city, there are examples in the Brera, at Berlin—a half-length of Christ bearing the Cross—in the Louvre, and in the Pinacothek; one in the Lateran shows a certain accommodation to a newer style; it is dated 1537. [There is a Deposition in the Tomb in the National Gallery (No. 596), "the lunette from an altarpiece at Forlì" (*Richter*), and Waagen mentions two in private collections.]

Urbino, under the enlightened sway of Duke Federigo, was a centre not only of learning but of an artistic vitality that is amazing for so small and remote a

city. The old castle was enlarged and embellished as a palace of the Renascence; and besides the famous Flemish painter *Justus of Ghent* the greatest

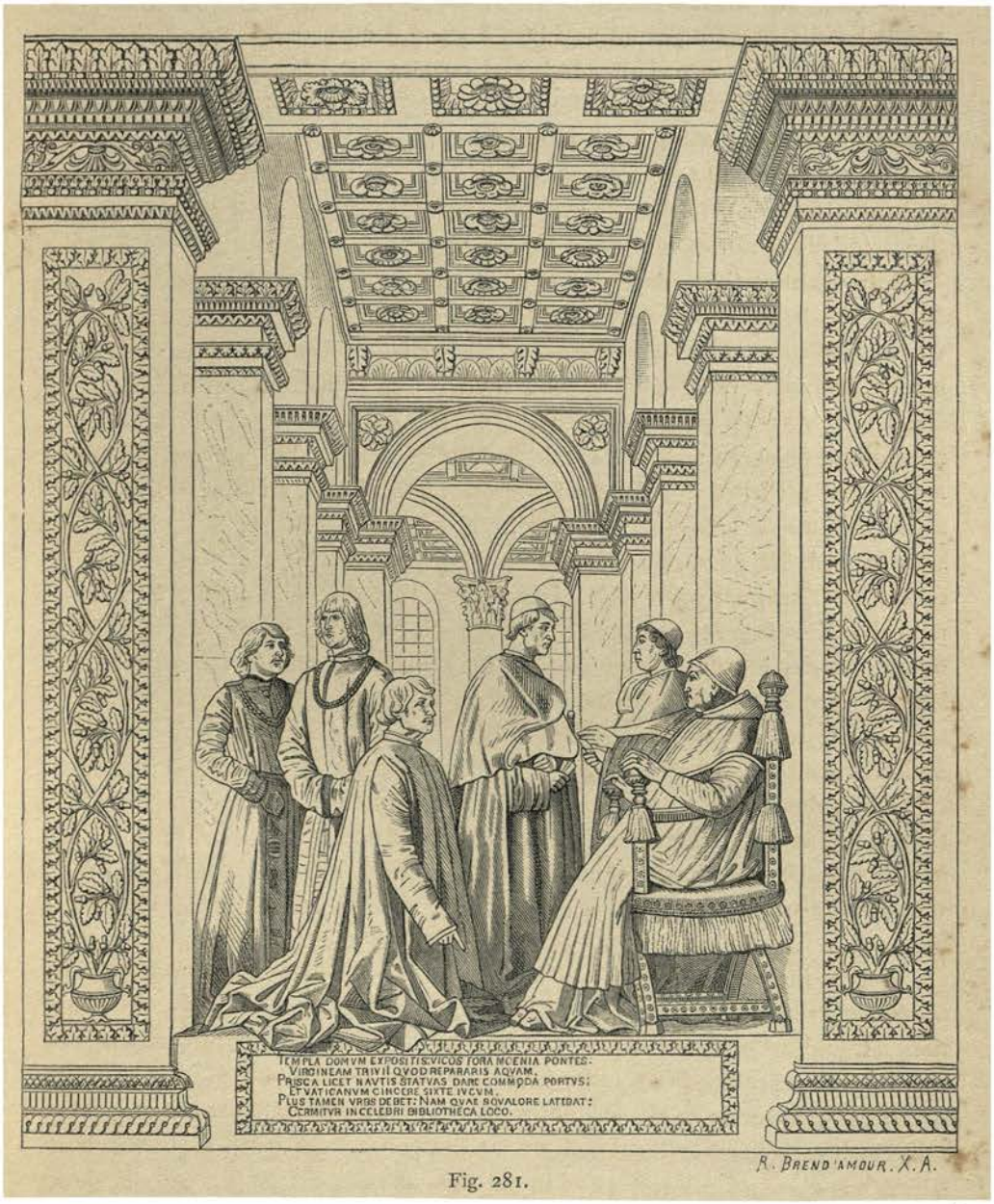

TEMPLA DOMVM EXPOSITIS VICOS FORA MOENIA PONTES
VIRGINEAM TRIVII QVOD REPARARIS AQVAM
PRISCA LICET NAVTIS STATVAS DARE COMMODA PORTVS
ET VATICANVM CINCERE SIXTE IVVAT
PLVS TAMEN VRBI DEBET NAM QVAE SOVALORE LATEBAT
CERNITVR IN CELEBRI BIBLIOTHECA LOCO
R. BRENDAMOUR. X. A.

Fig. 281.

Italian artists here found an opening for their talents—in 1468 *Paolo Uccello*, in 1469 *Piero degli Franceschi* and *Melozzo da Forlì*. It naturally followed that the native painters emancipated themselves from the provincialism which fettered the other towns of Umbria, and responded to the influence of the

masters who visited the little capital. *Fra Bartolommeo Corradini*, known as *Fra Carnevale*, who is mentioned in the archives of the town between 1451 and 1484, was a mere imitator of Piero degli Franceschi; his altar-piece, painted for S. Bernardino and now in the Brera,[53] shows us the Virgin seated in a beautiful Renascence hall adoring the Child, who lies naked in her lap; saints and angels stand round the throne, and Duke Federigo figures as donor. The attitudes are stiff, the sleeping child is ill drawn, only the architecture is quite satisfactory. [A picture of S. Michael and the Dragon in the National Gallery (No. 769), is "ascribed" to him. It is regarded as genuine and characteristic by Dr. Richter and Signor Morelli.]

A more attractive painter is *Giovanni Santi*, the father of *Raphael*, who was born at Colbordolo in the Duchy of Urbino, but who settled in 1450 at Urbino, where he died on 1st August 1494. His artistic proclivities were determined by his intercourse with *Piero degli Franceschi* in 1469,[54] and with Melozzo da Forlì who was his personal friend. "*Melozzo a me si caro*," he says in the rhymed chronicle in which, towards the end of his life, he celebrated, in *terza rima*, the deeds of his beloved patron the duke. It is indicative of his attitude towards art generally that in his verses he boasts of its birth from science, and finds its *raison d'être* solely in perspective, the discovery of the century. The incident which gives rise to this discourse on art is the visit paid by the duke to Mantua; he speaks of the prince as admiring Mantegna's works in the palace of the Gonzagas, and praises the painter in a long rhapsody. Whether Santi himself accompanied the duke—in whose train, as he tells us, there were not only nobles and knights but men of genius and architects—or whether he went there independently, is not told; but there can be no doubt that he himself had felt the impressions that he attributes to the prince, and that the ideal he had dreamed of under the influence of the two artists he already knew was only fulfilled by Mantegna. In fact, the way in which Santi wrote of art would excite far greater expectations than his works fulfil. He was not an original painter. The frescoes in the church at Cagli are among his earliest works—a half-length figure of Christ rising from the tomb between SS. Jerome and Bonaventura; this is above the grave of Battista Tiranni, who died in 1481, and in the family chapel adjoining he painted the Virgin and saints. The throne and wall-painting carry on the elegant Renascence architecture of the chapel itself, while above, the Resurrection is represented with a landscape background (Fig. 282). We see how faithfully Melozzo's friend has clung to the traditions of his school in the formal symmetry of the composition, the sentimentality of the drooping heads, and general insipidity of expression. The faces, and even the attitudes, lack variety; thus Christ above and S. John below are almost identical. The guards, however, display considerable variety of position and foreshortening, though they too err on the side of Umbrian grace. The execution is conscientious, the colouring clear,

the draperies well disposed, and the architecture, as in all his works, excellent. The other surviving works by Giovanni Santi are altar-pieces for Urbino and

Fig. 282.

the neighbouring towns; that at Gradara is dated 1484, it represents the Madonna and four saints; that at Montefiorentino, near Urbania, is of 1489;

in this the two saints and two angels at the sides are placed in perspective with very good effect; to the right, in front, kneels the donor Count Carlo Olivo Pianiani; choirs of angels occupy the side walls. Another work of the same year is the Buffi altar-piece in the museum at Urbino, formerly in the Franciscan Church—the Virgin and Infant in the act of blessing between SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Jerome, and Sebastian; in this the donors are of the same size as the sacred personages, as is always the case with Giovanni Santi. The background is a landscape; two angels hold a crown suspended over the Virgin's head, and, above, the Father is seen surrounded by cherubim and extending His hand in blessing. Most of the painter's other pictures, though signed, are not dated; for instance, the beautiful Madonna with four angels in S. Croce at Fano, and a Visitation, in the Church of S. Maria Nuova in the same town, besides various examples in the Berlin Museum, the Brera, the Church of S. Sebastian at Urbino—one of his best works, but in a bad state of preservation—and a fine painting in tempera on canvas in the picture gallery of the Lateran. [There is a rather hard-featured Madonna in the National Gallery (No. 751), by Giovanni Santi, Richter and Morelli regard it as genuine. In 1877 a portrait on panel of a Youth was lent to the Old Masters' Exhibition by Lady Elizabeth Pringle, which Waagen had formerly seen in the possession of Mr. Denniston; he believed the painting to be by Giovanni Santi, but doubted the genuineness of the inscription, which says that it is the portrait of his illustrious son.] In following his career through his paintings no conspicuous change of style can be noted, though his later works show rather less of the weak Umbrian sentiment than his earliest, as, for instance, the frescoes at Cagli. In his portrait-figures the realistic power sometimes approaches that of his favourite models, but his ideal heads are apt to be austere. Still the predominant feeling is warm, though scarcely tender. In spite of faults of drawing he made some progress in the study of the nude, as we see in the fine S. Sebastian of the Buffi altar, and in the same subject in the Church S. Sebastian. He is not in the first rank, but within his own modest limits he is earnest, conscientious, and interesting.

IV. LUCA SIGNORELLI[55] was the first master of this school to strike out a new road in the direction of the great Florentine masters, and to free himself from the traditions of the school of *Piero degli Franceschi*. *Luca di Egidio*, as he was named after his father, was born at Cortona in 1441, if Vasari is right in saying that he was eighty-two when he died; probably it was somewhat later. The first record we have of work done by him is at Cortona in 1470; and from 1479 till his death in 1523 he is repeatedly mentioned as filling offices of dignity in his native town. He was, however, frequently absent, being employed in painting at Florence, Rome, Volterra, and Loreto. He was universally respected and loved, and ended his days in the home of his birth.

Both Pacioli and Vasari speak of him as having worked under *Piero degli Franceschi* when he was engaged at Arezzo; and from him, no doubt, he acquired a knowledge of the figure from anatomical study of the nude. His skill in perspective he turned to account principally in foreshortening; he had not his master's predilection for scenic architectural effects, and only occasionally availed himself of them, as in the Flagellation which, with a Madonna in a glory of Cherubim, is in the Brera. These are amongst his earliest works, and the Flagellation, notwithstanding some exaggerated action, reminds us of the rigid style of Franceschi. But we soon see the influence of the Florentines, and he seems to have been particularly alive to that of Pollaiolo and Verrocchio, who had acquired precision of hand not only in their work as goldsmiths but from faithful study of the living model. Though occasionally Signorelli's drawing of the nude shows some affinity with that of Leonardo da Vinci, this is not the result of the direct influence of the greater and younger master, but of their both having learned under Verrocchio.

Signorelli was working independently at Florence at a comparatively early age. Among the important pictures that he painted there, the Pan in the Berlin Museum—a fine example of his treatment of the human figure—is no doubt the same as that mentioned by Vasari as having been painted for Lorenzo de' Medici: "a canvas with some naked gods." R. Vischer has ingeniously pointed out that the composition is the same as in his typical church pictures of the Madonna enthroned, with saints. Though it shows a fine feeling for the arrangement of lines there is a want of coherence in the motive; each figure is independent of the rest; still, as studies from the life, they display a skill and a power of surprising nature, so to speak, that hardly any other painter has achieved (Fig. 283). For Lorenzo de' Medici again he executed a Madonna, in the Uffizi, which is no less admirable in this particular, though the attitude of the Virgin as she stoops to set the Child on the ground is a little forced; the picture is circular, with a square frame, in the corners of which are the medallions in grisaille of four prophets. Florence possesses three other devotional pictures for private use, all circular in form—one in the Uffizi, remarkable for the clever grouping and the noble type of the Virgin's head; one in the Pitti Palace, full of spiritual feeling; and one in the Corsini Palace, in which the figure of the Infant and the ascetic penitent S. Jerome are equally admirable. In the Torrigiani Palace, again, there is a fine portrait of a man in a red dress, with naked figures and a triumphal arch in the background; in this the simplicity of the colouring makes it harmonious; but, as a rule, Signorelli is a draughtsman rather than a colourist. The general brown tone of his pictures is always powerful, but in composition of colour he loses harmony, and the hot shadows in the flesh and trenchant high lights are hard and unpleasing. All these pictures are undated, but certainly are early works.

A grand painting in the cathedral at Perugia is dated 1484. This, which

was executed by command of Jacopo Vannucci, who had been Bishop of Perugia, represents the Virgin enthroned, with SS. John the Baptist, Onophrius, Stephen, and Herculanus. The vigour of the modelling is conspicuous in the figure of the penitent Onophrius and in a singularly lean angel, almost nude, who is playing the lute on the steps of the throne. Two pictures of 1491 are at Volterra; and in the Church of S. Domenico at Città di Castello there is a Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, ill preserved but of great interest, with masterly

Fig. 283.

action in the bowmen, and evidently inspired by Pollaiolo's famous work, dated 1496. The Bicchi altar-piece in S. Agostino at Siena was painted in 1498; in the centre is a statue of S. Christopher; the two side panels, which Signorelli painted, are now in the Berlin Museum—groups of saints arranged to balance each other, very dignified and effective, and among the best of his works as regards execution and colouring. During all this period he was also busy as a fresco-painter; he executed the last of the series from the history of Moses in the Sistine Chapel. It was in obedience to a fixed scheme of design that he, like his predecessors, included several incidents within the limits of a single picture; on the left Moses hands over his staff to his successor Joshua;

on the right he is seated with the ark of the covenant at his feet and reading his hymn of praise; there are many splendid figures of men in the groups that stand round, and beautiful women, though their attitudes are somewhat too studied; there is a singular mixture, too, of the costume of the time with the treatment of antique drapery; one young hero, sitting almost nude, is evidently suggested by a figure of Hermes resting, frequent in gems and bronzes; then we see Moses looking over the promised land, to which an angel points, and far in the distance of a lovely landscape the incident of his burial is shown. The picture, on the whole, is the finest of this series.

A far more original work, for which he no doubt received the commission at about the same time, is the decoration of the small octagonal sacristy in the south transept of the church at Loreto; it was an order from Cardinal Giuliano Rovere, a nephew of Sixtus IV., whose arms, with the cardinal's hat, form the centre boss of the vaulting.[56] The upper place in the field of each of the eight arches is filled by an angel, all of great elegance and grace, though a little affected in the draperies. Below these are the four evangelists and four fathers of the church alternately. One wall is lost as containing the window; of the other seven, two have pictures of the Conversion of S. Paul and the Incredulity of S. Thomas, and five have each a pair of apostles represented as taking a lively interest in these events, and very grand in character. The influence of *Melozzo da Forlì* is perceptible in this great work, which in composition, colouring, and execution is one of Signorelli's finest.

During his stay at Siena in 1498, which is the date on the altar-piece in S. Agostino, he undertook other works in fresco—eight large subjects from the legend of S. Benedict in the cloisters of the convent of Monte Oliveto, of which the two last are the finest and most interesting; and then the mural pictures of antique subjects in the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci, at that time lord of Siena. Three of these—Calumny, after the description by Lucian of Apelles's picture, Pan among the Shepherds, and the Magnanimity of Scipio—have perished; of the other four, the Flight of Æneas from Troy and a Commander enthroned are in the gallery at Siena, while other two are Mr. Leyland's Coriolanus interceding for Rome [exhibited in 1876], and the Triumph of Chastity in the National Gallery [which is repudiated by Dr. Richter in his work on the Nat. Gal.]

It was no doubt due to his admirable work at Siena that he was selected, 5th April 1499, to finish the painting of the new chapel in the Cathedral of Orvieto, which *Fra Giovanni da Fiesole* had begun. His first agreement was only to finish the ceiling, but on the 29th of April 1500 the whole work was put into his hands. The chief part of it was finished by December 1504; the final touches and a few decorative additions were to be made on a subsequent occasion. The subject of this great cycle is the End of the World (Fig. 284); the powers that preside over the whole are depicted on the roof—at *a* Christ

enthroned among angels; at *b* the Prophets (these Fra Giovanni had already executed); at *c* the Virgin and Apostles; at *d* the Angels of Doom, with the instruments of the Passion and trumpets; at *e* the Army of Martyrs; at *f* the Patriarchs; at *g* the Fathers of the Church; and at *h* the Host of Virgins,—all grandly conceived figures, admirably composed with reference to the space to be filled, and in many cases full of figurative purpose in their arrangement. It is said that Signorelli worked from drawings left by Fra Giovanni for the first two; but it is evident that he only adopted the subjects. The pictures begin on the left wall with the preaching of Antichrist; this impersonation stands on a pedestal in the likeness of Christ, with the treasure of the world at His feet, addressing the people, while the devil whispers in His ear. Among His audience are a number of marvellously powerful and striking figures. In the distance murders and cruelties are being committed, monks are disputing, and a dead man is raised by the arts of Antichrist. Above an angel is thrusting Antichrist out of heaven. One of the spectators in front is the painter himself, and the monk standing by him is no doubt Fra Giovanni. At No. *2* the prophets and sibyls are warning the people of the terrors to come, and at *3* we see the preparations for the day of wrath—devils plunging down to seize the terror-stricken sinners, who cannot hide themselves. The two pictures are painted on the narrow walls and on the spandrils between the arch of the doorway and the cornice, and are divided above by a group of winged boys in grisaille. It is in his treatment of the nude that Signorelli is most in his element. At No. *4* on the right-hand wall we see the resurrection of the dead; two angels, only slightly draped—stalwart forms, but as splendid as Apollo—blow their trumpets, and the dead struggle up from their graves—skeletons or clothed in flesh, looking out with astonishment on the new life, expectant, rejoicing, or prayerful. This completes the preparatory cycle; in the second half of the chapel we see the Last Judgment, dividing the joys of the blessed at *8* from the torments of the damned at *5* (Fig. 285). At *6* and *7*, on each side of the window, are groups that continue these subjects. The devils—not half-comical caricatures, like those of the Middle Ages, but demoniacal human creatures, in some cases with horns and bats' wings—wreak their hatred on the sinners who are delivered over to them The crowded mass is amazing for the completeness of each group in itself; the ingenuity of invention culminates in the incident borrowed by Michael Angelo for his Last Judgment—a devil flying down with a woman on his back. Never perhaps in art has the human figure been made to express such frenzy, energy, and passion; only the three avenging angels at the top are represented in the earlier style as heavenly guards, and compelled to dignity of action. In the opposite picture we see the redeemed souls, also naked, but full of fervour

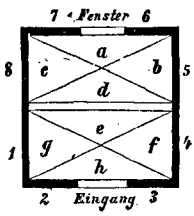


Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

and thankfulness, less vehement, but free and noble in their movements. Above them lovely youthful angels soar or sit singing, playing, and holding flowers in their hands to crown the elect. The pictures are divided by pilasters and a beautifully designed frieze with medallions of subjects from the Bible, the *Divina Commedia*, and the ancient poets, whose heads are also introduced with that of Dante, to whom the painter owed his inspiration. Viewing this great work as a whole, the colouring is what is least satisfactory, the modelling and execution are masterly, but the general effect is not harmonious and the hot carnations are unpleasantly prominent; the drawing, composition, and grand purpose of the work are, however, beyond all praise. Nothing that even Signorelli himself had previously done could compare with this amazing display of the nude in every variety of action and attitude. The Florentines had reproduced reality; the Umbrians had painted with tender and ecstatic devotion; but Signorelli had found something to which they had not led the way, and revealed a new conception of religious poetry which used all the resources of art only as a means to an end. The chapel at Orvieto marks a mighty stride in the progress of Italian painting; it is, in fact, the culminating point of the Renascence movement in one direction, and at the same time shows us that the painter was the immediate forerunner of Michael Angelo, both in his knowledge of form and his high standard of thought and purpose.

When this work was finished in 1504 it was unique; but when, scarcely four years later, Michael Angelo and Raphael began their frescoes in the Vatican the new epoch had fully dawned, and Signorelli's works soon came to be regarded as no more than the respectable attempts of a forerunner. He himself went to Rome again in the time of Julius II., and in 1513, when Leo X. was pontiff, but there was no longer any room for him; there was nothing now for him to do but to retire to Cortona and end his days as a citizen of repute among those who still looked upon him as a great man. His works after the beginning of the sixteenth century were, in the first place, the Pietà in the cathedral at Cortona, 1502, a grandly conceived work, fine in the action and treatment. A very different picture is the dead Christ in the little Church of S. Niccolò, full of unusual gravity and fervour; the angel who supports the dead Saviour is a marvel of grace. In the Accademia at Florence there is a Madonna picture without a date, but certainly not earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Above, and far off, as it were, is the Trinity; in the foreground two grand figures, SS. Athanasius and Augustine, sit on the step of the Virgin's throne; and all that the Renascence could produce of beauty and dignity is concentrated in the two archangels, Gabriel with the lily and Michael with the scales (Fig. 286). Another fine Madonna is in the Church of S. Medardo at Arcevia, and a Last Supper, of 1512, is in the cathedral at Cortona; in this the colouring is very good. In the Palazzo Mancini at Città di Castello there is an altar-piece painted for a French physician, Alovisius

de Rutanis, for which the agreement was signed in 1515; and in the year of his death, on the 14th of June 1523, he signed a receipt for a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Collegiate Chapel at Fojano near Cortona. Thus to the very end he was indefatigable and faithful in his calling. [Two

Fig. 286.

pictures of sacred subjects in the National Gallery represent the Nativity and the Circumcision of Christ; the latter, from the Duke of Hamilton's collection, is pronounced by Waagen to "belong to the painter's maturest time." "It has been much repainted" (*Richter*).]

CHAPTER IV.

PERUGIA, ROME, AND THE SOUTH.

PIETRO PERUGINO—His works in the Sistine Chapel—His use of oil as a medium, and its influence on his work—A fresco at Florence—The *Cambio* at Perugia—*Lo Spagna* and minor masters—PINTURICCHIO—His works at Rome—The Cathedral Library at Siena—ROME—No native school—Naples and the South.

I. ANOTHER master whose fate in many respects resembled that of Signorelli was PIETRO PERUGINO. He too, after enjoying great success and fame, had in his old age to make way for men younger than himself; and he died in the same year. Perugino, it is true, never opened up a new road, though Raphael was his pupil; but he made himself a name and place by engrafting Florentine learning on to the traditions of the Umbrian school, thus clothing its native religious fervour in a more modern dress, and making it intelligible to a wider circle.

Pietro Vanucci,[57] better known as *Pietro Perugino* because he spent his early years in Perugia, was born in 1446 at Citta della Pieve—indeed, Giovanni Santi calls him *Pier della Pieve*—and died at Fontagnino near Perugia in 1523. Under whom he studied in Perugia is unknown; most probably under *Benedetto Buonfigli*. Vasari says that he afterwards went to Rome and learned of Andrea Verrocchio; but putting the idea of actual teaching out of the question, the character of Pietro's painting certainly does not suggest any close intimacy, and by that time he was already an independent painter. As his works of 1475 in the upper hall of the Palazzo Comunale at Perugia, and the frescoes he painted in 1478 in a chapel at Cerqueto, no longer exist, the earliest of his surviving works are probably those in the Sistine Chapel; the first and fifth of the series from the life of Christ—His baptism, and the Charge to Peter (Fig. 287). In these we see no beginner's hand, but a fully cultivated artist. He is not inferior to the best of the Florentines in composition,—nay, he is even more concentrated in aim, simpler than most of them, and less apt to over-charge the importance of the accessory figures. In the second and finer of these pictures there are seven spectators of the scene in the costume of the time, besides the Apostles; and others are engaged in episodes in the middle distance. In the architectural accessories of the landscape in the Baptism of Christ we see that he was a master of perspective; but he does not force effects of perspective on our attention, only employing it to give solidity to

Fig. 287.

his architecture, which he designs with skill and a real love for it. The colour and tone are excellent in both subjects; the only weak point is a stamp of conventionality. There is something studied, a lack of spontaneity, in the

bend of the heads, the sober fall of the draperies, and the gestures of the hands, and consequently we feel that devotional pictures were more in his line than stirring dramatic incidents. He also painted three pictures above them, on the altar-wall, which were subsequently destroyed to make way for Michael Angelo's Last Judgment; he was employed altogether much longer than the other painters in this chapel. He was not paid the balance of moneys due to him till long after the death of Sixtus V., 5th March 1491.[58]

He must have been familiar with the Florentine school of painting before he executed these works; but the first documentary evidence we have of his being in Florence is in October 1482, when he was commissioned to paint a picture for the hall in which Ghirlandaio was working. The commission was, however, withdrawn in December and transferred to *Filippo Lippi*. Perugino led a wandering life, for he was in Rome in 1484, and again in 1491 and 1492, in the service of Cardinal Giuliano Rovere. Still he worked most in Florence; we hear of him there in and after 1488; from 1491 he is spoken of as a master of eminence and a judge of works of art; in 1493 he married there one Chiara Francelli, a Mantuan, and in 1496 he purchased a site for a house. In fact, he settled in Florence, only leaving it from time to time on business; but he kept up his rights as a citizen of Perugia. A highly characteristic easel picture of his early period is a small Madonna in tempera in the National Gallery (No. 181); the Virgin with a calm and modest expression holds the Infant, almost nude, on a parapet; He clings to a lock of her fair hair and looks down at S. John. The circular picture in the Louvre marks an advance—the Virgin enthroned, with the Child on her knee; behind her stand two angels and in front SS. Rosa and Catherine (Fig. 288). Here we see the type of head which he had permanently adopted—a high forehead, delicate mouth, and gentle expression. The drapery is careful but lacks breadth; the action, too, is narrow and not without affectation, particularly in the attitudes of the hands and feet. Still, much that would be out of place in a scene of action is appropriate in a devotional work, and adds to the air of innocent youth and devout simplicity which pervades the whole. The body of the Child is carefully studied from nature, and the material is handled with skill and feeling for colour. An altar-piece in the Villa Albani, dated 1491, is also painted in tempera. The fine signed Madonna of 1493 in the Uffizi, on the other hand, is an attempt at a newer technique; it is not in pure oil colour, but painted by a mixed method such as was not uncommon in the Florentine studios. Another Madonna in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, painted in that year, seems to have been executed in the same manner, but its bad state of preservation and much repainting make it difficult to judge.

Our knowledge as to the history of oil painting is still very incomplete. Vasari began the confusion by dating the existence and influence of *Antonello da Messina*, the painter who really introduced the method of the Flemings

into Italy, much too early, and then casting a romantic glamour over its first practice in Florence by the story of the murder of *Domènico Veneziano* by *Andrea del Castagno.* We know for certain that, irrespective of the use of oil as a medium for house painting, it was frequently employed in wall painting, and occasionally in easel pictures (which were generally executed in tempera)

Fig. 288.

even before the time of Van Eyck; thus there is no reason for inferring that any indirect influence was brought to bear from the Netherlands, though *Domenico Veneziano* and *Alesso Baldovinetti* used oil in mural paintings. The experiments made by *Pollaiolo, Andrea Verrocchio,* and *Piero degli Franceschi* in painting easel pictures were in a mixed method. Not one of these painters achieved a complete transition to oil painting pure and simple and the modern methods of colouring as practised by Van Eyck, although they had no lack

of examples, for Flemish pictures abounded in Italy, and Hugo Van der Goes' great altar-piece was in Florence. But, in fact, the examples before them and vague experimentalising were not enough; it was only by direct instruction in the mixing and laying on of the colours that the secrets of oil painting could be acquired.

Pietro Perugino had begun, like the painters just named, by making experiments, as in the picture in the Uffizi; but immediately after we find him painting in genuine oil colour and using it with perfect certainty and freedom, earlier—so far as I have been able to discover—than it was known to any other master in Central Italy. The question then arises: Where and how did he learn the method? A comparison of ascertained facts makes it seem probable that it was in Venice, where *Antonello da Messina* had now established himself; and within a very short time the new technique was no longer a secret, but the common property of the school at the head of which stood the brothers *Bellini*. We have documentary evidence that Pietro Perugino was in Venice in 1494. On the 14th of August in that year an agreement was entered into with "Maistro Piero Peroxini Depentor" to paint a picture for the hall of the grand council in the Doges' Palace; but, like many other works undertaken by this painter, it never was executed.[59] There is in the Uffizi a half-length portrait of a man with small eyes and a heavy jaw, against a landscape background, dated 1494, which seems to me to be undoubtedly executed in oil pure and simple; though in 1491 and 1493, as we have seen, Perugino had not yet mastered that method of painting. This portrait hangs among the pictures of artists painted by themselves, but a recent examination of the inscription has revealed the fact that it represents, not the painter, but a Florentine gentleman named Francesco delle Opere, who died in Venice in 1496. Thus, if we collate the dates of the contract above mentioned and that of this portrait it seems highly probable that it was painted in Venice. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have already very appositely remarked that the delicacy of outline, admirable modelling, and firmness of handling entitle this picture to rank with those of Antonello da Messina. No less certainly is the Madonna in S. Agostino at Cremona (halfway between Florence and Venice) an oil painting, and an admirable work both as to expression and feeling, and in the warmth and depth of its colouring. Indeed from this departure Perugino's pictures have a fresh charm; their delightful Umbrian sentiment is enhanced by the harmony, brilliancy, and vivid realism of colour.

This is conspicuous in the *Pietà* from S. Chiara, now in the Pitti Gallery. In this work, for which he made several admirable studies that are preserved in the Uffizi collection of drawings, he put forth his best powers. The body is supported in a sitting attitude by Joseph of Arimathea, and there are eleven other figures, some kneeling and some standing, the balance of the composition being duly kept. Here we have no passionate out-

break of grief; the expression of heart-stricken sorrow is carried out by the sentiment of the landscape, which is exquisitely painted. We should ascribe to the same period the altar-piece in the Pinacoteca at Bologna;[60] and in March 1496 the master was once more commissioned to paint an altar-piece for the chapel of the Municipal Palace at Perugia—an order that had been already given twelve years previously, but that he had never executed. This picture—the Virgin enthroned—is now in the Vatican. Only two days later he signed an agreement to paint the great altar-piece of the Ascension that is now in the Museum at Lyons.[61] The remainder of the work is dispersed; the predella is at Rouen, and the half-length figures of saints that were on the pilasters are some in the sacristy of the church itself and some in the Vatican. The Madonna in S. Maria Nuova at Fano was painted in 1497. His undated works of the same period are numerous. We may mention the vision of S. Bernard in the Pinacothek and the remaining panel of an altar-piece in the Certosa at Pavia; below this originally was the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ presented to her by an angel, a favourite subject with this school. This and the two side panels are now in the National Gallery (No. 288). The archangel Michael, as Perugino has here represented him, is a too youthful and unheroic figure; but in the rest of the work this innocent grace is very charming, and the landscape is particularly lovely. Here the master has taken full advantage of his new medium; the painting is firm, the tone soft and golden, and the misty distance admirable.

Vasari tells us that Perugino's popularity soon extended beyond the Alps into France and Spain. His devout fervour supplied an element that was altogether missing from the art of the time, and which must have been particularly acceptable in Florence when Savonarola was warning the people against frivolity and luxury; while it also appealed to religious spirits in those lands that had not yet felt the influence of Italian culture. With all his tender sentiment Perugino adhered to the ecclesiastical traditions of composition, and he carries out the principle of a pyramidal arrangement and conventional balance of figures with the greatest skill, especially in his pictures of the enthroned Virgin; his figures are always simple in attitude and action, for only thus could he give them the expression that he aimed at; but he gradually emancipated himself from the formality of his early time and studied the figure and draperies carefully from the model while he made greater progress in colour and technique than had yet been seen in Central Italy.

The only fresco by him that exists in Florence is no less fine. This is the Crucifixion, finished in 1496, in the Chapter-House of S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi. The architecture carries out that of the hall itself in three arches. In the compartment to the right kneel the Virgin and S. Bernard; to the left stands S. John, while S. Benedict kneels; the Magdalen is at the foot of the Cross. The unity of the composition is in no way impaired by the division of

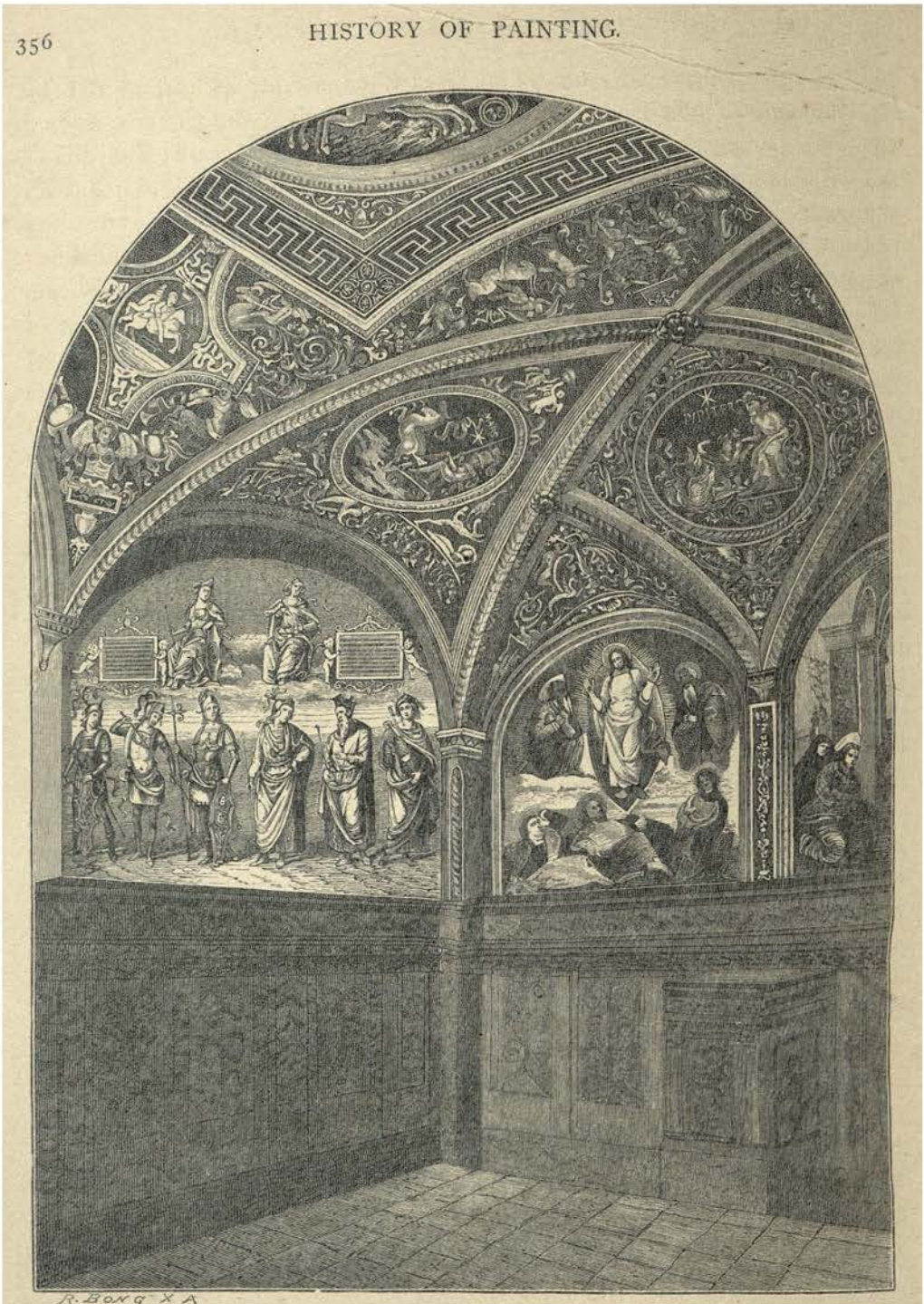


Fig. 289.

the space, and in the figures Perugino is at his best. Soon after this he undertook a more important work at Perugia—the decoration of the *Cambio* or Exchange. The first payment for this work is dated 23d Feb. 1499, and an

inscription states that it was finished in 1500.[62] On the wall to the right of the entrance, half of which is occupied by the richly-carved tribunal, there is but one painting—God the Father above, surrounded by angels, with Moses, and kings, prophets, and sibyls below. On the wall at the end are the Nativity and the Transfiguration, while the wall to the left has two pictures of the four cardinal virtues and their representatives in antiquity, so that allegorical and sacred subjects here stand in juxtaposition. Thus we see Fortitude and Temperance with Scipio, Pericles, and Cincinnatus; Horatius Cocles, Leonidas, and Lucius Licinius. Justice and Prudence have also six representatives. On the pilaster between these two pictures there is a portrait of the painter. The ceiling is painted with medallions—the sun and six planets set in elegant arabesques. The beauty of the effect as a whole lies in the taste and harmony of the decoration, which is well executed throughout in spite of the co-operation of his scholars. The personifications, it must be owned, make us feel that the types and attitudes which are delightful in the Madonna and saints, are not so well suited to the Virtues and their heroes (Fig. 289). In 1500 he also painted the Assumption of the Virgin for the convent of Vallombrosa, which is now in the Florence Academy; and at the same time he may have painted the lifelike heads of two monks of Vallombrosa, Don Biagio and Don Baldassare, in the same gallery. The Marriage of the Virgin, now in the Museum at Caen, was not finished till after 1500; this picture, painted for the cathedral at Perugia, inspired his pupil Raphael when he produced his Sposalizio. After this his later works betray signs of hastier and weaker work.

In 1505 he terminated a work for which he had made some preparations five years previously, when he had been charged by the Marchesa Isabella of Mantua to paint a companion picture to one she already had by Mantegna. The lady's agent in the matter had, in a letter to her, expressed some doubts as to Perugino's capabilities for the task; and when she at length received it she could not conceal from the painter that it was inferior to Mantegna's, and that she regretted that he should have chosen to paint in tempera for the sake of uniformity rather than in oil which was his speciality. The picture is now in the Louvre—the Triumph of Chastity—and justifies her disappointment; the handling is good, but we see that the painter has not been in his element, nor was this the only instance in which the master, after so lately rising to popularity, provoked adverse criticism by the mechanical character of his work. In writing to the Duchess of Mantua he tells her that he lives from hand to mouth, and can only work for prompt payment. Vasari, on the other hand, says that he loved money, and his statement that he had house property in Florence and elsewhere is confirmed by the archives. He also speaks of him as a man of very little religion—"Di assai poca religione"—which would cast a doubt on the genuineness of the devotion expressed in his pictures; but it is certainly true that he was so overwhelmed with work that he incessantly repeated

himself. Nothing is so unendurable as fervour and sentiment when they have become mechanical.

Under Pope Julius II., who had formerly employed him, Perugino once more visited Rome, and was set to work in the Vatican. His paintings, more fortunate than those of many other artists, have not been destroyed; his ceiling in the Camera del' Incendio was preserved by the pious regard of his great pupil Raphael. His ornamental designs are still delightful, but the circular medallions are but a pale reflection of his earlier work. He, like Signorelli, was at last left to paint solely for his provincial patrons. He executed the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian (1518) and the Transfiguration (1522) that are now in the Pinacotheca at Perugia, and began an altar-piece for S. Agostino in 1512. It was still unfinished at his death, and the other portions of it are dispersed, for the most part in French provincial galleries. The motive and action, especially in the Baptism of Christ, which is in the Pinacotheca, are good; but the execution, colouring, and modelling are sadly fallen off. Six saints that he painted in 1521 below Raphael's frescoes in S. Severo at Perugia are so much better as to seem quite an anachronism, but they are in so bad a state that it is difficult to judge of them. Perugino's last work, now no more than a ruin—the Nativity from the church at Fontignano, where he died—is in the South Kensington Museum.

[Perugino's works seem to be scarce in English collections. There is a third in the National Gallery (No. 1075), "the Virgin and Child, with S. Jerome and S. Francis," which Richter and Morelli mention as a fine example; and at Alnwick Castle there is a late picture by him. Waagen, and C. and C. mention others and discuss their authenticity.]

Raphael, Perugino's famous scholar, will be presently spoken of at full length. The most pleasing of the disciples who remained uninfluenced by the art of Florence, and who lived and worked in the old provincial groove, perpetuating Perugino's style till late in the sixteenth century, was *Giovanni di Pietro*, surnamed *Lo Spagna*—the Spaniard. He settled in Spoleto, where he married, and in 1516 was granted the freedom of the city. He died between 1528 and 1533.[63] An early work by him is the Nativity in the Gallery of the Vatican, and there is a similar example in the Louvre. In the Berlin Museum there is an Adoration of the Kings from Ferentillo near Spoleto, which bears the arms of Domenico Ancaiani,[64] who was abbot of the convent from 1478 till 1503 (Fig. 290). This is painted on canvas and has suffered considerably, having evidently been a banner for processions; the subject is the Nativity treated in the conventional manner; above and below is a charming Renascence design painted in stone colour. The influence of Perugino is conspicuous in the expression, attitudes, and draperies; but in his loving study of natural details Lo Spagna was superior to the other painters of his school. Indeed in this, as in naïveté and truthfulness of sentiment, his works remind us of the

earlier pictures of Raphael. In many of his paintings too—though not in the Berlin picture, which is in a very bad state—we feel the charm of a clear

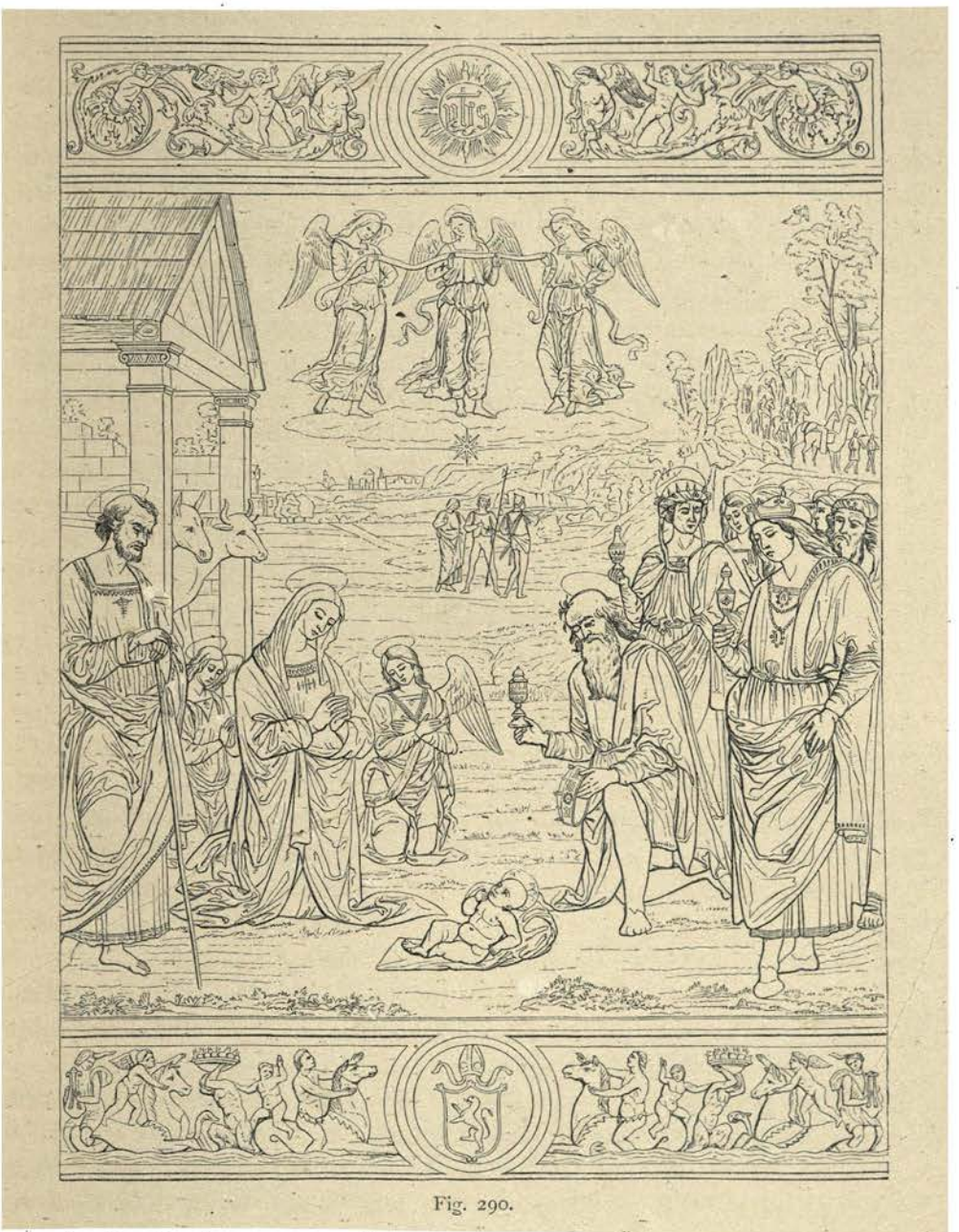


Fig. 290.

equable colouring, quite unlike the splendid glow of Perugino His fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Spoleto—the Virgin and Child, with saints—is full of innocent and devout feeling, but free and powerful in treatment In 1507 he signed an agreement to paint an altar-piece for the Church Del Monte

Santo at Todi on the model of that by Ghirlandaio at Narni. This was finished in 1511, and is now in the Palazzo Pubblico. Though he has devoted the greatest industry to make all the figures distinct in a grand composition of the Virgin with Christ, surrounded by angels, prophets, and sibyls, with a crowd of adoring saints below, he has not entirely succeeded; a simpler and more satisfactory work is the Assumption of the Virgin, with four kneeling saints, a semicircular fresco of 1512 in S. Martin at Trevi. In the Town Hall of the same place there is also an altar-piece for the same church, very similar to the Todi altar-piece, for which the contract was signed in 1522. [Of about a dozen pictures ascribed to this painter by Waagen, some, he says, were ticketed with the name of Raphael, who was a fellow-scholar with Lo Spagna, and some ascribed to Francia. The "Glorification of the Virgin," which he speaks of as belonging at that time to Lord Orford, and as "the most important work of the master that he had met with in England," is now the property of the nation; in the National Gallery catalogue (No. 282) it is more cautiously "ascribed to Lo Spagna" than the *Ecce Homo* (No. 691) which Dr. Richter altogether repudiates. He believes No. 282 to be the work of Bertucci da Faenza. Of No. 1032, on the other hand ("Umbrian School," in the Cat.), from the Fuller-Maitland collection, where it was ascribed to Raphael, he speaks as one of Lo Spagna's best works. Mr. Fuller Russell's two small Saints were exhibited at Burlington House in 1879.[65]]

Giannicola Manni, otherwise *Giovanni Niccola di Paolo*, of Città della Pieve can be traced as undertaking various commissions after 1493, and died in October 1544. His picture of All Saints in the Gallery at Perugia, representing SS. Peter, Paul, and Sebastian, with a crowd of minor saints below, and Christ and the Virgin above with the Baptist and angels, is a work without any remarkable individuality, essentially of the school, which it represents very worthily. In 1515 the painter began the chapel of the Cambio, which was not finished till 1529; God the Father is enthroned on the ceiling with angels, apostles, and fathers; on the walls is the legend of the Baptist. On this series the Florentine school of the sixteenth century has set its mark, reminding us of Andrea del Sarto. [A Holy Family in the Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge, is said to be an example of this master. C. and C. vol. iii. p. 335.]

A number of painters who proved unequal to the effort of taking this step in advance—such as *Tiberio d'Assisi*, *Sinibaldo Ibi*, *Berto di Giovanni*—shall not detain us. *Eusebio di San Giorgio*, of whom we have documentary notices from 1501 till 1527 in Perugia, and who called himself *Eusebius Perusinus* in his signature, made a place for himself by his marked tendency to engraft on the style of *Perugino*, with which he started, that of *Pinturicchio*, of whom we shall presently have occasion to speak. The only work that Vasari mentions by him is the Adoration of the Kings, now in the Gallery at Perugia. There are frescoes by him at S. Damiano, near Assisi, dated 1507, and an Adoration

of the Kings in S. Pietro Fuori le Mura at Perugia of 1508. A picture signed and dated 1512, in the Franciscan church at Matelica, has a Raphaelesque vein of sentiment; it is powerfully coloured and foreshadows the modern style.

Gerino da Pistoja, whose votive banner picture, in the Church of S. Agostino at Borgo San Sepolcro, plainly shows him to have been a pupil of Perugino's, subsequently became a follower of *Pinturicchio*, and, as Vasari tells us, was his assistant. A Virgin with four saints by him, dated 1509, is in his native town of Pistoia. In 1513 he painted the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, in the Convent of S. Lucchese near Poggibonsi; and he in all probability was the painter of a large fresco of the Last Supper in the refectory of S. Onofrio—now the Egyptian Museum—at Florence, which some recent enthusiasts have pronounced to be the work of Raphael. To what depths he afterwards sank may be seen in a Madonna with six saints of 1529 in the Uffizi, which is as mawkish in colouring and motive as it is in sentiment.

Bernardino di Betto (or *Benedetto*), known as *Pinturicchio*,[66] born at Perugia apparently in 1454, died at Siena 1513, meets with scanty justice at the hands of Vasari, who speaks of him as no more than a pupil assistant of Pietro Perugino's, whereas he was a quite independent though contemporary master. He was chiefly a fresco-painter, especially of a decorative style. His figures, which have the characteristics of the Umbrian school—pleasing, over graceful, often weak, and somewhat affected, like Perugino's, but less fervent in sentiment—have the merit of filling very admirably the space they occupy in the friezes and pilasters in which Pinturicchio displayed remarkable taste and talent. Executing, as he did, an enormous amount of such work, he constantly employed assistants, but he knew how to direct them, and his decorations, though of no lofty originality, produce a delightful effect as ornamenting a given space, which was all they aimed at; they have, too, all the charm of colour. Though hardly to be called a colourist, Pinturicchio arranged his tints in pleasing harmonies, and the thorough workmanship on which he insisted has been rewarded by the excellent preservation of many of his works to the present day.

It is not certain that Pinturicchio ever was in Rome during the lifetime of Sixtus IV., but he worked a great deal for that pope's nephews, especially in the Church, founded by Sixtus himself, of S. Maria del Popolo. The decorations of the first chapel to the right, founded by Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, and the third chapel, containing the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora, who died in 1485, were both painted by him. Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, afterwards Julius II., also employed Pinturicchio to paint the vault of the choir, which in arrangement and ornamental treatment is one of his most delightful efforts; there is a central octagon with a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, and round it four circular panels with half-length figures of the evangelists, and four ovals with reclining sibyls. The master has not, like Melozzo, made any attempt at perspective effects with the point of sight above

the spectator's head ; he has treated the ceiling as a flat surface symmetrically divided and painted like a hanging.

Of his decorative works in the Villa Belvedere, built by Pope Innocent VIII., 1484-92, which now forms the nucleus of the Vatican Museum of Sculpture, everything has perished, with the exception of a few emblems, coats of arms, and *putti*, with the date 1487. Vasari's remark is interesting, that he here painted a loggia with views of Italian cities in the manner of the Flemings, "Alla Maniera de' Fiamminghi." He was again engaged by Pope Alexander VI., 1492-1503, to decorate his private rooms in the Vatican, now called the Gabinetto Borgia, beneath the *stanze* afterwards painted by Raphael. Some of his works, particularly in the library, were destroyed in the time of Leo X. to make way for others ; the ceilings and lunettes in the adjoining rooms are, however, in good preservation. The Buffalini Chapel in the Araceli is his work, but it is difficult to decide whether the frescoes in the choir of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, which are greatly damaged, are by him or by some other painter of the Umbrian school. Even during the years when he was chiefly employed at Rome, Pinturicchio undertook work in other places; he painted at Orvieto from time to time after 1492, but his works have not survived, and he undertook to execute both fresco and easel pictures in various small towns in his native province. His easel pictures are comparatively few. He remained faithful to the old methods of tempera, and produced some very good work,—for instance, the large Coronation of the Virgin from La Fratta, now in the Vatican, and the altar-piece of 1496 in the Gallery at Perugia. This is a richly-designed work, but stiff in the treatment of the incidents; and the expression, though soft and pleasing, lacks Perugino's fervency. At Spello near Foligno, besides decorating a chapel in fresco, he left numerous works by himself and his pupils. In 1501 he was elected to be one of the Council of Ten in his native town, and seems to have intended to remain there ; but in the following year he obeyed a summons from Cardinal Piccolomini, which led to his ending his days in Siena.

The task now entrusted to him was the decoration of the cathedral library, built to contain the choir-books and dedicated to the honour and fame of the cardinal's uncle, Pope Pius II. The cardinal himself, who died in 1502 after a pontificate of only a few weeks, provided by will for the completion of this work, which was finished in 1508. This room, with its bronze doors in their marble frames, fine panelling and bookshelves, and perfectly preserved paintings, is one of the most beautiful monuments of the art of the Renascence. The ceiling is elegantly divided into panels containing mythological subjects mixed with charming ornamental designs. On the walls, separated by groups of pilasters, are ten scenes from the life of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius I. The third in order is his coronation as a poet by the Emperor Frederick III. (Fig. 291), which gives a fair idea of the style of the pictures, which are grand

Fig. 291.

ceremonial compositions; deep spiritual meaning and strong dramatic expression were no part of the programme. Pinturicchio has been equal to the task before him; he could tell a story clearly and elegantly. Though united

action and that solid individuality that we meet with in the great Florentines are absent, the accessory figures—spectators, soldiers, and Orientals—are endlessly delightful. The minor incidents are apt to be trivial and far-fetched, but they give us a refreshing glimpse into the costume and manners of the time. The rich dresses, accessories, tapestries, and the seaport views in two of the series, and the stately façade in the third (Fig. 291) combine to produce a splendidly decorative effect. We must here pause a moment to destroy a myth that has grown up concerning these pictures, to the effect that Raphael had some hand in their production; Vasari, in the *Vite*, speaks of his having made some drawings and cartoons for this work for his friend Pinturicchio, and in the *Life of Pinturicchio* he even says that the sketches and cartoons for all the subjects were from the hand of Raffaello da Urbino, nay, in proof he adds that one of the cartoons was still to be seen at Siena and several drawings in his own collection. It is quite clear that his only ground for the assertion was the fact that these drawings were in his time ascribed to Raphael, but it is well known that drawings, even more than paintings, by inferior masters were extensively rebaptised by great names in commerce. Three sketches are at this day extant—one in the Uffizi, one at Chatsworth in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and one in the Baldeschi collection at Perugia; but there is no more ground for ascribing them and the inscriptions on them to Raphael than for supposing that he could have been the author of such feeble and awkward compositions. The alterations that have been made in the paintings as compared with these sketches are just such as might have been expected, and are certainly not for the worse, as has sometimes been asserted; a sketch often strikes us at the first glance as more full of genius than the carefully finished work—a fact of which this is not an exceptional instance. The hand that made these sketches was none other than Pinturicchio's.[67]

Another of his works executed in Siena was the Return of Odysseus, a fresco transferred to canvas, from the Palazzo Pandolfo Petrucci, now in the National Gallery. [In the National Gallery, too, is a small Madonna (No. 703), with a landscape background, presented to the nation by Her Majesty the Queen from the collection left by the Prince Consort, as well as the S. Catherine (No. 693). Waagen, who saw this at Kensington in 1857, speaks of it as being of the master's earliest and best time, and later critics have pronounced it genuine. Three decorative panels on wood represent the story of Griselda as told by Boccaccio; they look like pictures painted for a *cassone*. Dr. Richter discredits their authenticity as the work of Pinturicchio. About half a dozen examples of this master have been exhibited at different times at Burlington House by private collectors, mostly Madonnas. In 1877 a mythological subject was sent by Lady Eliz. Pringle, a panel of about five feet long with the story "perhaps of Io."]

II. Rome was a centre and home of the arts from the time when Pope Martin V. had reinstated it as the seat of the Papal Government; but they were cherished only by the church magnates, and no more a growth from the soul of the people than was the culture of science and letters. The masses lived in poverty, and the local nobility were indifferent to intellectual pleasures. We have seen already that fine paintings were executed in Rome, but never by her indigenous artists; art had no roots in her soil; it made no progress that we can mark or watch. In enumerating the principal paintings done in Rome up to this date, first on the list stands the Chapel of S. Clemente, executed in my opinion by *Masolino*, and certainly before the accession of Martin V. in 1417. *Gentile da Fabriano*, undoubtedly worked for that pope, but his paintings have entirely disappeared. Under Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. *Fra Giovanni da Ficsole* was employed (*ante*, p. 286). During the papacy of Sixtus V. there was a grand opening for painting when all the most famous artists of Tuscany and Umbria were called upon to decorate the Sistine Chapel. But the most important work of the early Renascence in Rome seems to have been a chapel built in 1490 by Innocent VIII. as part of the Belvedere, and decorated by *Andrea Mantegna*, but afterwards destroyed. It was under this pope and his successor Alexander VI. that *Pinturicchio* found the opportunity of displaying his peculiar talent for decorative painting.

Among all these invited talents one native master stands forth, but with no particular distinction—*Antonio di Benedetto Aquilio*, called *Antoniazzo*.[68] He is spoken of in documents as being employed between 1460 and 1497. He worked to a great extent under other more famous masters, *Melozzo* and *Pietro Perugino;* and his original works, especially a Madonna between S. Jerome and S. Francis, signed and dated 1464, in a church at Rieti, and another of 1489 in the cathedral at Capua, have led Crowe and Cavalcaselle to conclude that he at first came under the influence of *Benozzo Gozzoli*, and subsequently under that of the Umbrian painters, *Fiorenzo* and *Pinturicchio*.[69]

III. Southern Italy was during this period equally barren of productions that could in any way affect the intellectual progress of the Peninsula. Alfonzo of Aragon, it is true, had brought some reflected light of the Renascence to shine on Naples; but its art and letters alike were imported from the north. The painters who worked there came from Tuscany and Umbria, and the lovers of art showed a marked preference for the productions of the schools of the Netherlands. Provincial patriotism has attempted to create a Neapolitan Renascence which we are compelled ruthlessly to demolish.[70] Certain painters —*Colantonia del Fiore*, *Antonio Solario*, known as *Il Zingaro*, *Simone Papa*, and others—are purely mythical personages; it is not even certain that they ever existed, in spite of the legends that have become attached to their names. The brothers *Piero* and *Polito Donzelli*, who, according to Vasari, worked in the

Palazzo di Poggio, were Florentines; the second is mentioned as a pupil of *Neri de' Bicci.* The mass of inferior paintings which represent native talent in the Naples Museum are almost all works that were produced under Flemish influence, though not by Flemings. Such are the clumsy S. Jerome, with his heraldic lion, which was once ascribed to Hubert van Eyck, and which is a work of the late fifteenth century; and the archangel Michael with saints and donors—figures of the size of life. A characteristic painter of miniatures was one *Reginaldus Piramus Napolitanus,* as he signs himself in a Greek copy of the *Ethics* of Aristotle, executed for Andrea Matteo Aquaviva, Duke of Atri. He shows himself a thorough master of the ornamental types of the Renascence in the triumphal arches with which he frames some of the pages, but in his figure paintings, illustrating mythology or history in the costume of his own period, he is realistic without dignity; the landscapes are well designed, and, as Waagen very accurately pointed out, betray an extensive acquaintance with German engravings. The best frescoes in Naples are the twenty subjects from the legend of S. Benedict in the cloister of S. Severino, now used for the preservation of the state archives; they date from late in the fifteenth century, and are certainly not the work of a native artist, but that of a second-rate master of the Tuscan Umbrian school, and of these the first is the best.

In Sicily, again, we hear of native painters only in later and untrustworthy literature; recent investigations have not confirmed these statements, and the works we meet with are very rarely signed. We can trace in them the influence of Flemish teaching, as, for instance, in the famous picture of the Triumph of Death, a fresco in the Ospedale Nuova at Palermo. A local tradition has attached to this picture the name of *Antonio Crescenzo,* but no authentic work by this native of Palermo is known to exist except a S. Cecilia in the cathedral there, one of a series of seven presented in 1476, of which the other six have disappeared, including the one on which the master had inscribed his name. The picture is said to be remarkable for a noble expression, and realism purified by a feeling for the antique. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe it to some early Umbrian painter, perhaps *Gentile da Fabriano.*[71] *Tommaso de Vigilia,* by whom some pictures, dated 1480-97, are known, worked in the same manner. The greatest Sicilian painter, *Antonello da Messina,* whose connection with his native island was scarcely more than nominal, will be spoken of presently.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOLS OF NORTHERN ITALY.

THE SCHOOL OF PADUA—Francesco Squarcione and his use of the antique—Gregorio Schiavone—*The Church of the Eremitani*, Padua—Niccolò Pizzolo—ANDREA MANTEGNA—His easel pictures—The S. Sebastian at Vienna—Engravings—*Castello di Corte*, Mantua—Triumph of Cæsar—Late Madonna pictures, Louvre and National Gallery—His immediate followers—THE VENETIAN SCHOOL, its late development—*Johannes Alamanus* and the Vivarini of Murano—Carlo Crivelli—His finest works in England—Jacopo Bellini—ANTONELLO DA MESSINA—His technique—His residence in the Netherlands—His portraits—Gentile Bellini—The paintings in the Doge's Palace—*Scuola di S. Marco*—Giovanni Bellini—His style and sentiment—Altar-piece in *S. Zaccaria*—His portraits—Alwise or Luigi Vivarini—*Vittore Carpaccio*—The legend of S. Ursula, Venice Academy—A unique *genre* picture—Minor disciples of the Bellini—Previtali, Cima da Conegliano—Madonnas in the Louvre and National Gallery—*Marco Basaiti*—Vincenzo Catena.

I. THE SCHOOL OF PADUA AND ANDREA MARTEGNA.—The north of Italy never had during the fifteenth century any centre of art so important as Florence, but many of its local schools rose to high distinction. Among these that of Padua deserves a foremost place; its progress began early and continued steadily, and it exerted an important influence on those of other towns. So early as in the fourteenth century Padua was famous for the works of Giotto, Giusto, Altichiero, and Jacopo Avanzi; still, these masters were not her own sons, and it was not till the second half of the fifteenth century that she possessed an indigenous school, founded by *Francesco Squarcione*, born 1394, died 1474.[72] He was the son of a respectable lawyer, and at the time of his father's death in 1422 followed the calling of tailor and embroiderer, so that he evidently was led to the art of painting by that of the needle. Scardeonius tells us that in his youth he had made a journey into Greece and had there learned much that was of use to him in the arts of drawing and printing. On his return home he set up a studio, in which the works of art that he had collected were of great use to him in teaching; he gave his pupils statues and pictures to copy rather than the works of his own hand. The number of pupils that he taught in the course of a long life is said to have amounted to 137, and he was known by the name of the "Father of painters." If we seek to discover the characteristic which is common to all his disciples, good and bad alike, we cannot fail to see that it is a feeling for antique modelling. It would hardly be too much to say that they all understood the human figure only at second hand, as it were, through a translation into the language of statuary. In the limbs we find strong relief and careful modelling,

in the drapery the same statuesque feeling, not always antique, often heavy and turgid, but sometimes intelligently studied from wet linen after the manner of the Greeks. The feeling for colour is lost in the regard for form, but a characteristic feature is the treatment of ornamental and architectural accessories in which the influence of the antique is very conspicuous and carried out with great elaboration of detail. Coloured marbles, splendid garlands, and the suggestions of sculptured ornament are worked out in colour; magnificent and often grand, but sometimes hard and overloaded. Squarcione himself was evidently a man of theory like *Paolo Uccello*, *Piero degli Franceschi*, and *Verrocchio*. Little has been described of his own works, even by the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, and Vasari speaks of him as he does of Raphael's father, saying that Mantegna's master was not the finest painter in the world. Recent biographers have arrived at the singular conclusion that he was not a painter at all, but merely an *impresario*, a manager who employed others to work; but none but a master who unites practice with knowledge can ever become a leader of youthful talent and the founder of a great school.

Documentary evidence exists relating to various commissions given to Squarcione in the years from 1439 till 1465,[73] but the works themselves have all perished—the paintings as well as the *intarsia* of the choir-seats in the Santo, for which he made the drawings—excepting an altar-piece executed in 1452 for Leone de Lazzara for his oratory in the Carmine, and which is now in the Museo Civico at Padua. From the affectation, stiffness, and meanness of the figures, five in all, we may ascribe this work to one of his less important scholars, perhaps *Marco Zoppo*; and Crowe and Cavalcaselle are no doubt right in supposing that the master left this work entirely to an assistant. But there is at any rate one picture extant authenticated by the painter's signature—a Madonna in the possession of the Lazzara family at Padua. The Virgin clasps the Child to her bosom, while He, looking over His shoulder, has eagerly thrown Himself into her arms; in the background hangs a red curtain, with ornamental accessories of leaves, figs, and pearls. On the stone parapet are the words—"Opus Squarcione pictoris." "The movement is happy and well expressed, the Virgin's eye is clear and open, the painting of the flesh soft and well modelled; the delicate form of the hands gives distinction, the colouring seems originally to have been good and transparent enough." The picture foreshadows the style that we shall find to be Mantegna's.[74] [A curious little work by Squarcione was exhibited in 1884 belonging to Mr. W. Graham; the shadows cold and darkened.]

We shall presently find followers of Squarcione as masters of mark in various towns, many of them superior indeed to his own pupils, whom we will speak of first. *Gregorio*, called *Schiavone* (the Slavonian) from Dalmatia, expressly designates himself *Discipulus Squarcioni* on an altar-piece in the National Gallery, consisting of ten panels; and again on the central panel of

an altar from S. Francesco at Padua, in the Berlin Museum, representing the Virgin enthroned, with two angels holding grapes. The last-named picture is particularly unsatisfactory, in spite of the dainty finish of its execution; the action is exaggerated, and Mary's mien, which is meant to be very dignified, is affected. His colouring is always crude, but in the London picture it is solid and powerful.[75] [There is a second small picture by him in the same gallery, stiffer in style and with less character in the heads. Dr. Richter believes them both to be genuine.]

A yet inferior painter was *Dario da Treviso*, by whom there is a picture in the Bassano Gallery, dated 1469; and other weak imitators of Squarcione are *Bernardino Parentino* (a poor picture by him is in the gallery at Modena) and *Jacopo Montagnana* of Padua, whom Vasari mentions, but inaccurately, as a pupil of Giovanni Bellini. Fragments of a fresco by him survive in the town hall at Belluno. *Marco Zoppo* of Bologna, though more skilful perhaps, is still coarse and heavy; he has signed and dated 1471 a picture in the Berlin Museum, a tasteless work, puffy in the modelling and inharmonious in colour. However, he seems to have found ample employment in his native town. We shall have occasion to speak of him again when we treat of *Ansuino da Forlì* and *Bono da Ferrara* and the great fresco works of this school. [The picture ascribed to Zoppo in the Nat. Gal. (No. 597) is, in the opinion of Richter and Morelli, the work of a pupil of Tura's. On the other hand they believe No. 590—attributed to Tura—to be by Marco Zoppo. It is a small panel.]

But we also meet with two really great masters of Squarcione's school, *Niccolò Pizzolo* and *Andrea Mantegna*. Pizzolo died young; he did but little, says Vasari, but all he did was good. If he had taken as much pleasure in painting as in the use of arms he might have excelled and perhaps would have lived longer; but, as he was always engaged in quarrels, he was one day attacked on his way from his work and killed.

ANDREA MANTEGNA,[76] the son of a peasant named Blasius, was born near Padua in 1431, and died at Mantua in 1506. He was adopted by Squarcione at the age of ten, and entered on the books of the painter's guild as his apprentice. The genius that Squarcione had discerned was not slow to develop. An altar-piece inscribed with his own hand as having been painted at the age of seventeen has not indeed come down to us; we can therefore only note his progress in his share of the great fresco-paintings in the Chapel of S. James and S. Christopher in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua, on which he and his fellow-pupils were employed, and which is the only work of the kind in North Italy that can compare with the great mural decorations of Florence. The date cannot be precisely fixed, for though, by the will of the last of the Orvetari family, 7000 gold ducats were to be spent on the decoration of his chapel immediately after his death, Mantegna's share in it may not have been executed till some years later. The chapel is square, with a five-sided

choir. The four evangelists are attributed to Mantegna by Vasari, but this is an error; they are inferior works of Squarcione's school, careful but devoid of taste and expression. They have lately been supposed to be the work of *Marco Zoppo* whose hand may be certainly recognised in the two upper paintings on the right-hand wall depicting two subjects from the legend of S. Christopher: first, the Saint, who is not represented as a giant, meets the king, and second, he disputes with the king in his chamber; a dwarf guards the door. Below these is a picture signed by *Ansuino da Forlì*—S. Christopher as a giant adored by warriors—a better work than the two upper ones. The weakest of all is one signed *Bono*—S. Christopher carrying the Holy Child through the river; the drawing is remarkably awkward and ill proportioned.

In the choir we find the work of a very different master, *Niccolò Pizzolo*, who, on the ceiling, painted the Father enthroned between SS. Peter and Paul on one side, and SS. James the elder and Christopher on the other. Four small pictures below of the Fathers of the Church are effective.[77] On the altar-wall is the Assumption of the Virgin, not mentioned by Vasari but spoken of by Morelli's *Anonimo* as the work of Pizzolo. But for this direct testimony we could hardly hesitate to attribute this to Mantegna; and, if the chronicler is right, many characteristics that have hitherto been regarded as peculiar to Mantegna must have been shared by his gifted fellow-pupil. The upper group of the Virgin surrounded by angels is full of noble freedom; the apostles below, much damaged, are bold and imaginative, and the figures and drapery pure in treatment. We believe that Pizzolo's hand may also be recognised in the two uppermost pictures from the history of S. James, on the wall to the left of the body of the chapel, though it is true that they do not so closely resemble the Assumption as the pictures on the choir-roof. They display the statuesque treatment common to the school, but with less stiffness and a franker perception of reality, giving a more lifelike character to the scenes.

Mantegna, however, made a still greater advance, as we shall see, in the rest of the paintings in this chapel. The second series of the legend of S. James begins with the baptism of the Magian Hermogenes; the principal figures are almost too simple and calm, but there is a bolder grip of the facts of nature in the subsidiary groups, particularly in two most delightful children; the architecture and perspective are well understood; the figures and draperies reveal a study of the antique. His powers develop as he goes on. James before Herod Agrippa (Fig. 292) is freer and more dramatic in treatment, and a positive enthusiasm for the antique model is perceptible in the use throughout of draperies in contra-distinction to costume, in the Roman armour, and the triumphal arch in the background. In two of the pictures there is a very singular alteration of the point of sight. Instead of placing it on the level of the heads of the figures represented he has selected a point of sight below the plane on which they stand; thus, the pavement being concealed, the

feet of the foremost figures are seen at the edge; those of the others are invisible. In this, as in later works, Mantegna manages this perspective with consummate

Fig. 292.

skill; but it is in point of fact nothing more than an attempt to apply the laws of sculpture to the art of painting. In the picture of S. James blessing a convert on the way to his death, we are amazed at the learning with which

the foreshortening is managed; still these, like the figures of Piero degli Franceschi, are too studied to produce an artistic result. On the opposite wall, where two incidents are shown in one picture, Mantegna has not adhered to this construction, and the effect is more direct and natural.

Paolo Uccello and Fra Filippo Lippi, as well as the great sculptor Donatello, had practised their art in Padua; and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their depreciation of Squarcione, chose to attribute to their influence the superiority of Mantegna's and Pizzolo's style. That the tendency of Squarcione's school would lead to a keen appreciation of their works there can be no doubt; he is said to have had Florentine paintings among the examples in his studio. Still, all that was most characteristic in his pupils was due to his own style and method: namely, their learned, not to say dogmatic treatment, their strict application of the laws of perspective, and the sculpturesque scheme of their compositions. Mantegna, it is true, emancipated himself from bondage to this tradition by his genius and apprehension of nature; thus his works, with all their severity and elaboration, have that grand truthfulness that made Goethe exclaim, "What a bold and assured actuality there is in these pictures!"

Of his easel pictures of this early date we may name the altar-piece in the Brera, ordered in 1453 for S. Giustina at Padua; twelve panels in an arched frame. In this the statuesque types are much qualified and the tones better harmonised. The S. Euphemia in the Naples Gallery has suffered severely, but in dignified severity it is as good as any figure in the Eremitani Chapel. Two pictures in the Berlin Museum, not dated, probably belong to this period: a relief-like composition of half-length figures of Christ in the Temple, and a portrait of Cardinal Lodovico Mezzarota, Archbishop of Florence, full of startling energy and vitality.[78] In a *Pietà* on canvas in the Brera, which is evidently the picture mentioned in his will, painted not for sale but for practice, Mantegna has indulged his love of difficult problems by placing the dead Saviour with His feet towards the spectator, admirably but not pleasingly foreshortened, and by expressing the utmost possible pitch of grief and asceticism in the heads of the two hideous old women. At the close of this period comes the altar-piece in the Church of S. Zeno at Verona, painted in 1458-59.[79] It is essentially a picture of its school, with rich classical architecture in coloured marbles, friezes, medallions, and gorgeous garlands of flowers; the figures, though statuesque, are full of expression and very impressive by the sheer perfection of execution. The predella fell into the hands of the French and has not found its way back. Two panels of it are in the Museum at Tours; and the centre piece—Christ on the Cross between the two thieves—a composition of infinite pathos, though the figures still remind us of the classical rigidity of the Paduan frescoes, is in the Louvre. Andrea worked for a long time at Padua, side by side with his former master, and his name was so widely known that commissions flowed in from other towns. He married Nicolosa, the daughter

Fig. 293.

of Jacopo Bellini, and this brought him under fresh influences ; for the Venetian master's two sons, Gentile and Giovanni, owe much to their brother-in-law, and were often employed at Padua. Mantegna availed himself of all the elements of culture that the city afforded. His friendship with Felice Feliciano and other learned men is proved by the dedication of books to him, as well as by poems in his praise. His education was altogether an unusually good one for his position. He has left ample proofs in his works of his familiarity with mythology and the literature of the ancients. He, like his master, was an ardent collector and a recognised connoisseur of antiquities ; no other painter of the Renascence was possessed by such enthusiasm for the antique as Mantegna.

For some years Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, one of the most enlightened of the minor princes in Italy, had been treating with Mantegna to pay a visit to Mantua, and the artist seems to have gone thither by the end of 1459. The school of Padua thus lost its independent standing. Mantegna himself gained by the change, and found himself free to soften down much that was harsh in his style. He henceforth worked principally for the court of Mantua ; Vasari mentions a small altar-piece painted for the Palace Chapel, probably identical with one now in the Tribune of the Uffizi ; it consists of three panels ; the execution is amazingly delicate, and the slender figures are full of dignity ; the colouring is harmonious, and the high lights touched with gold. One of his best works of this period is the S. Sebastian in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna signed in Greek letters (Fig. 293). He did not regard the subject, as so many of the masters of the Renascence did, merely as an opportunity for a study of the nude ; he has expressed suffering in every limb and muscle ; the accessories, too, are admirable. Not less fine is the S. George in the Accademia at Venice ; and to the same period we may assign a Madonna and her Child, with angels bearing the instrument of the Passion, in the Berlin Museum.

Mantegna was at this time much occupied with copper-plate engraving, a branch of art of which he is the chief representative in Northern Italy. The Florentine engravers were principally goldsmiths, who were content to reproduce the designs of other artists, but Mantegna engraved his own ; and, few as his plates are, their influence was great not only in Italy but in Germany, for it was by his engravings that many German artists first became familiar with the contemporary art of Italy. He had made some attempts in this direction even in Padua, as may be seen by the unfinished Flagellation (Bartsch 1) and Christ at the gates of hell (B. 5), which have a strong resemblance to the Eremitani frescoes, and which are rather primitive in technique. This crude treatment he afterwards modified when he came to see some of the better examples of German engraving ; but even at his best it is the invention and not the execution that we admire in Mantegna's plates of sacred subjects.

Fig. 294.

The figure of Christ rising from the grave, with SS. Andrew and Longinus, the patron saints of Mantua, on either hand, may be particularly mentioned (B. 6), the fine composition of the Deposition (B. 4), and above all the large Entombment (B. 3), which reaches the height of affecting and sorrowful emotion. Hardly any other engraving has had so marked an effect on the minds of other artists. Raphael adopted the motive, here quite new, of the bearing of the body by two men walking face to face, the foremost bearer walking backwards, in his "Borghese" Entombment, 1507, and Holbein also borrowed it for the last of his Basle Passion series; while Dürer imitated the figure of S. John, with his hands clasped and raised, in his engraving of the Crucifixion, of 1508.

Mantegna's chief work in Mantua, under the orders of Ludovico, was the decoration of a room in the Castello di Corte, finished in 1474. Two of the walls of this room, which is known as "la camera de' sposi," are entirely destroyed, and the third greatly injured; the fourth and the ceiling remain. The wall that is only partially injured shows us the Marchese Ludovico and his wife Barbara of Brandenburg sitting in an open pavilion surrounded by their children and court. On the adjoining wall there is another family group (Fig. 294); the Marchese is easily recognised; the lad in a white cap who holds the hand of an ecclesiastic is Francesco Gonzaga, made a cardinal in 1461. The two little boys are no doubt his young brothers Rudolfo and Ludovico. The prelate is perhaps the Bishop of Mantua.[80] The strangeness of the costume, the stiffness of the action, the preference for profile heads, and the indifference of the subordinate groups to the principal action are all very awkward, but the likenesses have a sort of monumental grandeur, and there is a striking air of truth in the scene; the picture is continued on the other side of the door, where we see the suite with horses and dogs; the animals are well studied from nature. The master seems more at home, however, in the ideal subjects with winged boys who support the tablet over the door and decorate the ceiling; the perspective from below, which he had experimented on at Padua, is here applied to the decoration of the roof, as we lately found Melozzo da Forlì employing it, thus helping to establish a new principle of decoration which Correggio carried out to its ultimate results, and which remained paramount in the florid style of later schools. The ceilings of the dormers have mythological subjects, and eight lozenge-shaped medallions in the coving have heads of emperors, all painted in monochrome; round these are wreaths held by winged boys. Through a circle in the centre the blue sky is supposed to be visible, and a balustrade surrounds it, over which women —among them a negress—look down, and boys peep through or stand upon it (Fig. 295).

Ludovico died in 1478, and was succeeded by Federigo, and in 1484 by Francesco II. Mantegna held a high place in the esteem of the three princes

Fig. 295.

not only as an artist but as a man. They were considerate while he was often irritable, for he always felt what, in fact, he once told Ludovico: that he might be proud of having in him something that no other prince in Italy could boast of; and until Leonardo attached himself to Lodovico Sforza in Milan he was undoubtedly right. He was no less respected by other powerful personages. When Lorenzo de' Medici visited Mantua in 1483 he went to see the painter's works and his collection of antiquities. There is documentary evidence to show that he did much work for the House of Este at Ferrara; but the greatest honour done to Mantegna was a command from Pope Innocent VIII. to go to Rome, where he remained from 1488 till 1490, painting the little chapel of the Belvedere, which was unhappily destroyed by Pius VI. to allow of an enlargement of the Vatican Museum. According to Vasari, it was in Rome that he painted the small Madonna in a romantic landscape which is now in the Uffizi, one of his tenderest bits of painting. It was soon after his return that he finished a great work which he had left far advanced when he set out for Rome—the Triumph of Cæsar, in nine cartoons, the paper being backed with canvas. These were used as hangings, instead of tapestry, to decorate a hall in the palace of S. Sebastiano. They are now at Hampton Court, and have unfortunately been much repainted. This was the greatest of his works, and reveals more plainly than any other his ardent love of the antique. The whole composition is worked out on the principle of a bas-relief, and by strictly adhering to this—by giving a very slight depth to the distance—the perspective from below, allowing only the feet of the foremost figures to be seen, is rendered intelligible. No other work of that century is so full of antique feeling as this. Mantegna's relation to the art of the ancients is quite different from that of *Sandro Botticelli;* he actually lives and moves in it, while Botticelli only plays with it and modernises it. But Mantegna's devotion to the antique was coupled with an equal devotion to nature. His classic studies led him to a purer and nobler ideal than any painter of his time attained to, but his work is at the same time full of a vital directness, and Goethe said with truth of this splendid painted frieze: "The study of the antique gives form, and nature adds appropriate movement and the breath of life."[81]

Mantegna engraved some of the groups in the Triumph of Cæsar, besides one which was never actually painted, of the Roman people following the Emperor's chariot in front of the long procession of soldiers. He frequently selected antique subjects for his plates; two Bacchanalian scenes and two plates of fights between Tritons are especially remarkable for the realistic vigour that he has infused into the antique types.

To this late period of Mantegna's life belong some of his finest Madonnas; the Madonna *De la Victoire* in the Louvre, which was placed in a chapel at Mantua on 6th July 1496 in commemoration of the battle of Taro.[82] The name,

however, is ill bestowed, for the fight did not result in victory, but was merely an abortive attempt to prevent the retreat of Charles VIII. to France. The

Fig. 296.

Virgin sits on a magnificent throne, under a canopy decorated with fruit and flowers, and is represented as the Mother of Mercy; her mantle is supported on one side by S. Elizabeth and on the other by the Marchese Francesco, a

simple and stately portrait; she extends her hand protectingly over His head, while the Infant, standing on her knee, raises His hand in blessing. Mantegna always worked in tempera; and with all the finish of detail that he has lavished on the execution, the material is so admirably managed and the colouring so tenderly harmonised that there is no effect of overloading. A kindred work is the picture in the National Gallery (No. 274) of the Virgin enthroned between S. John the Baptist and the Magdalene. The Virgin is a little conventional, but the saints, with a supermundane look of inspiration, are beautiful (Fig. 296); the draperies, apparently studied from wet linen, lack breadth and freedom perhaps, but the colouring is brilliant and effective. A lovely little Madonna, formerly belonging to Sir Charles Eastlake, was purchased for the Dresden Gallery; and one now in the Trivulzi collection at Milan is probably the same that was originally in the Church of S. Maria in Organo at Verona, mentioned in the accounts for the year 1496.

Two rather small pictures in the Louvre are later than these, having been ordered by Isabella d'Este to decorate a chamber for which, as we have already seen (p. 357), Perugino also painted a picture. The subject of one is allegorical—the Triumph of Virtue over Vice; but the finer of the two is a picture of Parnassus—Apollo with his Lute, the Muses, Mercury with Pegasus, Venus, Mars, Cupid, and Vulcan approaching. In this we have a grace of form and movement far beyond all that the Italian Renascence had hitherto produced, and which no one but Raphael has ever surpassed. The landscape is worthy of the figures, and the workmanship quite admirable.[83] The Triumph of Scipio in the National Gallery, a splendid procession, is one of Mantegna's last works, and was in his studio at the time of his death.

He was always at work, and yet in his last years not free from pecuniary difficulties, having lavished large sums on the construction of a family chapel of his own in the Church of S. Andrea. His last great grief was that he was compelled by necessity to sell an antique bust of Faustina to the Marchesa Isabella. He died on 13th September 1506. [Besides the two pictures above-mentioned, the National Gallery purchased in 1881 a panel with two figures representing Summer and Autumn, painted, Dr. Richter thinks, from drawings by Mantegna. A *Pieta*, a small sketch on panel, is in the Royal Institution at Liverpool. Lord Northbrook's picture of Christ on the Mount of Olives was exhibited in 1870, and other examples have frequently been on loan at Burlington House.] His son *Francesco* was also a painter and his assistant, but made no great mark; we shall presently speak of his pupils elsewhere. Of the engravers who followed in his steps the two most noted were *Zoan Andrea* and *Giovan Antonio da Brescia*, who engraved several of his designs. His influence on both sides of the Alps is simply immeasurable. He is one of those who did most to pave the way for the mighty masters of

the sixteenth century; and for a long lapse of years, before Leonardo had painted his Last Supper (1498), stood alone among Italian painters.

[There are two pictures in the National Gallery by *Francesco Mantegna*—a "*Noli me tangere*" and a Resurrection (Nos. 639 and 1106), "certainly of Mantegna's school" (*Richter*). The British Museum has a drawing by Mantegna, of which Waagen speaks with admiration as one of those which were engraved either by the artist himself or by Zoan Andrea; and among the collection of prints there are many from his designs, besides a very large proportion of his own plates as enumerated by Bartsch, as well as two examples not elsewhere mentioned.[84]]

II. THE VENETIAN SCHOOL.—In the fifteenth century Venice held a peculiar position in relation to the rest of Italy. While the other states lived in a condition of perpetual instability, Venice offered the spectacle of a well-ordered community, in which the nobility ruled and the populace silently obeyed. Her commerce was flourishing; she was constantly extending her territory on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, and her power inland towards the Alps and Verona; still, she was late in feeling the great intellectual resurrection that was convulsing the rest of the country. Popular enthusiasm such as had fired Florence is only possible under conditions of popular liberty; and though now and again in the course of the fifteenth century some man of mark in Venice was distinguished for learning and enlightenment, aggrandisement and luxury for themselves were what the ruling classes chiefly aimed at. The revival of art was consequently slow in taking hold on Venetian soil,[85] and her painters of the early half of the fifteenth century carried on the traditions of their teachers of the fourteenth, as craftsmen rather than as artists. Works of this kind by *Jacobello del Fiore*, died probably about 1439,[86] are a half-length Madonna, signed, in the Museo Correr, and a Virgin with two Saints, dated 1436, in the Academy at Venice. [Waagen speaks of the examples that he saw in the collection of Mr. Barker, and which were sold at his death, as "specimens of a very rare master, dignified and noble." He also mentions four panels at Wooton Hall as characteristic.—*Art Treas.*, iii. p. 377.]

Michele Giambono, a somewhat younger painter, worked in the same groove. An altar-piece by him is to be seen in the Venice Academy.

There was, however, for some years after 1440, an independent school of painting in the small island of Murano, which served as the fulcrum of a new movement. In the first instance it is known by two painters who seem to have always worked together, and who signed themselves as *Johannes* and *Antonius di Murano*, or sometimes as *Johannes Alamanus* and *Antonius di Murano*.[87] They painted altar-pieces consisting for the most part of several panels in Gothic framework, and with gilding applied in the accessories—the mitres and jewelled borders, for instance, being not unfrequently in slight

relief in plaster, coloured and gilt. Such an example in the Academy at Venice is dated 1440, and there are three interesting specimens in the Chapel of S. Terasio in S. Zaccaria, a mixture of carving and gilding, 1443 and 1444. The finest work of these two masters, however, is the enthroned Madonna of 1446 in the Venice Academy (Fig. 297). In spite of the co-operation of the German master it is difficult to detect any marked German feeling in this picture. A resemblance with the work of *Gentile da Fabriano* has been pointed out, and with reason, for this painter worked at Venice, and

Fig. 297.

we may trace his influence in the shadowless colouring, the delicate finish and the richness of the decorative details, as well as in the expression. But the Murano masters were his superiors in the fine old men's heads, full of stern dignity. Presently *Alamanus* disappears, and we find *Antonius* working with *Bartolommeo di Murano*, his brother. They set up a studio in Venice, as we learn from the signature of an altar-piece in the Pinacoteca at Bologna which was painted in 1450, by command of Pope Nicolas V., as a memorial to Cardinal Albergati. The twelve panels of which it consists have the same symmetrical plan as the earliest works of the Murano painters, and the same fresh colouring; but the more strongly-marked realism and more learned

modelling reveal the influence of the Paduan school, while escaping its rigidity and lack of beauty. When we see Antonio working alone, as in an altar-piece, dated 1464, in the Lateran, he is weaker. Another work, undoubtedly by him, though unsigned, is an Adoration of the Kings in the Berlin Museum, full of figures and strongly resembling Gentile da Fabriano.

Bartolommeo di Murano, who signs himself for the first time in 1459 as *Bartolommeo Vivarinus* on the picture of S. Giovanni Capistrano in the Louvre, starts on an independent path. He is strongly impressed by the realism of the times and especially by the school of Padua. He adheres to the Gothic and symmetrical scheme of construction in his altar-pieces; but his figures have acquired roundness, and the limbs are better set on the torso. The austere expression of his heads, particularly of old men, reminds us of the same school; but the grace of his women and children is all his own. The gay rosy hues of the Muranese has given way to greater truthfulness and more natural shading; while, like the Paduans, he loves gorgeously-coloured flowers and marbles. An altar-piece by him in the Accademia at Venice is dated 1464—the Virgin adoring the Infant, who lies asleep in her lap. The same motive recurs in a picture brought from Bari and now in the National Museum at Naples, dated 1465; in this the expression and grace of line are remarkable. Four bishop saints stand near the magnificent throne, with groups of angels clothed in white, and so singularly treated that it is hard to decide whether they are meant for living figures or as part of the architecture; they bear baskets of flowers, in their natural colours. Two partridges in the foreground are admirably painted. There are fragments of an altar of 1473 in SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice and good examples in S. Maria de' Frari, 1474 and 1482. There is a fine altar-piece by this master in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and a S. George on horseback of 1485 in the Berlin Museum; his later works, down to 1491, are somewhat inferior. [A panel in tempera on wood, in Richter's opinion a genuine work, in the National Gallery (No. 786), illustrates *Antonio di Murano* (*Vivarini*) and a Madonna picture with S. Paul and S. Jerome is signed by *Bartolommeo* (No. 284); this is pronounced by Waagen as "unusually good and in excellent preservation." Mr. George Richmond, R.A., exhibited in 1881 an important work of the early Venetian (Murano) school, in which the motive resembles that of the altar-pieces above described: the Infant is lying on His mother's lap, and while she clasps her hands in adoration He blesses the donor—a woman; it is signed and dated 1472. At the same time Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A., lent a smaller half-length Madonna by Bartolommeo Vivarini.]

A younger member of the Vivarini remains to be spoken of later.

A contemporary of the two brothers was *Antonio da Negroponte*, a Franciscan friar who has signed in full a colossal Virgin and Child in S. Francesco Della Vigna at Venice. She is gentle and pleasing, the Child on

her knee is weak; the accessory figures and decoration suggest the school of Padua.

A far more important painter is CARLO CRIVELLI, who, after studying in the Murano school, was influenced by that of Squarcione, and even more strongly than Bartolommeo Vivarini had been. He did not work in his native town. After the first year of which we find a record on his pictures, 1468, his paintings were for the most part executed for different places in the march of Ancona.[88] Ascoli seems to have been his principal residence. His earliest works reveal the purpose of vying with the Paduans in vigorous delineation of action, while his knowledge of the figure was still very insufficient. His male heads are austère, often grim enough; where he seeks to express the softer emotions he degenerates into affectation, especially in the female heads, and he is apt to dislocate the hands in an almost incredible manner. He is, however, a master of expression, as for instance in the *Pieta* in the National Gallery, and another in the Vatican. In both the grotesqueness of the faces borders on caricature, but they are full of dramatic power, and the expression of vehement and passionate grief is most remarkable. Crivelli was fond of the splendid accessories introduced by the Paduan school, and outdid his teachers, applying jewels, and gold ornaments in relief, richly coloured and gilt. His first dated work was the altar-piece of the Church of S. Silvestro at Massa, near Fermo; the panels, now detached, may be seen in the sacristy. At Ascoli he painted an altar-piece for the Chapel del Sacramento in the Cathedral; and a fine altar-piece for the Church of S. Domenico, now in the National Gallery (No. 788), which is richer in Crivelli's works than any other public gallery in Europe. There are two in the Lateran and a highly characteristic example in the Brera; this last is a triptych of 1482 (Fig. 298). Here the Infant Christ holds a bird; the Virgin's face is noble, but sad. To the right stand S. Peter as Pope, with his keys modelled in strong relief and gilt, and S. Dominic; opposite are SS. Geminiano and Peter Martyr. Still, perhaps the finest of all his works is the Annunciation, painted for the Convent of the Annunziata at Ascoli, and which the National Gallery is so fortunate as to possess (No. 739). Mary is kneeling in her chamber, the angel is outside in the court, but she cannot see him, for a wall stands between them; this very unusual treatment may have been intended to suggest that he appeared to her in a vision. At best it is but an artifice. A ray from the glory in the heavens pierces the wall and lights on Mary's head. By the side of the angel kneels S. Emidius, patron of Ascoli. This picture is amazingly rich in accessory details, flowers, birds, and small figures that decorate the architecture, and shows what Carlo Crivelli could do at his best in breadth of finish, and pure, powerful colouring. In 1490 the painter was raised to the dignity of knighthood by Ferdinand of Capua; henceforth he never fails to sign himself at full length as *Carolus Crivellis Venetus*, with the title *Miles* or

Eques Laureatus; as in the Virgin with the swallow between SS. Sebastian and Jerome in the National Gallery (No. 724), and in the Madonna seated on a magnificent throne, in the Brera. In the same collection is Crivelli's last signed picture—the Coronation of the Virgin, with a Pietà in the lunette dated 1494. In this late work his hand has in no respect lost its cunning. [There are some fine examples of the master in private hands in England;

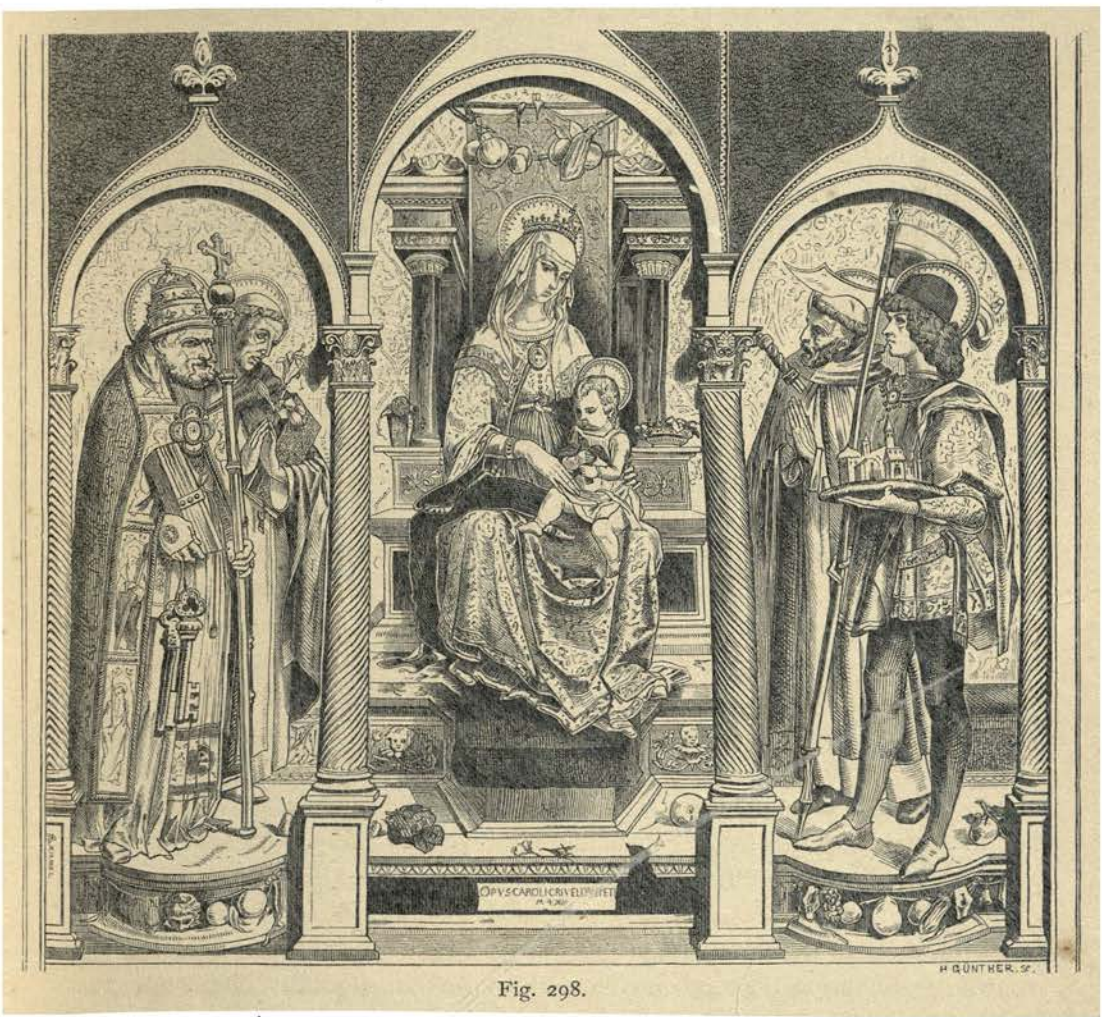


Fig. 298.

but our public collection is so rich that it is only necessary to allude to those in the Earl of Dudley's Gallery. One of these is regarded as a magnificent example of the master; it was exhibited with another in 1871.]

Contemporaneously with the *Vivarini* another family rose to fame, in Venice itself, who quite eclipsed them—the BELLINI. That Jacopo Bellini, the head of the family, came under the direct teaching of *Gentile da Fabriano* is known, he accompanied that master to Florence, where we hear of him in

1423-25 as having to settle a disagreeable business into which he had been led by a brawl with a Venetian; he is mentioned as "Jacobus Petri, painter from Venice, servant and scholar of Master Gentilinus, the painter from Fabriano."[89] The most conclusive evidence of Jacopo Bellini's genius as an artist is the sketch-book in the British Museum, one of the most valuable treasures of the kind, and bequeathed by his eldest son Gentile to his brother Giovanni for finishing a picture for him. The statement in the book, "*de mano di me Jacobo Bellini Veneto* 1430 *in Venetia*," shows that at that date the master was in his native town. This precious volume is full of scenes from the Old and New Testament, and from legends of saints, composed with infinite fancy and a noble simplicity; an eager observation of nature is to be traced in the landscapes, animals, and scenes from actual life. He has drawn too from antique statues and reliefs. He worked in various towns of Northern Italy: in Padua, where Mantegna married his daughter, and in Verona, where his principal work—a fresco of the Crucifixion, painted in 1336 for the Chapel of S. Niccolò in the Cathedral—was unfortunately destroyed in 1759, so that we can only form a faint idea of it from copies. His surviving works are of no great importance; in the Verona Museum there is a figure of Christ on the Cross, larger than life but weakly executed; and in the Accademia at Venice a Madonna, with a delicate narrow face and small eyes, warm in tone; both these are signed in full. The dates of Jacopo Bellini's death, and of the birth of his two sons are unknown—*Gentile*, so named after his father's master, and *Giovanni*. The years commonly given, 1421 and 1426, are incorrect, since Jacopo would hardly have gone with Gentile to Florence in 1423 as a married man with an infant; in fact, it is probable that the elder was not born till 1427. He died in 1507, and Giovanni in 1516.

In the earliest works of either brother we see the influence of the school of Padua, where they must have lived some time with their father; for instance, in the organ-case painted for S. Marco by Gentile, now in an upper corridor of the church in the Doge's Palace. Here we have four colossal figures of saints, with garlands of fruit, in the style of Squarcione's school; viewed from below, these show great mastery of perspective, but the figures are thick-set and ill proportioned, the action is stiff, and the extremities clumsy. The patriarch Lorenzo Giustiani, surrounded by kneeling priests and angels, from S. Maria dell' Orto, now in the keeping of the Academy and in very bad preservation, is dated 1465. The composition is awkward, but the figure of Lorenzo himself is simple and masterly. An early work is in the Berlin Museum—a Madonna picture, in which the Virgin is stiff and unlovely, while the heads of the donor and his wife are incomparably frank and truthful. Not less fine is a portrait of a Doge in the Museo Correr.

The early works of his brother Giovanni are not dated, nor for the most part signed; thus there is a certain group of tempera paintings in which

modern critics see the undoubted first works of Giovanni Bellini, while they formerly were attributed to Mantegna. Gentile, in all his early work, betrays the influence of the school of Padua; but in Giovanni's we see even more plainly that he had learned of his gifted brother-in-law Mantegna, and strives to equal him in the careful study of form, foreshortening, and literal truth. We perceive this in the Transfiguration, in the Museo Correr, which is unfortunately very dirty, and in the Agony in the Garden, in the National Gallery (No. 726) both very Paduan in their severity and the statuesque simplicity of the draperies. A more important work, signed with his name in a couplet, is the *Pietà* in the Brera—Christ half-upright in the grave supported by S. Joseph and the Virgin, no longer young, who presses her cheek to the body of her son. There is much in the expression, which is somewhat harsh, as well as in the fine drawing and foreshortening that reminds us of Mantegna, but the drapery is broader and the feeling deeper. A *Pieta* at Berlin that has hitherto been ascribed to Mantegna is now in the catalogue attributed to Giovanni Bellini;[90] Mantegna's severity is here qualified to a reserved pathos, and though the pale colouring of the tempera is very unlike the rich glow of the master's later work there is the same warmth of sentiment which charms us in his later pictures. Another and still finer *Pieta* is in the Vatican, but as this seems to be in oils we must postpone the consideration of it while we trace the introduction of this technique to the Venetian school.

The master who introduced oil-painting into Italy was *Antonello da Messina*, whose biography by Vasari is unluckily quite untrustworthy; later research has, however, supplied some additional facts. By Vasari's account Antonello, after studying for some time in Rome, returned to Sicily; on his way he saw, in the possession of Alphonso, King of Naples, a picture by *Jan van Eyck*, and was so captivated by it that he set out for the Netherlands and became the Flemish master's pupil. On the death of Van Eyck he returned to Italy, and after spending a short time in Messina settled in Venice. There need be no doubt as to his having visited Flanders; this is amply confirmed by the method of execution he adopted. But Vasari dates his journey thither too early when he asserts that he studied under Van Eyck; it seems more probable that *Rogier van der Weyden* was his teacher. His first dated picture is of 1465, a small half-length of the Saviour in the act of blessing, in the National Gallery. In this the type and treatment show a mixture of Italian and Flemish character. The painting is in oil, warm and brownish in tone, and here and there a little rubbed as if some alteration had been intended; the hand raised in blessing seems to have been higher originally. It would seem to be proved that Antonello remained some time at Messina, by the altar-piece now in the Pinacoteca there, from the Church of S. Gregorio.

He must have begun as soon as he was settled in Venice on a series of pic-

tures which were certainly painted there, and of which the earliest is dated 1474, No later date than 1478 occurs on any of his works, and we have no certain knowledge of the year of his death. No picture by Antonello betrays his connection with the Flemish school so clearly as a small Crucifixion in the Antwerp Gallery; but the resemblance lies only in the technical workmanship —the finish on a small scale, the brilliant colouring and dainty execution of the details of the foreground. The scene is an Italian landscape, and the figures wear the unmistakable birth-mark of Italian feeling—the Virgin sits resigned and S. John kneels; and while the crucified Redeemer is calm and dignified, the two thieves are bound to their crosses in such a way as to allow of the boldest foreshortening. A Madonna that he painted in Venice for S. Cassiano is lost;[91] and his other sacred pictures show him rather as a sober realist than as an imaginative painter. The Dead Christ, supported by two angels, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, is hard and dry in execution; the half-length figure of Christ in the Accademia at Venice lacks distinction. The S. Sebastian in the Berlin Museum, and a good replica in the Städel Institution, are more attractive, but the modelling and powerful painting are noteworthy in all. In portraits, on the other hand, Antonello is always admirable. One, from Hamilton Palace [is now in the National Gallery (No. 1141)], the Head of a Young Man, dated 1474; and the next in date—and perhaps the most interesting of all—is that in the Louvre of 1475 (Fig. 299). This young head, with its defiant under lip, is full of such vigour of expression and so broadly treated that no other hand, except perhaps Van Eyck's, could surpass it. Every detail of nature has been detected and recorded. Besides these, a portrait of an old man, 1476, in the Trivulzi Collection, and two of men in red dresses—one in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice, and the other in the Borghese Gallery—may be mentioned. Finally, a perfect gem is the portrait of a young man in the Berlin Museum, not more than about 8 inches high by 5 wide, which is said to have been originally dated 1478.[92] This is as delicate as the picture in the Louvre is broad in execution, and not less powerful, notwithstanding the small scale. [An example is mentioned by Mr. J. C. Robinson in his Notes on a private Collection.]

All these works, which seem to prove that Antonello was for many years the favourite portrait-painter in Venice, must have impressed the native artists with a sense of the inefficiency of their own technique. A love of colour was the natural gift of the Venetians; even in tempera Bart. Vivarini and Crivelli had aimed at the richest colouring they could attain. Antonello does not seem to have made any secret of his method, for we almost immediately find the brothers Bellini in possession of it, and it was through the Venetian school that it became universally known. The exact date at which they began to work in oil cannot be ascertained, because the paintings which are signed or of which it is possible to trace the history are few.

To return to the Bellini. It was in September 1474 that *Gentile Bellini* accepted a commission to restore and improve the paintings in the Grand Council Chamber in the Doge's Palace.[93] He was, however, interrupted in his labours—which had been originally begun by Gentile da Fabriano—in 1479; on the 1st of August the Sultan Mohammed II. requested the Republic of Venice to send to him a good painter, and Gentile Bellini was despatched to

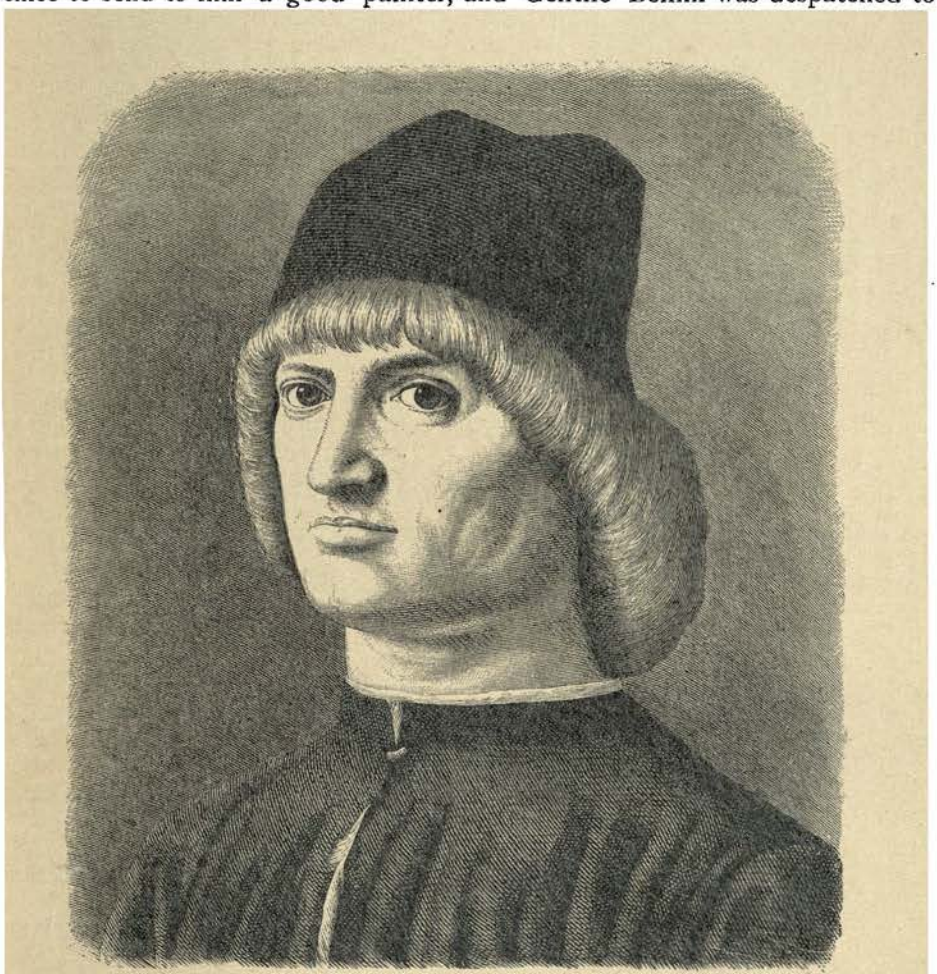


Fig. 299.

Constantinople, with two assistants, at the cost of the State. He there painted the Sultan and other eminent personages and returned at the end of a year, enriched and ennobled. A reminiscence of the visit to the East survives in a portrait of the Sultan, with a Renascence border, in the possession of Sir H. Layard; this is dated 25th November 1480, and in the Louvre is a picture of the reception of a Venetian ambassador and his suite by the Grand Vizier. This picture is conceived in the strict spirit of modern realism,

and is a triumph of the new technique; the southern atmosphere and strong sunlight are brilliantly rendered, the perspective is masterly, and the accuracy of observation and finish are amazing.

During his absence his brother *Giovanni* had continued his work in Venice, and after his return they carried it on together, adding to the cycle that was already begun seven subjects from Venetian history, which were destroyed by fire in 1577. They were in oil on canvas, the air of Venice being unfavourable to the preservation of fresco. Other decorative works of Gentile's later time have, however, escaped destruction. In the Accademia at Venice there are three pictures from the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista referring to the miracles wrought by a relic of the Cross preserved there. The first, representing the healing of Pietro di Lodovico by the power of the relic, in an architectural scene of elegant Renascence design, is no more than a ruin. The next, dated 1496, has also suffered; it represents a procession carrying the relic across the piazza of S. Mark. It is said to commemorate the vow of Jacopo Salis of Brescia on the restoration of his son in 1454. It is a striking picture of Venetian life, and the view of the Basilica is most interesting as showing the effect of the original mosaics. The third of the series, dated 1500, is in rather better preservation; it represents the recovery of the relic which, in the crush of the procession, had fallen into the water. The procession has paused on a bridge where the disaster has taken place; the shore to the left is crowded with people and kneeling worshippers; divers are plunging and monks are leaping into the canal; but Andrea Vendramin, the guardian of S. Giovanni Evangelista, has already found the sacred treasure and is swimming with the reliquary in his hand. We here have an endless variety of characteristic heads and figures and a vivid picture of Venetian life. There is something primitive in the arrangement of a row of women standing one behind the other, so that the heads look like a string of beads; but at the same time the master, we see, has not been afraid to face the most difficult problems. His knowledge of perspective is perfect, especially in this last picture, where the scene includes houses, buildings, and canals at every angle to the horizon; the aerial perspective, the treatment of the water, and the distribution of light are no less admirable. We see at once that it has all been studied on the spot and in the open air.

A worthy companion to these pictures is one now in the Brera, though painted in Venice, which Gentile began in 1504, and which after his death in 1507 was finished by his brother Giovanni in accordance with a wish expressed in his will. It represents the preaching of S. Mark at Alexandria; the people are assembled on a piazza in front of a temple resembling S. Mark's (Fig. 300). The colour has been injured by repainting, but the figures are lifelike, and the Oriental costumes evidently reminiscences of Constantinople. [Morelli confidently ascribes the head of Peter Martyr, in the National Gallery (No.

808), to Gentile Bellini; he also speaks of a portrait of a Doge, at Nuneham Park, by this master (see Richter, *Italian Art in the Nat. Gal.*, p. 10), and of "two genuine drawings" in the Brit. Mus. (*It. Masters in German Galleries*).]

Fig. 300.

While Gentile Bellini was a keen realist, Giovanni had qualities that his brother certainly lacked—sentiment and a lofty poetical feeling which he loved to embody in devotional works, both for church decoration and for private use. As a colourist he rivalled his brother as soon as he had mastered the new

material, and his tones are rich and full, mellow in the shadows and pure in the lights; delightfully harmonious, and with a thorough comprehension of atmo-

Fig. 301.

spheric perspective, though he does not attempt such difficult problems of scenic arrangement as his elder brother. The severity of the Paduan school is softened in him, though we can still trace the effects of strict training in the

thoroughness of his work. In him, as a painter in the fullest sense of the term, it is colour rather than form that governs the composition and arrangement of masses; still he shows a fine feeling for drawing and the disposition of lines. Even in his simplest works—half-length Madonna pictures—the tender beauty of his conceptions strikes us at once. One of the earliest is that from S. Maria dell' Orto, now in the Accademia, Venice, in which the treatment of the Child still recalls Mantegna, though the expression is more infantine, and the Virgin looks out of the picture with a gentle melancholy (Fig. 301). There are several others in this gallery; one (No. 94), of great nobility of aspect, is dated 1487; and in another (No. 101) he has given a look of stern dignity to both the mother and Child; indeed he rarely makes the Infant Saviour so sweetly childlike

Fig. 302.

as the Florentines did. One of his loveliest Madonnas is in the National Gallery (No. 280); there are two in the Berlin Museum, and two—one dated 1510, a late work therefore—in the Brera. In some of his small domestic Virgin pictures he adds a saint on each side, as in two admirable examples in the Academy at Venice; one having SS. Mary Magdalene and Catherine—portrait-like heads (Fig. 302), and the other SS. Paul and George. The nimbus is disappearing before the advance of realism; a due relation in feeling between the different figures, which, artistically speaking are strictly realistic, is the end aimed at.

This shape for a picture—long from side to side and low in proportion—was one this master frequently selected for Biblical subjects, as, for example, the Circumcision at Castle Howard, and for his favourite subject in later years, the *Pietà;* there are examples at Stuttgart, in the Uffizi, and in the Berlin Museum.

A remarkable and indeed unique picture is the Transfiguration in the Naples Museum; the figures, which are full length, are about sixteen and a half inches high. It is evident that the subject had no great attractions for the painter, for the kneeling disciples and the Saviour clothed in white are not particularly interesting, but Moses and Elias are full of well-expressed reverence. The problem of placing fully-modelled figures in a landscape against a brilliantly-lighted distance, with a sharply-defined foreground, is perfectly understood and satisfactorily solved.

The master's greatest works, however, are his grand decorative altar-pieces, for which his favourite subject was the Enthroned Virgin surrounded with saints —"Santa Conversazione," as the Italians call it. The work for which he was most famous according to early records—a Madonna with saints, painted in tempera, in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo—was unfortunately burned at the same time as Titian's Peter Martyr in 1867. But there is a splendid example in the Accademia at Venice—the altar-piece from S. Giobbe with three angel musicians at the feet of the Virgin, and Job and five saints and bishops. Sansovino tells us that this was the first oil-painting that Giovanni did for a public building; however, it shows that he was already a master of the method. Another impressive work, but sadly dimmed by dirt, is the Coronation of the Virgin in S. Francesco at Pesaro. In S. Corona, at Vicenza, there is a Baptism of Christ which is equally remarkable for the simplicity of the action and the lovely golden tone of the colouring. There is an altar-piece by him at Murano in the Church of S. Pietro Martire, 1488; and in S. Maria de' Frari a triptych with two exquisite boy-angels tuning one a pipe and the other a lute. Though Giovanni Bellini never broke altogether out of the old groove, in his later years his work gained in breadth and freedom of conception, as in the Madonna of 1505, in S. Zaccaria (Fig. 303); an angel plays the viol on the step of the Virgin's throne, while SS. Peter and Catherine, Jerome and Lucia stand on either side of the niche, which is richly decorated in the taste of the Renascence.

While the painters of Germany and the Netherlands were fond of filling a given space with figures and incidents, the Italians preferred to deal with an expanse of background, and by their treatment of it gave an effect of air and freedom to the scene. The figures are not relieved against each other by sharp outlines, but are detached by their roundness and colour; we feel that there is air between them, their draperies imply space; at the same time the execution is full of decision and refinement, the vehicle dexterously worked in, and the shadows deep and warm. Nor is the colour a mere medium of pleasing effects; it has a mind, a spirit of individuality, and is the instrument of passionate expression of feeling, which is the very soul of the painting. These Madonnas of Bellini's are not like most of the Florentine pictures of the same type, merely decorative, but devotional works, inspired by poetic singleness of

purpose even when, as in that in S. Zaccaria, the figures individually have no common centre of interest; thus we do not find in Bellini the fervent and ecstatic piety that Perugino could put into his works, but deep sentiment, and what Kugler has called moral beauty.

It was in the end of 1505 that Albert Dürer came to Venice, and in his

Fig. 303.

letter to Pirkheimer, dated 7th February 1506, he speaks of the impression made upon him by the personal charm, the friendly demeanour, and the artistic superiority of Giovanni Bellini. "He is very old and he is still the best painter." The master was at that time surrounded by a troop of pupils and rivals, and new ideas were rife; but still he yielded to none, working, even in his old age, with undiminished power and constant progress. The half-length Virgin and Saints of 1507, in a chapel of the Church of S.

Francesco della Vigna at Venice, has unfortunately suffered severely, but the altar-piece of 1513 in S. Giovanni Crisostomo is still very splendid. S. John Chrysostom is seated reading in an open landscape, the stump of a tree serving him as a desk; on one side is S. Christopher with the Child, on the other S. Augustine. The mountain landscape is masterly, and the execution is at once free and solid. The picture in the National Gallery of a forest scene and the death of Peter Martyr, with accessory figures and a distant landscape, is undoubtedly a late work.

Throughout his life Bellini painted portraits, though the number of those that remain is not large. In the Museo Correr is a portrait by him of the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, 1478-85, and that of the Doge Leonardo Loredano is in the National Gallery, 1501-21 (No. 189); in this the expression and drawing of the face are equally admirable, and the painting of texture no less so. A portrait of a man, signed, is in the Capitol at Rome.

Towards the end of his life he went for subjects to the history and myths of antiquity. When the Marchesa Isabella of Mantua commissioned Mantegna to paint two allegorical subjects, and was in treaty with Perugino for a third, she also wished to have one by Bellini; but the negotiations, which lasted from 1501 till 1504, make it clear that at that time Giovanni felt no predilection for such subjects, and at last he agreed with his patroness that he should be allowed to send her a Madonna instead. The matter was reopened, with Bembo as a go-between, in 1505-1506, but with no better success.[94]

However, that he did occasionally paint such subjects is proved by five small pictures now in the Venice Academy, evidently intended as decorations for a chest; the subjects are singular, and were no doubt done to order. The figures are well drawn and quite free from sensuousness; some naked children are particularly charming; one of the five pictures is signed. It is impossible to determine when these little paintings were executed; their minute finish as compared with the painter's usual breadth of brushwork we meet with again in some rare pictures of similar subjects; thus, in a Bacchanalian scene at Alnwick, painted for Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, which is signed and dated 1514.[95] The assertion that Titian finished this picture demands proof; as the signature is Bellini's, he most likely completed the work. It is a delightful combination of landscape and figures, with a reserved and delicate treatment of the Bacchanalian element. A life-size half-length of Venus in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna has the same noble character; the action is modest, while the knowledge of the nude is admirable, but the colour has suffered from restoration, like that of many other pictures in that collection. This is dated 1515, and the master died in the following year at the age of eighty. [Waagen considers a picture in the Royal Liverpool Institution (No. 31) to be an early work of Giovanni Bellini, but Mr. Schart thinks it may be by Gentile. Of the same school are three or four others in the same gallery (see *Catalogue*).

Various interesting examples from private collections have been sent to the Old Masters' Exhibitions.]

Among the numerous contemporary pupils and followers of the Bellini one may be regarded almost as their rival—*Luigi* or *Alwise Vivarini*, the last of the Murano family. What relation he may have been to the brothers is not known, but he was certainly Bartolommeo's pupil, though we also trace Paduan influences in his work. His altar-piece in the Venice Academy is

Fig. 304.

dated 1480, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe a work of his at Monte Fiorentino of 1476.[96] In the Treviso picture the severity of the figures reminds us of Mantegna; they are perhaps even leaner than his; but the workmanship is admirable and the expression of devotion in the different heads is finely rendered (Fig. 304). A badly-preserved triptych of the Virgin between SS. Francis and Bernard is signed and dated 1485, and a Virgin adoring the sleeping Infant, of 1489, is in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. This motive is borrowed from Bartolommeo Vivarini, and it is again repeated in a picture in the Church of the Redentore, Venice, in a very charming group. The Virgin,

seen in half-length, is treated with the usual symmetrical severity, but the sleeping Infant, and two angel musicians on either hand are careful studies from nature; we here see a distinct rivalry in sweetness and sentiment with Giovanni Bellini. It is in colour that he chiefly fails as compared with the rest of the school; he has attempted to master the technique of oil-painting, but without perfect success, and the results are often dull and opaque.

In 1488 Alwise presented an address to the Doge, in which he offered to paint a picture in the Great Council Hall, in the method practised by the brothers Bellini, renouncing all payment beyond his expenses till the work should be finished, when he would leave it to His Magnificency to fix the price.[9] The permission was granted in the following year. This picture was burned with the others. Two large altar-pieces in the Berlin Museum are late works; one from S. Maria dei Battuti at Belluno is a very splendid work showing an immense advance both in the modelling and in depth of colouring.[98] Alwise must have died before 1503, for on the altar-piece in S. Maria de' Frari, which is dated 1503, an inscription states that it was finished after his death by Marco Basaiti.

In considering the successors of the Bellini we will first turn our attention to those who were more especially the followers of *Gentile.* Of these the most remarkable was *Vittore Carpaccio* (Scarpaccia). It has been supposed that he may have been the assistant who accompanied the master on his visit to Constantinople in 1479, and it is certain that he has a great predilection for Oriental costume; he also shares his master's love of narrative subjects, full of incident from daily life. His most important work is a cycle of nine pictures from the legend of S. Ursula, painted in 1490-95 for the Scuola of S. Ursula, now in the Venice Academy.[99] The first of the series is the Dream of S. Ursula, followed by the Reception by King Maurus of the English envoys who come to ask the hand of the Princess Ursula for the son of the King of England (Fig. 305). In this the arrangement of the space is particularly happy: to the left we see the arrival of the suite; in the middle the principal action takes place in an open hall, with a town beyond; to the right is Ursula's chamber; she is standing before her father, and counting off her arguments on her fingers. The eighth picture, representing her martyrdom, ends the legend; but in the ninth we see the saint in glory surrounded by her maidens. In all the action is carried out with great composure and dignity, and accessory incidents abound. Though individual figures here and there are a little stiff and awkward, their purpose and action are always direct, and thoroughly expressive and dignified. The most crowded groups are made distinct by the masterly distribution of light and shade. The details are kept duly subordinate; atmospheric effects are carefully observed, and the perspective is accurate. In tone Carpaccio is deep and rich, but falls short of the tender transparency which distinguishes Giovanni Bellini.

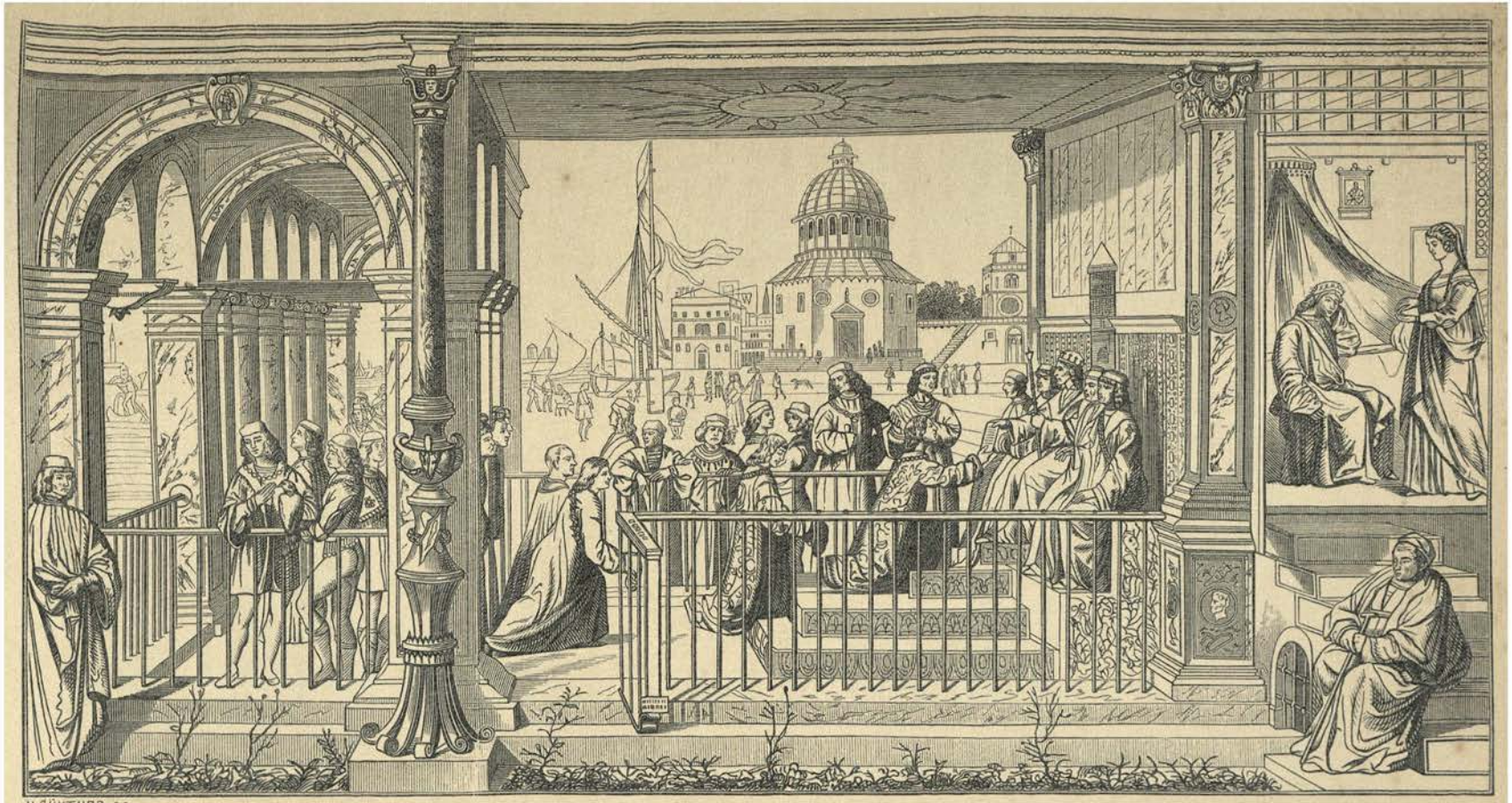


Fig. 305.

Carpaccio painted one of the series from the Legend of the Cross, on which his master was employed—the Healing of one Possessed—which is now in the Venice Academy, in a very bad condition. In 1502-1508 he painted nine pictures in the lower hall of the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavone from the legends of S. George and S. Jerome. A cycle executed somewhat later for the Scuola di S. Stefano, with the history of the protomartyr, is dispersed; the Consecration of S. Stephen as deacon, 1511, is at Berlin; S. Stephen Preaching is in the Louvre; his Disputation with the Scribes, 1514, is in the Brera; and his Martyrdom, 1515, is at Stuttgart. The landscapes with effects of sunlight are very good, especially that in the Paris picture, and the Oriental dresses are extremely splendid.

Of Carpaccio's minor works a signed picture in the Museo Correr, though not dated, would seem to be an early example, and is in every way remarkable: two young ladies, in rich fifteenth-century costumes, and singular head-dresses, are seen on a terrace; one is playing with a dog, the other rests her arm with a handkerchief on a balustrade, while a boy plays with a peacock. There are a variety of accessories—a pair of slippers, a flower-vase, doves, and other birds. This is a *genre* picture pure and simple, probably painted for the sake of the portraits.

This master was not on the whole a devotional painter, and not eminently successful in sacred subjects. The Man of Sorrows with two angels, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, 1496, is displeasing from the hardness of the forms and the absence of any adequate expression. S. Thomas Aquinas in the Stuttgart Gallery, 1507, and the Entombment of the Virgin in the Ferrara Gallery, 1508, are far more archaic in style than his historical works of a much earlier date. The apostles that surround the Virgin's grave are full of character, but the figure of Christ above, holding the Virgin's soul in His hand as a minute personage, is too primitive. The picture of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, from S. Giobbe, now in the Accademia at Venice, is in quite a different vein; it was painted in 1510, and the determination to compete with Giovanni Bellini is evident; indeed, the three musician angels remind us forcibly of that painter, and the master has succeeded in ennobling the heads, particularly those of the women. Among the latest works of Carpaccio we may mention that in S. Vitale—S. Vitale on Horseback, with a vision of the Virgin, dated 1514. The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, in the Academy at Venice, 1515, displays careful study of the nude, and admirable details, but the composition is scattered and confused. Another picture of the same year is, so far as the principal figures are concerned,—Joachim and Anna embracing each other,—merely a reproduction of a woodcut by Albert Dürer (B. 79); the Italian master has not understood Dürer's angular treatment of the drapery; S. Louis and S. Ursula, far more modern in character, stand awkwardly enough on each side; on the whole the

landscape is here the best part. ["Ascribed to Carpaccio" is a votive picture in the National Gallery (No. 750). It is a large work, esteemed genuine and historically authentic by Dr. Richter, though Morelli pronounces it feeble. He mentions "a genuine and very interesting Carpaccio" ascribed to Gir. dai Libri, and belonging to Mr. Cavendish Bentinck (*It. Masters in Germ. Gal.*, p. 375, note).]

The other painters of this school were, for the most part, inconspicuous artists. *Giovanni Mansueti* painted legendary subjects in the calm style of *Gentile* and *Carpaccio*, but they are vapid in sentiment and dull in colour. He painted two of the Legend of the Cross series in the Venice Academy.[100] Two of a cycle of the history of S. Mark are also there, and one in the Brera; but these and some other devotional pictures in the Accademia at Venice are monotonous in expression, while the figures are wooden and lean.

Lazzaro Bastiani, who lived in Venice after 1470, was originally a pupil of Squarcione, as is amply and hideously proved by his Entombment in the Church of S. Antonio at Venice. His hardness was somewhat mitigated by contact with the Venetians, and he tended to the style of Carpaccio; this may be seen in a Madonna picture of 1484 in S. Donato at Murano, and a picture of two Saints and a Cardinal in the Accademia at Venice.

In *Marco Marziale* what is most noteworthy is a mixture of the Venetian school and the influence of Carpaccio with that of the Germans. In a picture of Christ at Emmaus, of 1506, in the Venice Academy, he appears as a bold but pleasing realist. The head of Christ is hard-featured and expressionless, but his two companions—one old and the other a man of middle age—are full of character and impulsive action. There is another picture of the same subject in the Berlin Museum, dated 1507; the composition is the same, but instead of a panelled room the scene is an arbour with a landscape, in which the clear, sharp treatment betrays an intimate acquaintance with German art. [There are two important examples of this scarce master in the Nat. Gal. (Nos. 803, 804), dated respectively M^{O}CCCCC^{O} and M.D.VII; very rich and decorative altar-pieces.[101]]

Of a number of painters who may be regarded as the followers of *Giovanni Bellini*, very few, and those not the most important, were actually his scholars; only two, in fact, designate themselves as his disciples in inscriptions—*Marco Belli*, who imitated his style of composition, and by whom there is a Presentation in the Temple, at Rovigo, of very solid workmanship, though rather hot in the carnations, signed: OPVS MARCI BELLI DISCIPVLI IOANNIS BELLINI. Secondly, *Andrea da Bergamo*, known as *Andrea Previtali*,[102] who calls himself a pupil of Giovanni's in various inscriptions, as, for instance, on an Annunciation in S. Maria del Meschio at Ceneda, and a small Madonna enthroned between two saints, of 1506, in the Gallery at Bergamo. He resembles his master in technique, composition, and sentiment, but is apt to be hard in his

outline and to lack purity of style in his draperies; his colouring is fresh and his execution finished. He had settled in Bergamo by 1512, for the picture of the Emperor Sigismund, in S. Sigismondo in that town, is signed by him and dated in that year. In the Brera is a picture of Christ on the Mount of Olives, dated 1513, with the signature "Andreas, painter at Bergamo," as the address on a letter. In the Church of S. Spirito at Bergamo there are two of his most important works. One, dated 1525, is probably one of his latest; it is in bad preservation, but shows a distinct loss of power in the painter, who died at Bergamo in 1528. [A Virgin and Child and donor, by Andrea Previtali, was sent to Burlington House in 1884 by Mr. Charles Butler, and there is a small example of this master in the National Gallery, "the best picture perhaps that he ever painted" (Richter, *op. cit.*)]

It cannot be proved that any of the other painters of this group were ever actually the disciples of their leader; some, indeed, seem to have owed their earliest training to the Vivarini, but in adopting oil as a medium acquired the feeling of the Bellini. The most important and independent of them all was *Giovanni Battista da Conegliano,* commonly known as *Cima da Conegliano,* though this name never occurs as his signature, nor indeed in any early writers. The earliest date on a picture by him is 1489; this is on an altar-piece in tempera, now in the Gallery at Vicenza—the Virgin and Child seated in a decorated marble hall with a bower adjoining. All his subsequent works are, however, executed in oil. 1508 is the latest date known; but, as he rarely signed more than his name, this does not prove that he worked no later.

Cima da Conegliano's figures are well proportioned but somewhat severely statuesque, and a certain angularity in the draperies reminds us of the later Murano school. He rarely attains the poetic sense of colour, the breadth and delicacy, or the atmospheric subtlety of Bellini, but that master's influence is very perceptible in the composition both of the figures and the colouring. His modelling is masterly, with strong light and shade, and the story well set forth against backgrounds full of charm, and often recognisable as characteristic of the district near Friuli, the painter's native place. His works are never dramatic; he is seen at his best in decorative altar-pieces, in which the freedom and symmetry of the arrangement, and the happy adaptation of the figures to the Renascence architecture, are not far behind those of Giambellini himself. An early picture, as we may suppose from the rigid drawing, is an altar-piece from S. Maria dell' Orto,[103] in the Academy at Venice—S. John the Baptist on a pedestal looks upwards in inspiration, and round him stand SS. Peter and Mark, Jerome and Paul, in a ruined marble hall. The colour is remarkably rich and powerful. A very grandly-arranged picture is in the Brera—S. Peter enthroned and wearing the tiara, with an angel playing the lute at his feet, and the Baptist and S. Paul at the sides. Of several enthroned Madonnas one in the Venice Academy (No. 582) may be specially mentioned as extremely

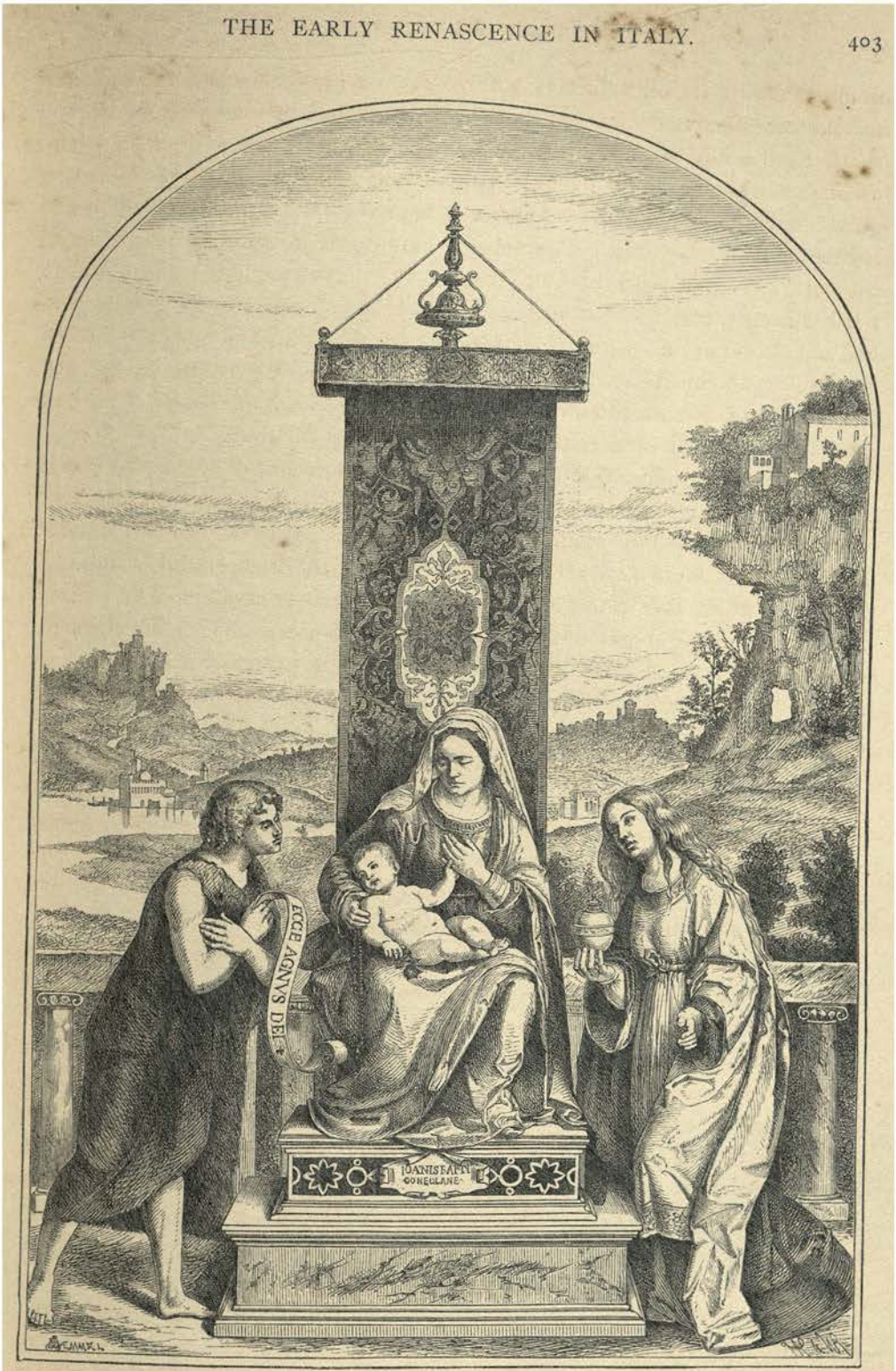


Fig. 306.

grandiose, with its six saints and three angelic musicians, but it has not the fervent sentiment of Bellini, and the Virgin herself is rather commonplace. The same may be said of a fine Madonna in the Berlin Museum, where there is also a large legendary work by this painter—S. Mark healing the shoemaker Anianus, who has wounded his hand with his awl; the costume is Oriental, after the manner of Carpaccio. There is an important work by the master in the cathedral of his native town, Conegliano. It seems to have been painted in 1492, but the inscription is no longer legible. The Virgin and Child are both grave and sad. One of the most independently conceived of his Madonna pictures is in the Louvre, and must have been painted early in the sixteenth century; the Virgin sits lost in the contemplation of the Infant on her knees, while the Baptist and the Magdalene look on and adore (Fig. 306). In this all the figures are noble, the harmony of composition and colour are perfect, and the landscape is quite lovely. In the National Gallery (No. 300) we have one of the most pleasing of the painter's half-length Madonnas; the Virgin's head is cleverly foreshortened, and the Child stands on her lap with His back to her. [Another and more important work, also in the National Gallery, is the Incredulity of S. Thomas; but "it is nearly obliterated by repainting" (Richter). There are other two examples of this painter. S. Jerome in the Desert is earnest in feeling; the saint is beating his breast with a stone. Half a dozen or more examples of this painter have been exhibited at Burlington House.]

Marco Basaiti seems to have been personally connected with *Alwise Vivarini*, as having completed the picture Vivarini left unfinished. As an independent painter he has no strongly-marked individuality; his treatment, both of form and character, was meagre and dry; still he brought the technique of oil-painting to great perfection; his colour is amazingly pure, the details admirably finished, and the landscape delightful. There are good examples of his style in the Museo Civico at Padua, and in the Museo Correr, both apparently early works; while he is seen at his best in the Madonna in the National Gallery [No. 599, ascribed unhesitatingly to Catena by Dr. Richter], which for sweetness may compare with Bellini—the Virgin adoring the Child as He sleeps on her knee; the Infant's attitude and look of profound sleep are excellent, the modelling and the landscape both delightful (Fig. 307). We here have the motive of which the Vivarini were so fond rendered into modern terms. In various small pictures of S. Jerome we find a peculiar tenderness of colour and treatment; there is one in the National Gallery (No. 281) and others are in the Venice Academy and in the Brera. A large nude figure of S. Sebastian (Berlin Museum), in which again the landscape is extremely beautiful, proves that his talent was limited, for the modelling and expression alike are weak. Two more important works are Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Call of John and James, in the Venice Academy. In the first the principal action fills the centre of the picture, being seen through

an arched colonnade, in which four fine figures of saints are standing. The second, on the other hand, is merely a vividly depicted scene of everyday life with a landscape background; and the same subject is repeated with a similar treatment in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; in this, however, there is a Renascence frame or border with two thoroughly ill-drawn naked figures clinging to columns, which shows that Basaiti was not at home with classical design. His latest dated works are two pictures of 1520 in S. Pietro di Castello at Venice—S. Peter enthroned with four other saints, and S. George

Fig. 307.

on horseback. In these Crowe and Cavalcaselle detected a change of style and a tendency to that of Carpaccio.

Vincenzo Catena of Treviso (or *Vincenzo di Biagio*, after his father) was another artist of no originality. He is mentioned as an assistant in the works in the Doge's Palace in 1493; and the last of several wills that he made has a codicil dated 10th September 1531, whence we may conclude that he died not long after. His picture of the Doge Lorenzo Loredano being presented to the Virgin by S. Mark, is an imitation of Giovanni Bellini's picture at Murano, and the same may be said of his great altar-piece in S. Maria *Mater Domini* at Venice—S. Christina, on whom the Saviour, floating above, is bestowing a blessing. The Scourging of Christ, in the Venice Academy,

shows, on the other hand, an affinity to the manner of Carpaccio, but is stiff and commonplace. However, Vasari praises him, and with justice, as a portrait-painter. The picture of Raimund Fugger in the Berlin Museum, and a half-length of a prelate in a violet silk dress in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, though carefully and almost too smoothly finished, are full of life and quite modern in feeling. [Dr. Richter agrees with Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in ascribing to Catena a picture in the National Gallery (No. 234), catalogued as of the "school of Giov. Bellini," and in regarding him as the painter of the S. Jerome in his study (No. 694).]

Benedetto Diana has left a picture, in the Venice Academy, in which he shows himself to have been a follower of Bellini and a powerful colourist; but there is a lack of purity of style, especially in the drapery, and the female saints are rather affected.[104]

Pierfrancesco Bissolo, made a member of the painter's guild in 1492, also worked in the Great Council Hall, and may be traced by signed pictures down to 1530. His Resurrection in the Berlin Museum is rather feeble. His best work is an altar-piece in the cathedral at Treviso—S. Euphemia between SS. Catherine and John the Baptist. In this the figure-drawing is very advanced and free, and the colour is full of silvery light of great delicacy. There is a picture by him in the Venice Academy. [There is a portrait of a lady with the name of Bissolo in the National Gallery, of which, however, Richter says that it cannot be ascribed to any known master.[105]]

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCHOOLS OF NORTHERN ITALY (*Continued*).

FERRARA AND BOLOGNA—Cosimo Tura, Cossa and minor painters—The *Schifanoja Palace—Lorenzo Costa*—The *Oratory of S. Cecilia, Bologna*—Ercole Roberti, and Ercole di Giulio Grandi—Raibolini known as FRANCIA—His three periods—His sons and pupils—*Timoteo Viti*—His importance in relation to Raphael—OTHER SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN ITALY—*Verona* after the time of Altichiero da Zevio—The characteristics of the school—Caroto—Morone—*Girolamo dai Libri*—The school of *Vicenza—Bartolommeo Montagna*—The schools of *Brescia*—VINCENZO FOPPA AND HIS DISCIPLES AT MILAN—*Borgognone* (Ambrogio da Fossano)—*Bramantino* (Bart. Suardi)—Painters of Turin, Cremona, Parma, and Modena.

I. THE SCHOOLS OF FERRARA AND BOLOGNA.—The influence of the Paduan school was felt beyond the Po, and in Ferrara Squarcione found not only scholars but gifted and independent followers, though other artistic tendencies played a comparatively unimportant part in the development of the school.[106] *Bono of Ferrara*, it is true, describes himself, on a picture in the National Gallery (No. 771), as a disciple of *Vittore Pisano*, BONVS. FERARIESIS. PISANI. DISIPVLVS.; but his share in the fresco cycle in the Capella degli Eremitani—S. Christopher bearing the Child through the flood—proclaims him a pupil of Squarcione. When, somewhat later, *Piero degli Franceschi* was working in Ferrara he gave the school a further impetus towards the point where his learned but stern treatment of form came into contact with the inquiring tendencies and vigorous naturalism of the Paduans. It was in such paths as these that the Ferrara school found its development; and, though no master of supreme genius made it glorious, and it gave birth to no vital element in the history of Italian art, it produced a number of excellent painters whose pictures attract our notice by their shrewd individuality, their admirable modelling, their powerful colouring, and the soundness of their technique.

The Ferrarese painters never lacked encouragement; the House of Este had not, it is true, the soaring spirit that could make it great for good or for evil; they were a practical race, but they favoured the arts and learning, and some representatives of the family cultivated the love of art for its own sake. They invited distinguished strangers to their court, and when native talent showed itself it was not allowed to starve.

The most remarkable leader of the early Ferrarese school was *Cosimo Tura*.[107] He was a well-to-do citizen, and, like Titian after him, dealt in timber. From 1451 he was constantly employed as a painter by Duke Borso, and from 1458 he was in the regular service of the House of Este. He died

between 1494 and 1498. Several of *Tura's* works, of which there is authentic record, have disappeared; for instance, the paintings with which he decorated the library of Pico della Mirandola, his frescoes of 1471 in the Chapel of Belriguardo, and the portraits of Alfonso and Beatrice d'Este. There remain, however, the two pictures that he painted in 1469 for the doors of the cathedral organ. These, representing the Annunciation, and the fight of S. George with the dragon, are a good example of the powers and limitations of the school. We have not the free and dignified composition of the Florentines; the forms are hard and sinewy, but drawn with infinite pains; the drapery is crisply angular, and the pure crude colours are laid on with the daintiness of enamel. The same pedigree of style is conspicuous in his numerous pictures, of which only the most important need be enumerated. His greatest picture is perhaps the altar-piece in the Berlin Gallery, and next to that may be mentioned a Madonna in the Tosi Gallery at Bergamo, and a Pietà in the Museo Correr. The frescoes in the Schifanoja Palace we must return to presently. [Four examples in the National Gallery illustrate this painter. The Entombment (No. 590) is given to Marco Zoppo by Richter; the other three he considers characteristic, "the landscapes inferior to those of the Florentines of the same period." In No. 905—"the Virgin seated in prayer, an open book on her knees"—she is neither reading nor praying.]

Francesco Cossa was a contemporary painter; we first hear of him in 1456 as his father *Cristoforo Cossa's* assistant in painting the statues of the high altar of the Episcopal Chapel at Ferrara. He then removed to Bologna, where two pictures by him are still to be seen, of 1472 and 1474. These show us the extent of his powers. The earlier of the two is a fresco known as the "Madonna del Barracano"; the Virgin and Infant are enthroned under a portico; angels holding candelabra stand on each side, and below we see the donor, Giovanni Bentivoglio, and his wife Maria Vinciguerra. The second is a tempera painting in the Picture Gallery; again a Madonna picture with the donor, Alberto de' Catanei, seen only in half-length. Both works are signed. In his treatment of nature and form, and in his technical practice, *Cossa* closely resembles *Tura*; but he is his superior in simplicity, which gives his pictures greater dignity.[108]

After these two masters rank a group of inferior painters devoid for the most part of originality. Works of very different periods have been ascribed to *Galasso Galassi;* but if the double G invariably stands for *Galasso Galassi*, we must assume that there were an elder and a younger artist of that name. To the elder may be ascribed the Trinity in the Gallery at Ferrara, while the younger may have painted the pictures of S. John the Baptist and S. Peter in the Chapel della Consolazione in S. Stefano at Bologna; a Nativity from the Costabili collection, now in England (formerly Mr. Barker's); and an Apollonia in the Bologna Pinacoteca, there ascribed to *Marco Zoppo.*

Baldassare Estense is the painter of a portrait of Tito Strozzi, dated 1483.[109] He also executed medals. *Antonio Alcotti d'Argenta* is known by a small head of Christ in the Costabili collection, dated 1493; and an enthroned Virgin in the Brera is attributed to a certain *Stefano di Ferrara*.

The capabilities of the early Ferrarese school stand completely revealed in the frescoes in the Schifanoja Palace. Any attempt to determine the share each master or his pupils may have had in this cycle must be futile; but it is quite certain that all the artists in Ferrara between 1471 and 1493 were more or less employed on it, and Cosimo Tura probably at their head, since the predominant style is undoubtedly his. The building was finished by Duke Borso in 1469, and the decorations were begun soon after. The frescoes were subsequently whitewashed over, but two walls were cleaned in 1840. The upper portion of each wall is divided horizontally into three, and again perpendicularly into four; the lowest series depict scenes from the life of the Duke, the second contains the signs of the zodiac, and the uppermost are mythological subjects connected with the zodiacal signs beneath them. The work is extremely unequal throughout; we see that hands of various skill were employed. Three of the mythological series are the best, and in the scenes from the life of the Duke the action is often dramatic and appropriate; but the composition is confused, and, though the details are carefully wrought out as a whole, they lack breadth and freedom. It is quite impossible now to judge of what the colour may have been.

The greatest talent of the younger generation was *Lorenzo Costa*, born at Ferrara in 1460. He probably studied under Tura and then travelled. In 1483 he was working in the Bentivoglio Palace at Bologna; his pictures were unfortunately destroyed with the palace in 1507; they represented scenes from the *Iliad*. The earliest surviving picture by Costa is a Madonna painted in 1488 for the Bentivoglio Chapel in S. Jacopo Maggiore at Bologna; it shows us the donor Giovanni Bentivoglio, with his wife and eleven children, in front of the Virgin enthroned. This picture plainly betrays Costa's connection with *Tura*, but his feeling for form is finer, and he tries to achieve some degree of grace though not always with success. The portraits are dry and angular, and the colouring is dull and weak, like that of the older school. In the same chapel again are the Triumph of Life and the Triumph of Death, of 1490, in which it is evident that Costa was strictly fettered by some literary programme, so that he was in fact no more than the illustrator of an allegory. Still in these again he shows a distinct feeling for beauty and a skill in composition far superior to anything by Tura. The work in which his development is most marked is the altar-piece in the oratory of the Bacciocchi in S. Petronio, finished in 1492. The Virgin sits on a richly-decorated throne; by her stand SS. Sebastian, George, James, and Jerome. In this the richness of the accessories is still distinctly Ferrarese, while the slenderness of the figures, the

grace of the action, and the sweetness of the faces are the outcome of Costa's nobler and finer nature. In the lunette there is a choir of angels which Francia himself might not disown for the delightful play of line and the innocent cheerfulness of the sentiment. The colouring has lost its sombre character; it is full and warm, and the shadows have gained in value. Umbrian and Florentine influences may have concurred to produce this refinement on the traditions of the school, but it is an error to ascribe it to the direct intervention of *Francia;* it is, in fact, more likely that Francia learned from Costa. That they worked together there is ample proof. Two pictures in S. Giovanni in Monte near Bologna, are to all appearance their joint production. One, the Virgin in Glory, was painted, as Vasari tells us, in 1497. Costa painted the predella for Francia's Nativity, 1499, now in the Brera; and they worked together in the oratory of S. Cecilia, founded in 1481 by Giovanni Bentivoglio. These frescoes were executed shortly before the Bentivoglio family was banished from the city, in 1505 and 1506; the latter date was found on one of them in 1875. Two are by Costa—Valerian being instructed by Pope Urban, and Valerian giving alms. Costa and Francia are here seen in closer juxtaposition than in any other work; and both did the best of which they were capable. We see that in purity of form and sentiment they were worthy colleagues; if in Francia we feel a breath of softer tenderness, in Costa, on the other hand, there is a stronger and manlier vein. Costa has given peculiar care to the landscape background.

It seems probable that Bentivoglio's exile led to Costa's moving to Ferrara, as he did not settle in Mantua till 1509. Even during his stay in Bologna he had kept up his connection with his native town. He seems to have worked under Tura in the Schifanoja Palace. Vasari tells us that he worked in the choir of S. Domenico at Ferrara, and he painted an altar-piece for S. Cristoforo degli Esposti. [This, after passing into the hands of the Strozzi family, has lately been purchased by the National Gallery (No. 1119); good judges are now of opinion that it was only composed by Lorenzo Costa, and painted by Ercole di Giulio Grandi, to whom it is ascribed in the catalogue. A *Pietà* at Liverpool (No. 27) ascribed to Costa, is by the elder Grandi, see p. 412.]

At Mantua the master was welcomed with honours as the successor to Mantegna, now some years dead. His first commission, indeed, was to finish the decorations of a hall in the S. Sebastiano Palace that Mantegna had begun, and he added groups of spectators on the shorter sides of the room, Mantegna's Triumph occupying the longer ones. None of the decorative works in the palace have survived. A very charming painting by Costa does, however, form part of the little that remains of the art of Mantua at that period; this is known as the Court of the Muses, in the Louvre (Fig. 308). It was intended to represent and flatter the artistic and scientific tastes of

Isabella d'Este. Isabella herself, crowned by a youthful genius, is the centre of the groups of ladies and courtiers, who are reading, sporting, or making

Fig. 308.

music. A spirit of serene felicity pervades the scene, and the allegory is subordinate to the intense vitality which animates the figures and groups. In this work we feel the presence of a perfectly new element of style ; the influence of Mantegna survives only in the composition and classical details, though

Costa was living in the very midst of his works. An altar-piece of 1525, which Costa presented to the Church of S. Andrea at Mantua, is still in its place, though a good deal injured; in this the strictness and simplicity of the figures lend them a certain grandeur. Costa died in 1536. [There are two pictures by Costa in the National Gallery, besides the recent purchase—a Madonna of 1505 (No. 629), and a portrait—which Dr. Richter thinks may be by Piero di Cosimo. Mr. F. Leyland exhibited a Madonna picture, "The Virgin and S. Joseph in adoration," in 1882. The landscape in the distance is seen through an open window.[110]]

A large proportion of the painters of Ferrara, of the succeeding generation, though they derived their first teaching from *Tura*, came under the influence of *Costa;* thus *Domenico Panetti*, who was born between 1450 and 1460, and who died in 1512. A characteristic early work by him is an altar-piece in the cathedral at Ferrara; the forms and faces are hard even to ugliness. In the *Pietà* in the Berlin Museum we see the softening effect of his contact with Costa. His works for the most part remain in Ferrara, where they are numerous in churches and in private collections.

Rather older than Panetti was *Francesco Bianchi*, born between 1440 and 1450, died 1510. He is known as the master under whom *Correggio* studied. His earliest picture, in the Saroli collection at Ferrara, represents the Death of the Virgin, and is undoubtedly the work of a pupil of Tura's. He went to Modena in 1480, where his works abound; in the gallery there we see him imitating Costa with great success in an Annunciation. It is in a picture in the Berlin Museum, however, that we recognise how nearly he could approach his model in later years.[111]

A weaker artist than either of these was *Coltellini*, whose earliest authenticated work is dated 1502, in the Mazza collection at Ferrara. In his early works he was a mechanical imitator of Tura, and in his later years a no less mechanical follower of Costa.

The two *Grandi*, on the contrary, were men of natural mark. The elder of the two, *Ercole Roberti*, the son of *Antonio Grandi*, a painter, was born at Ferrara about 1540 to 1550; he was entrusted with various commissions by the Duke of Ferrara, and died in 1513. No well-authenticated easel picture by him is known to exist, and the altar-piece in the Church of S. Pietro at Bologna, of which Vasari speaks as his principal work, has been destroyed. He is said to have painted also the predella of the altar-piece of the high altar in S. Giovanni, S. Pietro in Monte at Bologna; two portions of this predella—Christ on the Mount of Olives, and Christ bearing the Cross—are in the Dresden Gallery, and the third, a *Pietà*, is in the Royal Institution at Liverpool. Ercole Roberti shows his origin in the Ferrarese school, but he has felt the influence of Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. The forms are dry and meagre, but the little pictures are full of life, careful drawing, and bright luminous colour. A picture

belonging to Prince Mario Chigi in Rome is also probably to be ascribed to this painter, and Lord Dudley's Gathering of the Manna. There is also an Entombment in Count Zeloni's collection in Rome, with a forged signature and a wrong date, 1531, and a figure of S. John, in the possession of Signor Giovanni Morelli at Milan. The younger *Grandi, Ercole di Giulio,* was also in the service of the Duke of Ferrara, 1492-99, dying in 1531, as we learn from his tombstone in S. Domenico at Ferrara. In early life he must have worked under Lorenzo Costa, for his first works show traces of that master's style, and how nearly he could approach him is visible in the Madonna picture with saints from San Cristoforo degli Esposti, in the National Gallery, which was ascribed to Costa himself (see *ante,* p. 410). Other works by him are a S. Sebastian in the Church of S. Paolo, Ferrara, and a S. George, signed with the painter's monogram, in the Corsini Gallery. The slender forms and mild expression of the heads, with the strongly-marked character of the portrait of the donor, in the first-named picture, show with what talent and skill the younger Grandi emulated his master. Many pictures are assigned to him which are not his work, and several that are go by other names; we may, for instance, regard the fine frescoes on the ceiling of a room in the Calcagnini-Estense Palace at Ferrara as his work, though they are said to be by Garofolo;[112] and a Maria Egyptiaca in the Gallery at Ferrara, there given to *Timoteo Viti.*

Up to this time BOLOGNA had not distinguished herself in the sphere of art; *Marco Zoppo* is a quite second-rate master who never escaped from the toils of his apprenticeship to Squarcione. The origin of the Bologna school must, in fact, be referred to that of Ferrara—which in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century found ample employment at Bologna under the Baglioni —and more especially to Lorenzo Costa, who was, in the strictest sense of the word, the teacher of Francia, the leader and brightest ornament of the younger school. [The picture of S. Dominic as Institutor of the Rosary in the National Gallery (No. 597) is, in Dr. Richter's opinion, by a pupil of Tura's.]

Francesco di Marco Raibolini, commonly known as *Francia,*[113] born at Bologna about 1450, was first apprenticed to a goldsmith; he soon distinguished himself as a die-cutter and was appointed Master of the Mint by Bentivoglio, an office in which he was confirmed by Julius II. after the expulsion of the Bentivogli. At what time he first turned his attention to painting is not exactly known; but Vasari's statement that it was his acquaintance with Mantegna that prompted him to the attempt seems unlikely; it was more probably Lorenzo Costa, since one of Francia's earliest paintings, a Madonna, in the Berlin Gallery, which he did for his friend Bartolommeo Bianchi of Bologna, has a marked resemblance to Costa's first style, in the somewhat crude realism of the type and the hot tone of the carnations; the metallic sheen and strong outlines are characteristic of a worker in metal. The S. Stephen

kneeling, in the Borghese Gallery, is a work of the same early period. But as he gained experience and confidence his technique lost these defects, while his fellow-student Costa never kept pace with him in his progress in purity of modelling and sentiment of attitude and action. Francia not seldom surpasses him, even in the tenderness and fervency of his heads; though we sometimes can trace the conflict between the strict realisation of form that marks the goldsmith and the painter's sentimental impulse, the result being, to use J. Burckhardt's words, "a singularly injured expression"; his Madonnas and saints gaze at us with a mystical look of mild reproach. Dramatic scenes and energetic expression are equally out of Francia's ken; but in pathetic subjects his grand grouping and wonderful harmony of treatment reign supreme. We see him at his best, for instance, in an enthroned Madonna, surrounded by saints, with an exquisite angel at her feet, painted originally as an altar-piece for the Church of the Misericordia, Bologna, and now in the Pinacoteca there; in this fine work everything is admirable—the careful perspective, the well-considered fall of the draperies, the thorough drawing, and the glow of colour. Other works of his best period are the Annunciation in the Brera; the Holy Family in Lord Dudley's collection, painted in 1495 for Jacopo Gambaro; the Annunciation, belonging to the Duke d'Aumale; the Crucifixion, with Job lying at the foot of the Cross, in the Louvre, and the altar-piece, executed by desire of Giovanni Bentivoglio for the Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, at Bologna.

A rather later series includes the Nativity, painted for Galeazzo Bentivoglio in 1499, now in the Bologna Pinacoteca; in this the men are fairly vigorous in type, and the Infant, the Virgin, and the angels perfectly lovely; the landscape, too, is carefully treated, and the colour brilliant, though less glowing than in the Felicini Madonna. Here, too, may be mentioned a dead Christ, with four saints, and an enthroned Madonna, 1500, both in the same collection; a Virgin in Glory in the Berlin Gallery, 1502, and the Virgin in a rose-garden adoring her Infant—a gem of colour and sentiment—in the Pinacothek at Munich (Fig. 309).

The next stage in his progress is marked by the appearance of a vein of dramatic energy somewhat resembling that which we saw in Perugino after he had come under the influence of the Florentines. The Deposition from the Cross, in the Parma Gallery, is one of the first works in which this change is observable (Fig. 310). In this grief finds a more vehement expression in mien and action, but the gestures are neither forced nor affected. Of the same class is the altar-piece from S. Frediano at Lucca, now in the National Gallery—the Virgin enthroned, with S. Anna and the Infant on her knee; in front stands a sweet little S. John, while four saints stand at the sides. S. Sebastian seems to have forgotten his anguish in beatitude, and S. Paul is a prototype, only nobler, of Correggio's saints. The lunette contains the *Pietà*, in which the Virgin, no longer young, is pathetically beautiful, and the expression in the

angels' heads is amazing. With this may be named the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Cathedral at Ferrara; and the Assumption in S. Frediano at Lucca.

Francia also painted in fresco; his great fresco of Judith and Holofernes in the Bentivoglio Palace was destroyed when the palace was burned in 1507;

Fig. 309.

the decorations of the oratory of St. Cecilia still exist. He executed two pictures of the cycle—the Marriage of St. Cecilia with Valerian, and the Burial of the Saint. The lofty beauty of the types, the infinite grace of the arrangement, and the almost too elegant flow of the drapery show that Francia must by this time have seen pictures or drawings by the great Urbino master; indeed, the refined modesty of expression is not unlike that of Raphael's early time. This Raphaelesque tendency is equally perceptible in Francia's oil

pictures at this time,—for example, in the Adoration of the Kings in the Dresden Gallery, the Annunciation with SS. John and Jerome in the Pinacoteca,

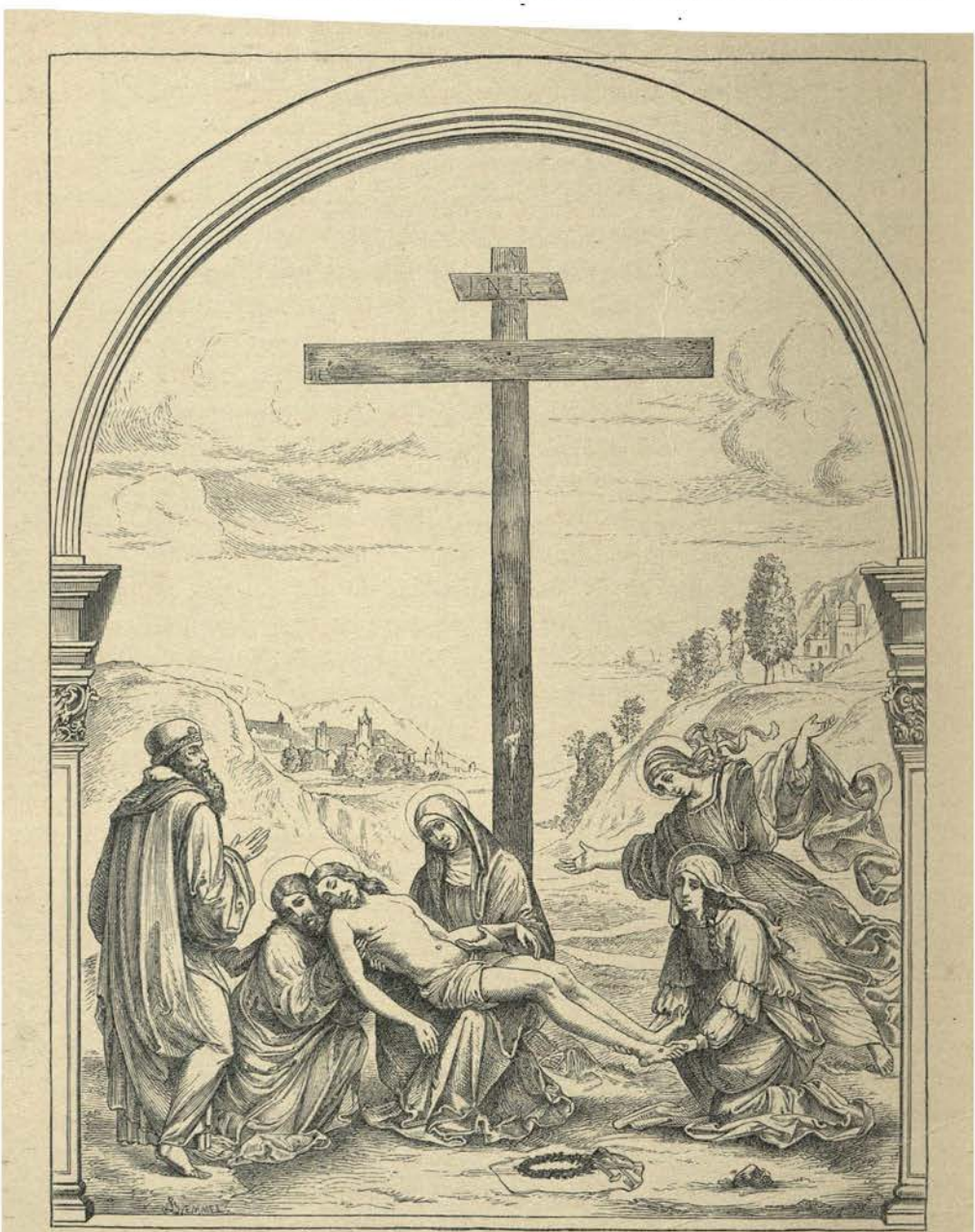


Fig. 310.

Bologna, and the Portrait of a Man of about forty, which hangs, under the name of Raphael, in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna. Whether the two painters ever met is not known; it is possible that their aquaintance—to which

an exchange of letters and sonnets bears honourable witness—may have begun through the good offices of Timoteo Viti. Francia may have learned to know Raphael as an artist from works brought to Bologna. Michael Angelo's contempt for Francia was as deep as Raphael's admiration was eager and sincere; Perugino or Francia could find no sympathy in such a nature as that of the mighty Florentine.

The exile of the Bentivoglio family was a severe blow for Francia, though Julius II. immediately took him under his patronage. Francia remained in Bologna, where he did not lack employment. His style underwent no further change; it became a little weaker perhaps, and the execution was less equable and solid in his later years. There is a vein of tender ecstasy in the Baptism of Christ—which has been severely restored—in the Berlin Gallery, and in a *Pietà* at Turin, 1515; in other works of his latest years we see the growing feebleness of his hand. He died on 5th January 1518. His genius, though pliant, was great; and his pure taste and feeling for form, added to a wonderful power of expressing the fervent and softer emotions without ever degenerating into conventional sentimentality, fully justified the tribute of admiration that Raphael could so generously pay. [Lord Northbrook has an interesting work "of the latest time of the master, which possesses great charm of form and expression" (Waagen), of Lucretia stabbing herself, with a landscape background. Other works by this master are to be met with in various private collections. A fine early example is the Baptism of Christ at Hampton Court, and Lord Dudley's Madonna illustrates his middle period (Waagen).]

Two of Francia's sons, *Giacomo* and *Giulio*, devoted themselves to art, but could never compare with their father. *Giacomo* was the more successful; he began as his father's imitator, but he subsequently came under the influence of the Ferrarese school in the person of *Dosso Dossi*, as his father had under that of Costa. One of his early works is in the Berlin Gallery, an allegory of Chastity, which seems to have been executed from a design of the elder Francia's. A Madonna with S. Francis in the same gallery, and an Adoration of the Shepherds in S. Christina, Bologna, are also works of his early time. Of his second period there are examples in the Pinacoteca at Bologna—two Madonna pictures—and another in the Brera. He died in 1557. *Giulio*, who was an inferior painter, worked for the most part with his brother. Their combined efforts are commonly signed J. J. Francia, and specimens exist in the Galleries at Berlin, Parma, and Bologna. Only one picture is known by Giulio alone; the Descent of the Holy Ghost, in the Bologna Pinacoteca. [Waagen detected Giacomo's hand in a Virgin and Child (with a bird), ascribed to the elder Francia in Lord Dudley's collection, and in a figure of a Saint then in the possession of Mr. G. Cornwall Legh.]

Other painters besides his sons worked in Francia's studio; *Timoteo Viti* was the most remarkable, and next to him the two *Aspertini*, *Tamarozzo*, and

Chiodarolo. Amico Aspertini, born about 1475, seldom does his best; here and there a feeling for beauty unexpectedly peeps out, but as a rule his work is coarse, heavy, and tasteless. His most pleasing efforts are his frescoes in the oratory of S. Cecilia: the Decapitation of S. Valerian and Tiburtius, and their burial. In the frescoes of the S. Agostino Chapel in S. Frediano at Lucca, again, there are passages of great beauty, but on the whole he has allowed his fancy to run riot and the result is strangely unequal. These were painted after 1506. There are easel pictures by him in the Berlin, Bologna, and Ferrara Galleries; in these and in his portraits he often resembles Costa in style, but cannot compare with him in power and clearness of colouring. There is in the Pinacoteca at Bologna an Adoration of the Kings by *Guido Aspertini* which plainly shows the influence of the Ferrarese school.

By *Tamarozzo* are two of the frescoes in the oratory of S. Cecilia—the Baptism of Valerian, and the Martyrdom of S. Cecilia; it seems probable that they were painted from cartoons by Francia or Costa, for the execution does not answer to the noble grace of the compositions. The figures are stunted, and the drawing is altogether inferior to that of the frescoes by the two senior masters.[114] A Madonna picture signed by this painter is in the possession of Signor Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan.

Giovan Maria Chiodarolo was another of the painters employed in the oratory of S. Cecilia; the picture of the Trial of the Saint before the Proconsul is certainly by him; the sketch exists in the collection of drawings in the Uffizi, where it is ascribed to Filippino Lippi. The Coronation of Valerian by an angel, also said to be by Chiodarolo, is a far feebler work. There is an Adoration of the Shepherds in the Bologna Gallery attributed to him, but all that can be said with certainty is that it has the stamp of the Francia-Costa school.

Francia's favourite scholar was *Timoteo della Vite* or *Timoteo Viti*,[115] the son of Bartolommeo della Vite of Urbino, and Caliope, the daughter of *Antonio da Ferrara*, himself a painter; he was born at Ferrara in 1467 and entered Francia's studio on 8th July 1490, remaining with him till 4th April 1495. He then settled at Urbino, where he married in 1501. He never left home for any length of time, and died there in 1523. No work can be positively assigned to the period of his life that he spent at Bologna; the first picture known to be by him is a tempera painting of an enthroned Madonna with SS. Crescentius and Vitalis, now in the Brera, done for the Spaccioli family of Urbino (Fig. 311). In this his obligations to Francia and Costa are plainly recognisable; the angel musician is very like Costa's work, while Francia's influence is visible in the saints. Even in this, however, there is a suggestion of Raphael which occasioned it to be ascribed for some years to the greater master, as we are informed by Passavant. Of the same period we have a S. Margaret (in a private collection at Milan), and an altar-piece in S. Trinità, Urbino, representing

S. Apollonia; in this there is much that recalls Francia, but the type of heads is like the early works of Raphael. Besides these there is a well-known picture of Apollo listening while Marsyas plays the flute, in the possession of Mr. Morris

Fig. 311.

Moore at Rome, in which the figures are of the school of Francia, but the landscape represents the environs of Urbino. This little picture, which Lermolieff (Morelli) formerly agreed with Passavant in ascribing to Timoteo, he now gives to Perugino; it is so graceful in its invention and poetical in treatment that it is not wonderful that it should be spoken of as Raphaelesque.[116] Here,

too, may be included the Annunciation with SS. Sebastian and John the Baptist, in the Brera (Fig. 312). This "Raphaelesque" vein in the earlier works of Timoteo Viti is a feature of great importance, and it must find some better explanation than has hitherto been given. It is impossible to accept the statement that he was directly influenced by Raphael, and if we cannot regard their common origin on the soil of Urbino as sufficiently accounting for it, it seems more likely that Raphael should have worked for a short time in Timoteo's studio before he went to study under Perugino. This hypothesis finds support in the warm friendship and esteem that always subsisted between them, and it also supplies a connecting link between Francia and Raphael. In 1504 Timoteo, in obedience to the will of Gian Pietro Arrivabene, painted the altar-piece for his monument in the cathedral at Urbino. In the upper portion we see S. Thomas of Canterbury and S. Martin; below are the portraits of the donor and of Duke Guidobaldo. The drawing, modelling, and colour are all excellent; the flesh tones, with pearly shadows, are especially admirable. It is the work of a master who unites in the happiest manner a thorough and learned training with pure taste and refined feeling. Francia's influence is still very perceptible, but it is not surprising that it should by degrees have given way to that of the Umbrian school. This is conspicuously the case in a Magdalene in the Bologna Pinacoteca, painted in 1518 by command of Ludovico Amaduzzi, and still more so in the last two works he has left us; one painted in 1518 for the brethren of S. Angeli at Cagli—a "*Noli me tangere*"; and a large altar-piece in the cathedral at Gubbio of 1521—Mary Magdalene with angels, in a charmingly executed landscape. Timoteo Viti is said to have worked at Rome with Raphael in S. Maria della Pace, but, so long as Vasari remains our only authority for the statement, we are justified in doubting whether the master, who was no longer young, would have left Urbino, where he lived highly esteemed and in easy circumstances, to work in Rome as an assistant. Timoteo's importance as an artist is hardly yet seen in a true light; farther research will tend to raise him in our estimation. Many of his works may still be concealed under the names of Francia or of Raphael, while the grace and sweetness of his manner and his delightful sentiment and taste place him as a master intermediate between the two.

II. THE SCHOOLS OF VERONA AND OTHER TOWNS OF NORTHERN ITALY. —It would be unfair to allow the superiority of the leading schools of Padua, Venice, Ferrara, and Bologna to cast all the other centres of artistic effort in Upper Italy into the shade. The tendency of Italian art in the fifteenth century was towards segregation, and nowhere more so than in the north, where each town, notwithstanding great facilities for intercourse, moved in a groove of its own. One of the most important was the school of Verona,[117] which, indeed, took the lead of all the others, since so early as in the fourteenth century

Fig. 312.

it had sent forth *Altichiero da Zevio* (see vol. i. p. 480) to aid in founding the Paduan school, and so late as in the sixteenth it shed fresh glory on Venice by the achievements of *Paolo Caliari* (*Veronese*). We must here devote a few pages to the masters it produced between these two extremes.

The painter who led the van of the Renascence in Verona was *Vittore Pisano*—called *Pisanello* both by Vasari and in various documents.[118] He was older than *Squarcione*, *Masaccio*, or *Fra Giovanni da Fiesole*, having been born about 1380, and he died in 1456. He was famous as the inventor of a method of casting medals and finishing them with the tool, and he executed in this way a number of medals — portraits of his contemporaries. His painted portraits were, however, famous at an earlier date, since he signs himself on these medallions as a painter; the poets of his time speak of him as a portrait-painter, but they also mention his talents as a painter of landscape and animals; and the important commissions he had entrusted to him in various towns show that his genius was not confined merely to such small matters. All his works in Venice, where he carried on the decorations begun by Gentile da Fabriano, and in the nave of the Church of the Lateran at Rome have perished, as well as those in Mantua and in the castle of Pavia.[119] As we learn that he painted a hunting scene at Pavia and a historical picture at Venice, his genius must have been versatile. Two frescoes of sacred subjects still exist by Pisano; one, authenticated by Vasari, representing a subject from the legend of S. George, in the Church of S. Anastasia, Verona, is divided in two by an arch; to the left is the dragon, to the right is the Saint on horseback with a many towered town in the background. The landscape and the dragon are, in fact, the most important features. Very exact and careful studies for it are in the Albertina; the perspective is well understood, the outlines are firm and delicate, but the modelling betrays an undeveloped stage of art. The same holds good with regard to the Annunciation, in S. Fermo, Verona, which is signed.

This painter's easel pictures are scarcely more numerous. An archaic work, the Virgin in a rose-garden, in the Verona Gallery is a reputed early work by Pisano; birds are introduced and the feeling is poetical. As an example of his portrait-painting a fine picture of Lionello d'Este, lately in Mr. Barker's collection, is ascribed to him; but the best authenticated example is the delightful little picture in the National Gallery, representing the Virgin and Child appearing in a vision to SS. Anthony and George (Fig. 313). The saints are full of individuality and life, but the raised gold ornamentation is a relic of an earlier phase of art; in the frame are two of Pisano's portrait-medals, one being of himself. This master marks the transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries. He was an indefatigable worker, introducing various innovations and aiding greatly in the advent of the new era; his influence extended far beyond the limits of his native town.

Among his followers the first in order was *Stefano da Zevio*, an esteemed master in his own day, who must be distinguished from an older painter called Stefano Veronese, and from a younger, a miniature painter, of the same name. *Stefano da Zevio* was born in 1393. He painted several frescoes in churches enumerated by Vasari, as well as façades of houses in his native town. Few

of these remain ; and the pictures over the side door of S. Eufemia are still of a very archaic type. A Madonna on a house near the Porta del Vescovo, again, is Gothic in arrangement, but its Germanic grace deserves the praise

Fig. 313.

Vasari gives it. Both these frescoes bear the painter's name, and an easel picture in the Brera is also signed "Stefanus pinxit 1435"; this and an Adoration of the Kings have a remote resemblance to the style of Gentile da Fabriano.

While we can do no more than mention some other less important Veronese artists, such as *Giovanni Badile*, *Girolamo* and *Francesco Benaglio*—by whom signed altar-pieces still exist—or *Dom. dei Morocini*, by whom some painted façades remain, we find in the latter half of the century a group of masters who display the progressive tendencies of the time in a style of their own, though with some resemblance to that of the Paduans in the strong modelling of the figure; while their native instincts stand revealed in a scheme of colour which, notwithstanding the brightness of certain hues and the rich sunny glow which not unfrequently gives the key, is apt to fall into grays and browns. Their direct connection with an extensive school of illuminators, which remains to be discussed later, has a marked effect on their treatment of ornament. A particular scheme of decoration was also the outcome of the practice of painting the fronts of houses, an employment in which the best artists of the town were engaged. The first painter of this group is *Liberale da Verona*, whose complete name is found in documents as *Liberale di Jacomo di Verona*.[120] The town archives of Verona prove Vasari right in dating his birth in 1451; we may therefore believe him when he tells us that he died in 1536, half-blind and quite past work. Till the age of thirty he worked as an illuminator; but in later life he painted altar-pieces in oil, and frescoes on walls in his native town. Besides a few façade decorations only one fresco of his survives—the Entombment, in a Chapel in S. Anastasia, a composition of many figures, of which Vasari tells us, in speaking of the lachrymose expression of the heads, that "he wanted to show that he could make his figures weep." Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe eighteen pictures to *Liberale*, of which, however, only two are signed—a Dead Christ in the Torrigiani Gallery, Florence, and an enthroned Madonna with saints at Berlin. This last is the only one of his works that is both signed and dated—1489; the drawing is unpleasantly hard; a S. Sebastian belonging to the same museum is more satisfactory. The Adoration of the Kings in the Cathedral of Verona —mentioned by Vasari—points to his training as a miniature-painter; the landscape is elaborate in details and crowded with small figures and animals. In another picture—a S. Sebastian, in the Brera—the background is no less full of detail, representing a canal with gondolas, and the nude figure of the saint is carefully studied from a lean and hard-featured model. [A Virgin and Child attended by saints has lately been acquired for the Nat. Gal. (No. 1134).]

Next to Liberale may be ranked *Francesco Buonsignori*, born 1455, died 1519, who in his early stage painted in the primitive Veronese manner—his drawing stiff and mechanical, his colouring soft with a tendency to brown tones. When he was between thirty and forty years of age he was bidden to the court of the Gonzagas at Mantua, where he remained rich and esteemed till his death. In Mantua he did not at first altogether escape the influence of Mantegna; but he afterwards attained such softened purity of drawing and such a harmonious richness of colour that we are tempted to refer the change to

Costa's or even to Raphael's example. Pictures of his earliest stage are an evidently juvenile but expressive work in tempera—a Madonna in the Church of S. Paolo, Verona; a somewhat riper picture, dated 1484, in S. Fermo; and an even later Virgin in S. Bernardino, Verona; a portrait in the National Gallery (No. 736), dated 1487, shows that he excelled in this branch of art. But few of the numerous portraits, frescoes, and easel pictures that he executed in Mantua are remaining. However, there is in the Brera a work which reveals the impression made on him by Mantegna, and which Vasari describes as S. Louis and S. Bernardino holding a circle with the name of Jesus. The most important record of his latest style is his last work, ordered in 1514, but not finished till 1519, for the Church of SS. Nazaro and Celso, Verona, and painted in Mantua. Above, in glory, are the Virgin and Child surrounded by angels; below are saints. Vasari speaks of the merits of this work, calling the angels "maravigliose figure." *Niccolo Giolfino*, a master who painted several pictures for the churches of Verona between 1486 and 1518, was even less faithful to the traditions of his school than Buonsignori; he painted the wings to Liberale's altar-piece in the cathedral. His contemporary, *Giov. Maria Falconetto*,[121] 1458-1534, holds a distinct position among the earlier Veronese, because as an architect he devoted himself almost exclusively to decorative painting. His easel pictures are of the greatest rarity; there is one in the Verona Museum which is somewhat archaic in the figures, though he has introduced the arch of Constantine into the background,—the Sibyl before the Emperor Augustus. A discussion of his decorative frescoes would lead us too far; in the Church of S. Nazaro there is a fine painted ceiling with garlands of fruit, and in S. Peter Martyr's we find some strangely mannered religious allegories, with coats of arms of German families. But the most remarkable are a series of frescoes discovered in 1869 in the cathedral at Verona; these are signed with the master's name and dated 1503, and, like all his works of the kind, are striking for their effective simulated architecture. His figures are Mantegnesque in style, but less severe and less truthful.

A painter who for a time at least yielded, like Buonsignori, to Mantegna's powerful influence, and who was an exceedingly productive worker, is *Giov. Francesco Caroto*, born 1470, died 1546. He was originally a pupil of *Liberale's*, but left him, as Vasari informs us, to study under Mantegna. It is, however, a mistake to assert that his earliest pictures bear the stamp of that master. The Madonna in the Modena Gallery, signed, and those in the Maldura collection at Padua and the Städel Institute, are thoroughly Veronese, especially in colour; and Caroto soon asserted his complete independence of the Paduan and Mantuan schools. In his first works the figures and faces are those of the past century, but by degrees his drawing and colouring become freer and more mature. His progress may be observed in the fine frescoes in S. Eufemia, Verona, and in a series of decorative pictures on façades at Verona, in which his hand is recog-

nisable (Fig. 314). At last he is entirely *cinque centisto;* his feeling for form, though sometimes lacking in taste, reminds us of the great Roman masters, though his colour is still that of the Veronese school, cooler and gaudier than that of the Venetians, but not unfrequently harmonious in tone in spite of the blackness of the shadows. Signed easel pictures of Caroto's late period are met with in galleries ;[122] his last altar-piece is in the Church of S. Georgio, Verona. Maffei's remark is a very true one—that Caroto is the Proteus of Veronese

Fig. 314.

painters ; but this Proteus nature was characteristic of others of his facile-natured race. [In the Old Masters' Exhibition, 1884, was a small Crucifixion by Giov. Francesco, belonging to Mr. Richmond, R.A., signed "G. F. Charottas ping." The Magdalene kneels at the foot of the Cross and two saints stand on each side. The picture is perhaps unique in England.]

In this place may be mentioned *Domenico Morone* and his son *Francesco.* Domenico Morone, 1442-1508, is a very capable *quattro centisto,* as may be seen in the historical works in the Fochesatti Palace at Mantua, representing the murder of Rinaldo Buonacolsi by Luigi Gonzaga. But the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Antonio, and in the refectory of the convent of S. Bernardino

at Verona, dated 1503, in which his son would seem to have helped him, show an advance towards the style of the fifteenth century. *Francesco Morone*, 1473-1529, has one foot, as it were, in the sixteenth century, though he does not share the Proteus nature of the Veronese; on the contrary, it has been said that his style never varied essentially throughout his life.[123] Vasari enumerates a long list of his works, and says he gave his pictures grace, drawing, unity, and a charm and glow of colouring such as no other painter had done. He also describes the sacristy of the Church of S. Maria in Organo as "sopra tutta bellissima" and one of the great works of the time. As in Mantegna's Camera degli sposi (see *ante*, p. 376), the centre of the roof is made to appear open to the sky, and the Saviour, supported by angels, is seen above. In the whole decoration of this chamber we see the work of an artist who unites a thorough knowledge of the scientific principles of his art with fine feeling and admirable technique. The same church also contains one of his finest altar-pieces—an enthroned Madonna, 1503; there are examples of this master in the Brera, in the Berlin Museum, and in the National Gallery [(No. 285) "a fair example of the brilliant colouring of the school."—*Richter*].

A contemporary and friend of the younger Morone was *Girolamo dai Libri*, 1474-1556. His family had for several generations been illuminators of books, but he was the first to find a place in the history of art as a painter of easel and oil pictures. He did not work in fresco, and the traditions of miniature-painting are perceptible in a picture in the Verona Museum of the Adoration of the Holy Child, in which the foreground is full of natural objects, including rabbits. He has made marked progress, gaining a resemblance to the grander style of Francesco Morone in the organ-doors for the Church of S. Maria in Organo, which he painted in association with his friend in 1515; they are now in the church at Marcellise. These panels greatly resemble the pleasing but much injured Madonna in the Berlin Gallery. By the second decade of the sixteenth century Girolamo had developed a still greater sweetness of expression combined with freer drawing and more transparency of colour, as we see in the altar-piece of 1529 in S. Giorgio, Verona, in which the landscape is very delightful, and in a picture erroneously ascribed to Caroto in S. Tommaso; but above all in two pictures of 1530, now in the Verona Museum—one representing the Virgin between S. Joseph and an angel, and the other the Virgin in glory with SS. Peter and Andrew below, in front of a mountain landscape (Fig. 315). [The picture in the National Gallery (No. 748), from a church in Verona, is very rich in colour.]

The highest eminence of this school was reached by *Paolo Morando*, also known as *Cavazzola*, and who sometimes called himself *Paulus Veronensis*, like his greater successor in the following century. He is supposed to have studied with *Francesco* under the elder *Morone*.[124] His life was but short, 1486-1522, and he seems never to have quitted Verona; thus he is not so much an instance

of the effects of foreign influences as of the concentration of all the local characteristics of Veronese art. His frescoes in the Church of S. Nazaro—the Annunciation and the Baptism of Christ—show him at an early stage of development, and we find his style fully formed in the pictures from S. Ber-

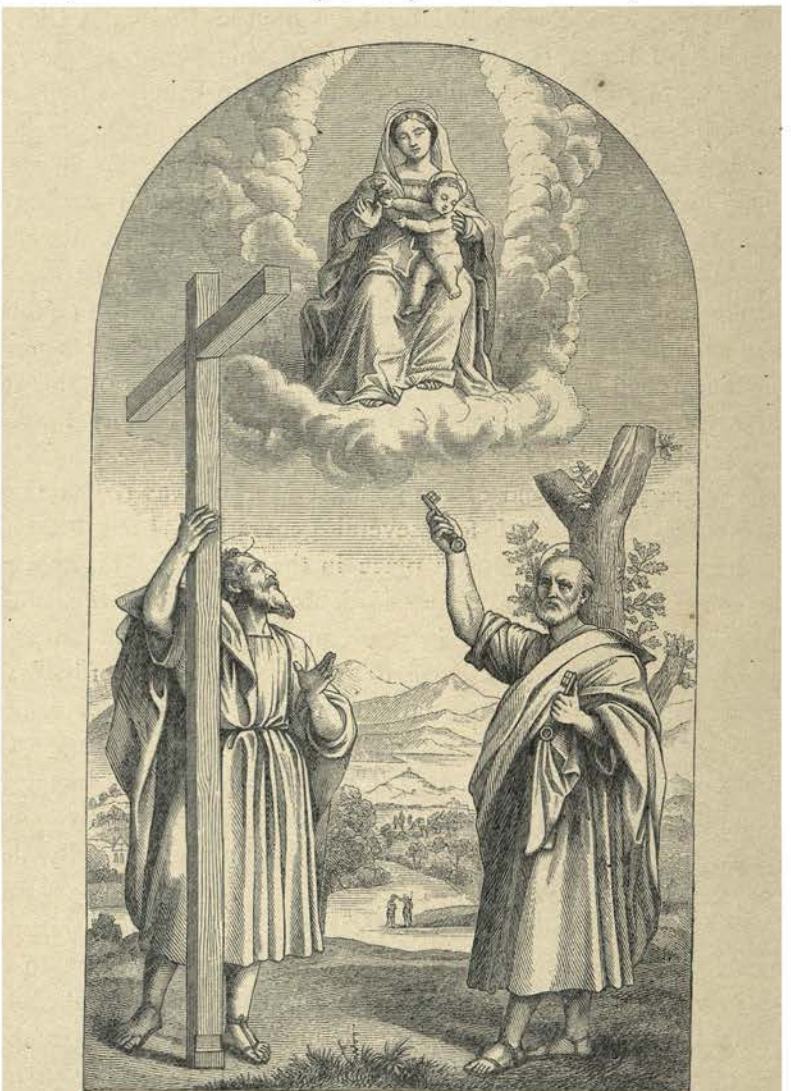


Fig. 315.

nardino, now in the Museum at Verona. Of these four are half-length figures of saints, five are scenes from the Passion (Fig. 316), and one is Christ washing the feet of the Disciples. Admirable as these pictures are in point of composition and expression, we cannot but agree with Crowe and Cavalcaselle in objecting to certain theatrical attitudes and a cold shell-like effect of colour. The painting, however, is firm and broad, and in his treatment

of light and atmosphere Cavazzola appears as the direct forerunner of his later and greater namesake. There are two characteristic works by Morando in the National Gallery (Nos. 735 and 777); the Madonna in the Verona Museum, which is considered his best work, has a suspicious reminiscence of Raphael, derived probably from engravings.

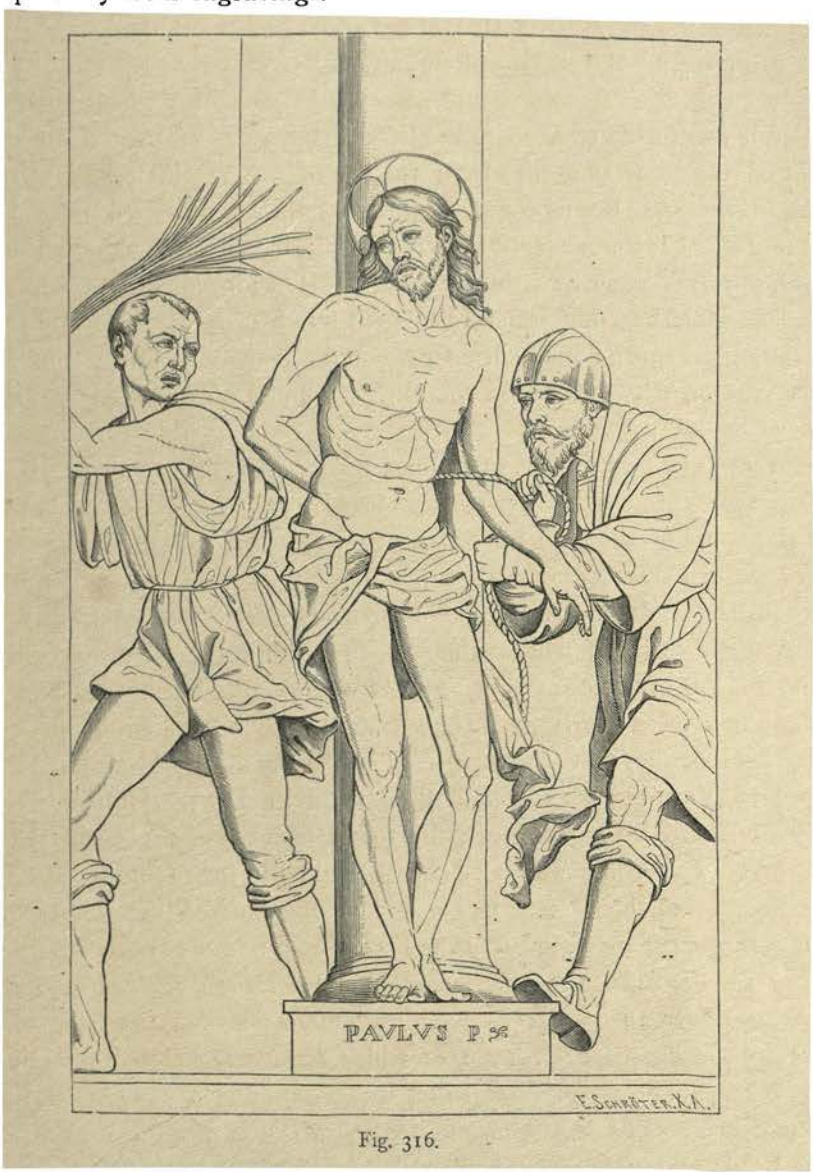


Fig. 316.

Over *Michele da Verona*, who was for a time a colleague of Morando, and *Filippo da Verona* we cannot linger. A painter, however, who must be more particularly mentioned as having, like *Francesco Torbido*, worked under direct Venetian influence, is *Girolamo Moceto*, still living in 1514. Indeed he might quite well be included among the painters of the Venetian school.[125] He is best

known as an engraver; but we find him as a glass painter in a window, signed, in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, and as a bad painter of Madonnas in some pictures in the Modena Gallery and the Church of S. Nazaro, Verona. However, he shows himself a Venetian in the best sense, in a splendid half-length portrait of a man in the Modena Gallery.

Francesco Torbido, called Il Moro, 1486-1546, can hardly have been, as Vasari asserts, a scholar of Giorgione's at Venice.[126] He seems at first to have trodden in Liberale's footsteps, and when he subsequently yielded to Venetian influence it was in the same vein as his countryman *Bonifazio*; finally, in 1534 he painted the colossal scenes from the life of the Virgin in the cathedral at Verona from Giulio Romano's designs, and naturally acquired in some degree the stamp of the Roman school. A portrait in the Pinacothek, Munich, is, however, purely Veronese; it is not the portrait of himself, as has been asserted. The frescoes that bear his signature in the Church of Rozaso in Friuli are dated 1535; they are much damaged. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute other works to this painter, who stands on the extreme limits of what can be called the Veronese school.

VICENZA could not boast of so long a series of artists as Verona, but at the same time no Veronese painter ever achieved a style of such definite individuality in the spirit of the *quattro centisti* as one master of Vicenza.

Francesco Verlas (who also signs himself *Verlus*), a semi-Peruginesque painter (his latest dated picture is of 1517), and *Giovanni Speranza*,[127] a dry and unsympathetic artist of whom about eight examples survive, need not detain us; the master of Vicenza was *Bartolommeo Montagna*,[128] born, it is true, at Brescia, but living so early as 1484 at Vicenza; and though he subsequently worked at Bassano, at Verona, perhaps in Venice, and above all at Padua, he returned to Vicenza in 1497 and died there in 1523. He limited himself strictly to sacred subjects, principally to altar-pieces of the enthroned Virgin with saints. In technique he was equally skilled in fresco and in oil, on canvas or wood. Few of the frescoes he executed in the churches are still recognisable, and for the most part in very bad condition; quite lately those in the refectory at Paglia, near Padua, mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo*, have been discovered under their coat of whitewash. The scenes from the life of S. Blasius in the chapel at Verona, of which *Falconetto* painted the ceiling (see *ante*, p. 425), are so far preserved that we can appreciate the power of a really very great master; he is a realist in the best sense of the Renascence, and the lifelike heads and admirably studied limbs are painted with a bold and sure hand, while the landscapes are brilliant and truthful. We recognise the same qualities in the Madonna pictures of his best time—some earlier and still stiff examples may be seen in the Galleries of Bergamo and Vicenza—and we see too that he has a Virgin type of perfect originality, with an oval face, heavy eyelids, and rounded features, while in composition he reminds us of Bellini, and

AVITAM PIETATEM REDDENS
HANC ARAM PRISTINO MATOR
RESTITVIT
H.GÜNTHER X.A

Fig. 317.

in colour is remarkably independent, equally removed from the golden glow of the Venetians and the harsh motley of the Veronese. In his landscapes his tones are fresh and airy, and the richly-coloured garments of the figures are distinct but harmonious. One of his finest examples of this class is in the Brera (Fig. 317). Three angels make music at the foot of the throne, on which the Virgin sits with the Infant; this is signed and dated 1489. At the beginning of the following century he was still producing a vast number of similar works, and there are examples in the Berlin Gallery, at Vicenza, and in the Louvre—an Ecce Homo of brilliant effect with a dark ground. It is, however, impossible to enumerate all the pictures ascribed to him; above seventy are mentioned by various early writers, some of which are lost. [Of the two in the National Gallery one (No. 802) is pronounced by G. Frizzoni to be the work of *Giov. Speranza* (*Richter*), the other is esteemed genuine and is a very interesting picture (No. 1098)—the Virgin adoring the sleeping Christ. Waagen speaks of an excellent example of this master then in the possession of Lord Northwick.]

His son—not his brother—*Benedetto* was principally an engraver and as a painter of little mark; even less important was *Marcello Fogolino*, also known as an engraver; by him there is a signed altar-piece in the Berlin Gallery, not hung for exhibition. *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, called *Marescalco*, holds a higher rank; he was born in Vicenza and ended his days in Venice. The earliest date we can associate with him is 1497, on a picture in the Venice Academy. Many of his pictures must, however, have been painted at an earlier period; for instance, the Pietà in the Vicenza Gallery, which, though the drawing of the figures is good, is hard and crude, and betrays no traces of Venetian influence. The works of his middle period—as the Madonna in S. Rocco, Vicenza, of 1502 and some others—show a masterly modelling and free use of oil colour that remind us of Antonella da Messina. His latest works are thoroughly Venetian and *cinque cento*. In 1530 he was admitted to the Guild of S. Luke at Venice. He is essentially a painter of the transition.

We now pass to BRESCIA to restore to that town its due reputation as a school of painting in the fifteenth century, for it has long been customary not to recognise it as a centre of art before the sixteenth century. We cannot dwell on the names of *Ottaviano Prandino* or *Bartolino Testorino*, who are spoken of as masters of a still earlier period, for every trace of their works has disappeared; nor of *Paolo da Brescia*, by whom an unimportant picture, dated 1458, exists in the Turin Gallery;[129] we may proceed at once to consider the most important of the Brescian painters of the fifteenth century, *Vincenzo Foppa*. Misled by Lomazzo, historians have commonly regarded this painter as belonging to the Milanese school; and this much at any rate must be admitted, that though Brescia, like Verona and Vicenza, was essentially Venetian, it was at this period in close artistic connection with Milan. Foppa was founder of the Lombard

school, and its greatest master till Leonardo. He was born, lived, and died in Brescia,[130] but he worked at Milan so constantly that he might almost claim it as his second home; the earliest date known on any picture by him is 1456; he died in 1462. He is said to have been a pupil of Squarcione's, and his evident study of nature and of the antique, as well as his skill in perspective, betray a fellow-student with Mantegna. Lomazzo tells us that he wrote a

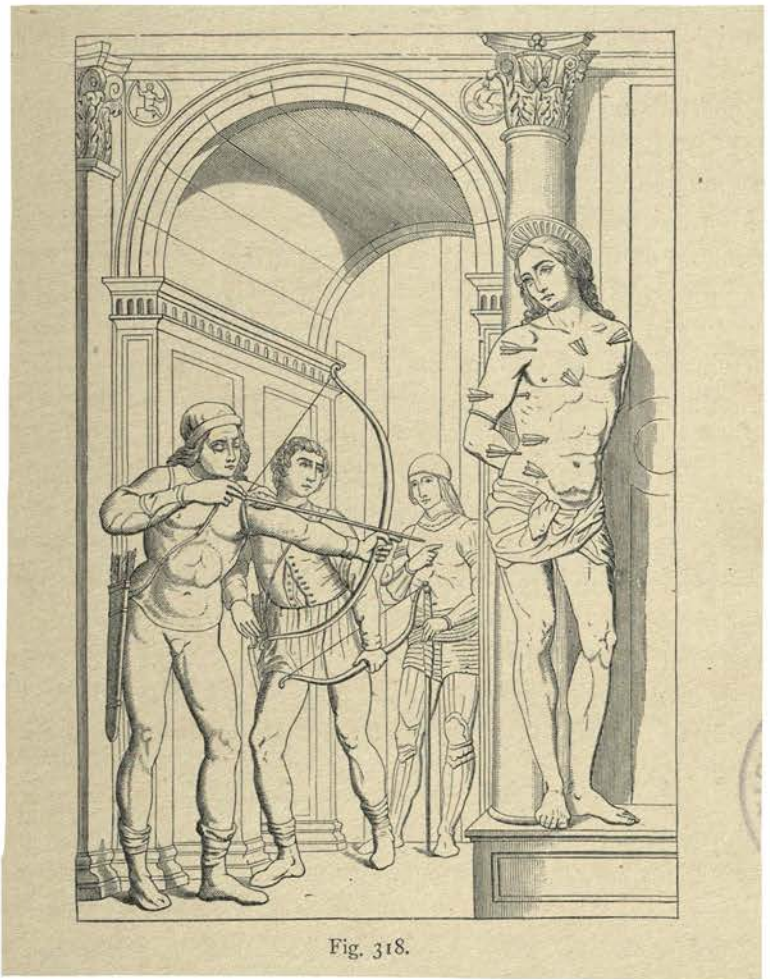


Fig. 318.

treatise on perspective. His great historical and religious frescoes in Pavia and elsewhere in Northern Italy have unfortunately perished. One, the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, survives of those in S. Maria di Brera in Milan, and is now in the Brera Gallery (Fig. 318); in this the knowledge of the figure is admirable, and the perspective, which is somewhat elaborate, is excellent. Portions of other frescoes from his hand exist in the Church of the Carmine at Brescia. Mention must here be made of those in the Chapel of S. Pietro Martire, in S. Eustorgio, Milan, which were until within a few years whitewashed over, with

the exception of the four Fathers of the Church, and which are certainly among the most remarkable works of that period. Lomazzo and others ascribed them to *Vincenzo Civerchio*, with whom Vincenzo Foppa has often been confounded, while recent Italian critics have supposed them to be the work of an unknown Tuscan painter,[131] recognising only the four Fathers of the Church as by Vincenzo Foppa. These are solemn figures in circular panels, boldly foreshortened. Signed works by Foppa occur in the churches and collections of Northern Italy. Morelli's *Anonimo* testifies that two altar-panels now in the Brera under the name of *Zenale*, are in fact capital works by Foppa, and a picture in the National Gallery ascribed to *Bramantino* (*Suardi*): the Adoration of the Kings (No. 729) may be regarded as a characteristic work by this Brescian master.[132]

Next may be mentioned another *Vincenzo of Brescia, Vincenzo Civerchio*, who was born at Crema, but who makes his appearance at Brescia as admitted to the freedom of the city in 1493, the year after the death of Foppa, whose scholar he probably was.[133] This seems further proved by the style of the works of his early and middle periods; even in 1525 they still display a certain angularity and stiffness, while his last pictures—1539 is the latest date—are more like those of the great Brescian artists of the *cinque cento*, as *Romanino*. His principal work in Brescia, the frescoes in the cathedral, has perished; but there is a *Pietà* in S. Alessandro, of 1504, feebler in drawing and colour than Foppa's work. After 1507 Civerchio found employment in other towns—Cremona, Crema, and Palazzuolo, where there is a Madonna by him in the cathedral, signed and dated 1525. Examples of his work still exist in his native town, and his Baptism of Christ, dated 1539, is in the Tadini Collection at Lovere; here, in his old age, he proudly signs himself a citizen of Brescia. [A portrait of a man in a red skull cap by V. Foppa was exhibited by Mr. A. Morrison in 1879; and Waagen speaks of a Madonna picture by Civerchio in Lord Northwick's Collection.]

III. THE SCHOOL OF MILAN.—A scholar of Foppa's in Brescia was *Ferramolo*, the master of *Moretto*, of whom we shall have to speak later; but as a teacher Foppa was chiefly known as the founder of a school at Milan.[134] His two earliest scholars there were *Bernardino Jacobi* called *Buttinone*, and *Bernardino Martini* called *Zenale*. Both having the same Christian name and both being natives of Treviglio they were easily confounded; all the more so because they often worked together on the same picture. Instances of this were the fresco decoration of the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, and the scenes from the life of S. Ambrose, 1480, in the Griffi Chapel, S. Pietro in Gessate, Milan, of which only a few fragments remain. An important work signed by both artists survives, however, in the great altar-piece of 1485 in S. Martino at Treviglio; in this the perspective and sense of space are excellent, but the nude figures are meagre, the drapery too crisp; still, the tender handling and delightful colour

give the work great charm. Recent criticism has devoted much attention to the strict attribution of the pictures painted by the masters separately; Morelli considers the signed triptych in the Brera as the only genuine *Buttinone*, and of the numerous works that pass under the name of *Zenale* he recognises none as authentic, "so that we are left quite in the dark as to his merits as a painter." Out of a long list of Milanese painters of this period only *Giovanni Donato Montorfano*[135] need be mentioned, since his large fresco of the Crucifixion, 1495, remains in good preservation in the refectory at S. Maria delle Grazie, exactly opposite to the wreck of Leonardo's Last Supper. The work has merit, but when we turn from it to the masterpiece of the great Florentine, painted only a few years later, it looks archaic and coarse.

The most consistent and individual of Foppa's scholars is *Ambrogio da Fossano*, known as *Borgognone*, or *Bergognone*, as he himself wrote it. It is singular that Vasari does not even mention him, and Lomazzo only alludes to him incidentally. It was Calvi[136] who first brought original research to bear on his identity. His works, however, are not rare; his style is that of the *quattrocento* Milanese school, but softer and sweeter, and his colouring is dull. After 1485 we hear of him as painting frescoes and altar-pieces in the Certosa at Pavia; the most impressive of these are the Coronation of the Virgin under the circular window of the north transept, and the Virgin enthroned that corresponds to it in the south transept. The altar-pieces are, however, more attractive. The great Crucifixion of 1490 is a very striking and well-composed work, in spite of its haggard faces and pallid colouring. In Milan his later pictures are a fresco in S. Simpliciano, still formal in arrangement but showing a marked advance. Those in S. Maria della Passione and S. Ambrogio prove that he had felt, though late in life, the freer air of the new century; he was still working in 1522. He never completely mastered the technique of oil painting, but a good easel picture of his later period in S. Spirito at Bergamo shows how far he succeeded, and there are two characteristic Madonnas by him in the Berlin Gallery. [Four pictures represent this master in the National Gallery—the Marriage of S. Catherine (No. 298), "superior in drawing to the Triptych (No. 1077), which is an earlier work" (*Richter*). Two groups of characteristic portraits, all in profile, "on silk, are portions of a standard" (Catalogue).]

Another painter who seems to have studied under Foppa is *Bernardino de' Conti*, by whom there is in the Berlin Gallery a portrait of a prelate, signed and dated 1499; the modelling is sound, but the texture leathery. Morelli attributes to him the share in the historical development of the Milanese school that it was formerly customary to ascribe to Zenale, and he regards him as the painter of the Madonna in the Brera, which is given to and has hitherto been called Zenale's.[137] [Morelli (*Italian Masters*) mentions two portraits by Conti as having passed into English collections.]

The appearance in Milan of Leonardo and Bramante produced a perfect revolution in art. *Donato Bramante*, the great architect, before he left Milan in the beginning of the century, was a son of the early Renascence, and at that period of his life he executed a considerable number of paintings. Morelli's *Anonimo* saw frescoes by him at Bergamo, and other writers speak of several of his pictures at Milan. Fragments still exist of some figures in armour and of the Laughing and Weeping Philosophers in the hall of the Palazzo Prignetti, formerly Palazzo Panigarola. The Umbrian-Florentine character of the fifteenth century, which Bramante introduced into Milan, is still discernible in these.

Recent research has thrown a clearer light on the history of his scholar *Bartolommeo Suardi*, called *Bramantino*,[138] who went to Rome with his master and painted in the stanze of the Vatican some of the pictures which were subsequently destroyed to make way for the greater works of Raphael. He afterwards settled in Milan; in 1522 he was painting at Locarno, and after 1525 he served Francesco Maria Sforza as engineer and architect, dying between 1529 and 1536. As a painter he experimented in various styles, starting with that of *Vincenzo Foppa* and afterwards coming under the influence, first of *Bramante* and then of *Leonardo*. Examples of his early Milanese period are a votive picture in the Louvre, and an Adoration of the Kings in the Ambrosiana Collection. An important work as illustrating Bramantino's style towards the end of the century under Bramante's teaching is the decoration in the antique taste of the Casa Castiglione, Milan (Lomazzo calls it Casa de' Pirovani). The drawing even here is somewhat conventional, but the treatment of light and shade is remarkably free and truthful. Then, as the outcome of his experience in Florence and Rome, we have the sketch-book in the Ambrosiana which has always been ascribed to him, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its genuineness. In his later works we at once discern the full effects of the new movement; witness the figure of S. Martin, and the head of the beggar, in the Brera, and several pictures in the Ambrosiana. Thus the Victory of S. Ambrose over the Powers of Hell is noble in conception and drawing, with a fine visionary effect of light. The Head of the Baptist in a Charger proves that Bramantino finally ranged himself among those followers of Leonardo da Vinci who remain to be discussed in a future chapter as never having belonged to the old Milanese school.

The influence of this school was felt even in Piémont and at Genoa. In Turin we meet with a few large pictures by *Girolamo Giovenone*, painted in the sixteenth century, but still clinging to the types and sentiment of the fifteenth. His best work, an Adoration of the Sacred Infant—Mary and Joseph in a cupolaed hall—is in the Turin Academy, but even this shows no relation between the will and the deed. *Macrino d'Alba* is another painter who can best be studied at Turin, though there is an altar-piece by him in the Städel Institute. He is sounder in his drawing, and his colouring is purer and deeper.

There is a wing of an altar-piece in the Turin Gallery, dated 1506 (Fig. 319); but his best work perhaps, and at the same time his earliest signed work, is a Madonna of 1496 in the Certosa at Pavia.[139]

Of the native masters of PAVIA we can only mention *Pier Francesco Sacchi;* he settled in Genoa, where he joined the Guild before 1520. His earliest dated work is of the year 1512, and his latest of 1527; but his style is essentially

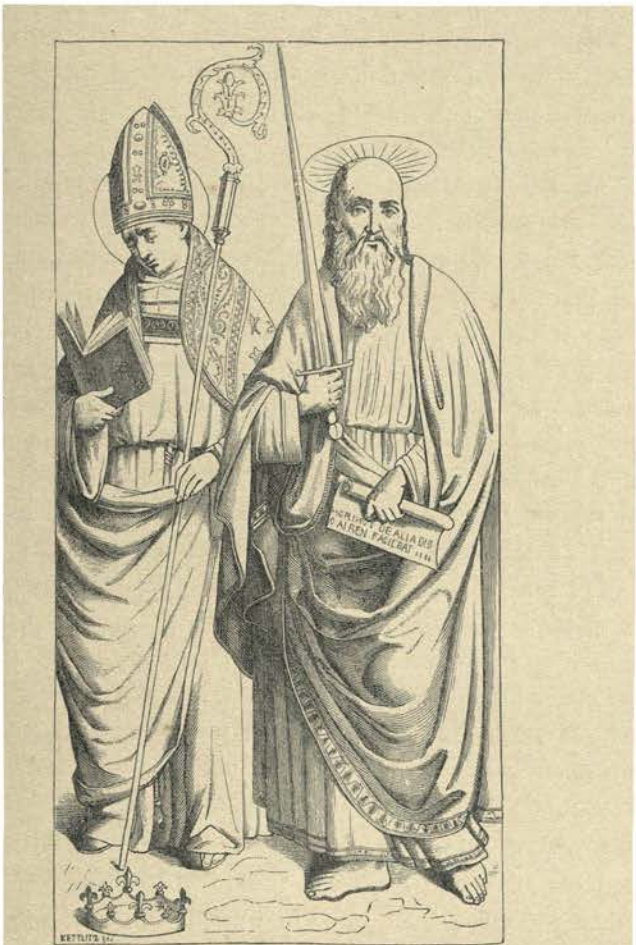


Fig. 319.

that of the fifteenth century. There is an example of this painter (1516) in the Louvre, and another in the Berlin Gallery, highly characteristic in the elaboration of the details, 1514. Lomazzo in his *Trattato* speaks of him with *Foppa* and *Civerchio* as one of the masters who first "learned to see."

The school of CREMONA[140] had no marked individuality, but it was not without ambition; the frescoes in the cathedral are numerous and comprehensive. The earlier paintings are archaic and cold, but *Boccaccino* and his

successors show an improved feeling for colour. The first Cremonese master who is known by name is *Bonifazio Bembo*, born in Brescia, but commonly signing himself as *Cremonese;* remains of his works are only to be seen in the Church of S. Agostino at Cremona, though he also painted in Milan and Pavia. Of *Francesco* and *Filippo Tacconi* we know only from documents that they executed frescoes in the Town-Hall of Cremona. There is a picture, signed and dated 1489, by *Francesco Tacconi* in the National Gallery which displays some affinity with the school of Murano.

A painter whose style, though strictly of the fifteenth century, nevertheless marks a transition period to the sixteenth in feeling is *Boccaccio Boccaccino*, born in 1460 at Cremona, died there about 1518. Besides some frescoes in the Augustine Convent at Cremona, that have not survived, he painted a portion of the cathedral, at which he worked in 1506 and 1518. During the interval he went to Rome, where his criticisms of Michael Angelo brought him into such disgrace that his own picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Church of S. Maria Trastevere, was laughed to scorn, and even Vasari could not forgive him. He seems also to have visited Venice, for there is in the Academy there a picture by him of the Holy Family in a wide landscape (Fig. 320). This picture, which represents the Marriage of S. Catherine, anticipates in the composition many similar pictures by Titian, Palma, Vecchio, and Bonifazio; while the draughtsmanship is still that of the earlier century, and the colouring resembles that of the contemporary Venetian school. There is another of his pictures, a late work, in the Church of S. Giuliano, at Venice, and various works at Cremona, including a large proportion of the frescoes in the cathedral, which are duly signed. In these he shows a leaning towards the contemporary Ferrarese, as *Costa*, in character and arrangement, but his colouring is richer. [A picture by Boccaccino in the National Gallery (No. 806) is small and crowded with figures, "an early and attractive work" (*Richter*).]

Among the more remarkable of his colleagues in the paintings in the cathedral we may mention *Altobello Melone* and *Gian Francesco Bembo.* The first executed seven scenes from the life of the Virgin, and in freedom of treatment under the given conditions he must be allowed to excel Boccaccino. [A picture in the National Gallery (No. 753) represents this master.] *Bembo*, in his Adoration of the Kings and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, was evidently striving to vie with Pordenone and Romanino. *Galeazzo Campi* (died 1536) may also be mentioned here, not only as a follower of Boccaccino but as the eldest of the succeeding generation of Cremonese painters.

We must dismiss the early masters of PARMA and of MODENA very briefly. The family of *Loschi*, natives of Carpi, lived in both of these towns. The elder *Loschi, Jacopo d'Ilario*, first mentioned in 1459, died 1504, seems to have worked chiefly in Parma, while his son *Bernardino* (1489-1510) was best known

Fig. 320.

at Modena; still his most important frescoes and pictures were painted for Carpi, his native town. Another interesting artist who worked at Modena is *Francesco Bianchi*, already spoken of in connection with the school of Ferrara, where he was born (*ante*, p. 412). Again we find at Parma the artist family of *Mazzuola*, of whom the most interesting is *Filippo Mazzuola*, died 1505, as being the father of a greater son—better known as *Parmegianino*. Two or three pictures by this elder *Mazzuola* exist, hard and dry in style; the best is a late work in the Berlin Gallery. His scholar *Cristoforo* is heard of as late as 1507; and he left a pupil, *Al. Araldi* (1465-1528), whose works may be seen in the churches and galleries of Parma.

If the reader is at first surprised to find that in this chapter, as in all that treat of the Italian schools of the fifteenth century, many masters have been mentioned who lived far on into the sixteenth, nay, some of whom even survived the great painters of their time—Leonardo, Raphael, and Correggio—it must be remembered that it is impossible to fix the beginning and end of a period of art-development by dates, that certain changes and limitations of style are far more important landmarks than the turn of a year or a century, and that it is quite natural that men of the second or third rank of talent should fail to keep up with the advance made by the great leaders of their age.

CHAPTER VII.

ENGRAVING AND MINIATURES.[141]

Engraving—Mantegna's followers—*Jacopo de' Barbari*—Miniature painting at Verona, Milan, Cremona, Ferrara—*Giulio Clovio*—The last of the illuminators.

I. ENGRAVING IN NORTHERN ITALY was practised by many of the painters whom we have just passed under review; first and foremost by the great *Mantegna*, who is even credited by Lomazzo with having been the inventor or the discoverer of the art. There can be no doubt, at any rate, that he helped to diffuse it in Northern Italy, and fixed a standard of taste in the technique. Allusion has already been made to his works in this branch of art. They are remarkable for the grandeur of conception that he brought to bear on them; the fine plate of the Deposition from the Cross served as the model treatment of the subject for centuries. He found an imitator in *Zoan Andrea Vavassori*, to whom Bartsch ascribes thirty-three plates, and Passavant sixty-six; indeed, his imitation of the greater master went to such lengths that Mantegna is said, on one occasion, to have administered corporal chastisement. But *Giov. Ant. da Brescia* was almost as servile an imitator of Mantegna.

A more independent but variable engraver was *Nicoletto da Modena*, who chose both sacred and mythological subjects, and on his plate of the Judgment of Paris (B. 62) signed himself *Rosex*, his family name; with him may rank the three *Campagnola* of Padua, imitators of Dürer, Mantegna, and the Venetians. A more important artist is *Benedetto Montagna*, a brother of the painter of Vicenza, who may perhaps have attempted such work himself. Benedetto is, at any rate, more versatile than his brother, for he designed mythological as well as sacred subjects. His style is a compromise between those of the Venetians and the Paduans. Four plates are known by another artist of Vicenza, *Marcello Fogolino*, who seems to have worked exclusively with the etching needle in dry point, so slight is his execution. *Girolamo Moceto* again, perhaps a Veronese, though Morelli classes him with the Venetians, is best known by his engravings. His plates are not in the highest style of the art, but a battle-scene on three plates (Pass. 8) is an interesting example. An entirely Venetian feeling is visible in the works of *Martino da Udine*, known as *Pellegrino da san Daniele*,[142] whose earliest plates, as the Pietà (Pass. 2), are executed very finely, like silver point drawings with the needle, while his later ones, the David for instance, (Pass. 1) are more effectively engraved with the burin. It has already been

stated that *Torbido* is known as an engraver, and among the Cremona painters *Altobello Melone* tried his hand in this branch of art. In Milan no less a man than *Bramante* may be named as having executed a very interesting signed plate representing a number of figures within a frame or border of rich Renascence architectural design.

Though Passavant ascribes a rare plate of the Presentation in the Temple to *Lorenzo Costa*, it is not certain that he ever practised the art; but it is highly probable that *Francesco Francia*, who was famous for his nielli, should have attempted it; Passavant ascribes to him four plates. We may certainly agree with Ottley, Bartsch, and Passavant in regarding his son *Jacopo* (or *Giacomo*, *ante*, p. 417) as having executed a series of plates signed J. F., which in the purity of outline are almost worthy of Marc Antonio.

Finally, we come to the Venetian *Jacopo de' Barbari*,[143] whose influence on Dürer has of late been the subject of so much discussion. He was born at Venice and did not finally quit it till 1500; he lived a long time in Nuremberg, and died in 1515 at latest, as court painter to the Grand Duchess Margaret at Brussels. He had become so completely at home north of the Alps that early writers always speak of him as *Jacob Walch*—Jacob the foreigner, or the Lombard—and as a native of Nuremberg; experts and collectors know him as the *Master of the Caduceus*. He was a painter as well as an engraver. Morelli ascribes his frescoes at Treviso and a portrait to his early Venetian period (1480-90), and recognises no less than eight pictures as the work of his later Germanised style, four of which are in the Dresden Gallery. But he seems to have overlooked a signed and highly characteristic Madonna, which in 1878 was in the possession of M. E. Galichon at Paris; and in 1877 the Berlin Gallery became possessed of another Madonna by this rare painter. These later works are in a hybrid style, some more German and others more Italian in character. But his chief importance is as an engraver, which justifies our mention of him in this place. Above thirty plates of his are known, some of religious and others of mythological subjects. The figures are slender and elegant, sometimes rather feeble, a degenerate offshoot of the Venetian type; in technique he must surely have learned from the most advanced engravers of the German school. Jacopo forms an important link between the spirit of the Italian Renascence and of German art. [Engravings by all these masters are to be met with in various collections, and especially at the British Museum.]

II. MINIATURE PAINTING IN BOOKS[144] held a conspicuous place in the North Italian art of the sixteenth century, especially in Verona, where it even exercised a very perceptible effect on the higher arts. Here lived the family of painters who, from their skill as illuminators, were known as "*dai Libri*." The eldest of the family was *Stefano*, born about 1420. His son

Francesco, born about 1454, was the father of *Calisto* and *Girolamo*. Girolamo also had a son *Francesco*, born 1500. This family during these four generations were all book painters; the most noted were the elder Francesco, and Girolamo, who has been mentioned as a painter on a grander scale (*ante*, p. 427). Vasari enumerates a quantity of books that they had beautified with miniatures; but no illuminations can now be ascribed with any certainty to either of them. Another Veronese, *Liberale da Verona* (*ante*, p. 424), practised miniature-painting in his youth, and some of his most lovely works have happily been preserved; a number of choir-books, painted in his youth for the Benedictine Abbey of Monte Oliveto, near Siena; these are now preserved in the cathedral at Chiusi. He also illuminated a great number of choir-books for the cathedral at Siena, which are now in the library, where, too, among the archives, various facts relating to the master have been discovered. In a *Graduale* (No. 1, C.) there are seven miniatures by Liberale, and in No. 9 no less than sixteen. In others we find his paintings mixed with those of *Girolamo da Cremona*. Liberale is an elegant and tasteful miniature-painter; his borders lack variety, but are pleasingly designed, with *putti*, birds, and butterflies. The drawing of the figures in the pictures is good, the expression lively, the drapery rather fussy; the colouring is admirable for brilliancy and purity. Of *Fra Cherubini*, a Veronese miniature-painter, brother to Fr. Buon Signori, only the name is known. There are some interesting miniatures of this period—the Six Triumphs of Petrarca—in the Vienna Library; one *Jacopo*, of Verona, gives his name as the scribe; the borders are enlivened with animals and with white ribbands or scrolls, which are characteristic of Italian illuminations. [A Lectionary in the British Museum is attributed by Waagen to Girolamo dai Libri, in his early style. A *Pliny* in the Bodleian is Italian work of this period.]

Very fine illustrated books were also executed at Milan, both under the Visconti and later under the rule of the Sforza, and to this school of miniature-painting may be attributed the splendid volume of Petrarch which Waagen describes as the property of Mr. Holford, the richly illuminated state archives of the city, and the marriage contract of Ludovico il Moro in the British Museum. Most precious of all perhaps is the folio manuscript of the *Life of Francesco Sforza* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, 1490. In this the arabesque borders are in the best style of the Renascence; the miniatures are not remarkable for freedom of treatment, though very Leonardesque, and, though the equestrian statue that heads the work is interesting, it hardly seems probable that it represents Leonardo's famous work.

Of the Cremonese miniature-painters only one can here be particularly mentioned, *Girolamo da Cremona*, who worked between 1467 and 1475 with Liberale on the seventy paintings that adorn eleven choir-books in the cathedral at Siena. He also painted a miniature-picture of the Coronation

of the Virgin in 1472 for Monte Oliveto; but a book ascribed to him in the National Library at Florence is doubtful.

Another centre of this art was Ferrara, under the sway of Borso d'Este,

Fig. 321.

and Ercole d'Este who succeeded him; there are some very fine choir-books of this date in the Ferrara Library. The three finest works are in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena—first, a magnificent Bible, executed for Duke Borso between 1455 and 1461 by *Taddeo di Crivelli* and *Franco di messer Giovanni*

da Russi, both Mantuans by birth (Fig. 321 is a specimen of the style); secondly, a breviary painted by *Guglielmo de' Magni* and *G. Ziraldi*; thirdly, an *Officium*, not earlier certainly than 1512, but quite arbitrarily assigned to different painters, as *Dom. Panetti* and *Mazzolino*.

In Padua, of course, even miniature was Mantegnesque. *Lanciiao of Padua*, mentioned by Vasari, is a half-mythical personage; *Benedictus Patavinus* signs his name to the Decretals with a commentary, in four volumes, printed in Venice in 1477-79. Another illuminator to be mentioned here is *Benedetto Bordone*, who painted the choir-books for the Convent of S. Justina at Padua, displaying a strong leaning to the feeling of Giovanni Bellini; his finest work, a splendid missal, is in the British Museum. Other illuminated books in the style of Mantegna's school are an Italian translation of the *Offices of the Virgin* of 1469 at Monte Casino, and a *Codex* executed for Giovanni Moncenigo in S. Mark's Library at Venice. Finally, at Cassel there is a copy of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, of which the scribe signs himself *Jac. Giglio*, MCCCLXXXIII, and the illuminator is said to be one *Marmitta*, of whom Vasari speaks as a gem-cutter who had previously been a painter.

In Venice *Bellini's* style influenced the art of illuminating, as may be seen in a small prayer-book in the Vienna Library. The gold scroll-work in the borders to the calendar is splendid, and the minute pictures, for the most part in the initials, are well drawn and delicately executed. Such works are numerous in Venice, and the names of several illuminators are well known.

One master remains to be mentioned, *Giulio Clovio*,[145] who is regarded as the greatest of Italian miniature-painters, though all he did was to adapt to his purpose the style of one of the great Roman painters, *Giulio Romano*. What his name may have been before he adopted an Italian form is not known. His real Christian name was George, and he took that of Giulio when he became a monk. He was born in 1498 at Grisane, in a little village of Croatia—Vasari writes it Grisone—and is said to have been a scholar of Girolamo dai Libri, after which he visited Rome and studied under Giulio Romano. He died in 1578 after a life of vicissitude; he therefore belongs properly to the sixteenth century, but as we shall have no further occasion to enlarge on the subject of miniature-painting he may be fitly mentioned here. He frequently simply copied well-known pictures by Italian or Flemish artists; but in his own inventions, in spite of their splendour and finish, he is apt to prove mannered, and the execution *licked*. There are genuine works by him at Naples and in London. Sir John Soane's Museum possesses a famous early work by Giulio Clovio—a Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles, decorated for Cardinal Marino Grimani. At the British Museum there is a small *Officium* by him [of which some pages are said to have found their way into various collections]. The Triumph of Charles V. appears doubtful, though

Waagen attributes it to him. Single pages exist at Florence, and volumes more or less genuine at Rome and at Vienna. The progress of printing in this and the following century cut off the source and life of miniature-painting as a means of illustrating books, and by the end of the seventeenth century it was almost extinct.[146]

APPENDIX IV.

1. The principal authorities for the history of painting in Italy are G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccelenti pittori* (for various editions, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 501, note 84). [An English translation by Mrs. Foster, published by Bohn.] The latest edition is now complete in eight volumes—*Le opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazione e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, Flor., 1878-82. [The references to Vasari's *Vite* are all corrected to this edition.] Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori di disegno*, Florence, 1681-1728; Lanzi, *Storia pittorica*, Bassano, 1789; Rosini, *Storia della pittura italiana*, Pisa, 1839-54; G. della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, Venice, 1782-86; G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei Secoli*, xiv., xv., xvi., Flor., 1839.

Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1827-31, and works by Ernst Förster and Schnaase. Lübke, *Gesch. der Italienische Kunst*, with 137 illustrations, Stuttgart, 1878-79.

[In English, J. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, translated by Mrs. Clough, London, 1873 (there is a later and revised edition in German, by Bode, 1879); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, a *New History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1866; and *History of Painting in North Italy*, London, 1871.] "Lermolieff"=G. Morelli, *Die werke Italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München*, etc., [translated by Mrs. L. Richter, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, London, 1883. Some of the biographies from the Dohme series are given by Keane, *Early Teutonic, Italian, and French Masters*. For general study of the tendencies of the period: J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy* (especially vol. iii., *The Fine Arts*). J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*, London, 1883, contains valuable information and criticism. A new and comprehensive study of the art of the latter part of the fifteenth century is E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII.*, Paris, 1885, with numerous illustrations.] For reproductions and facsimiles, see E. Förster, *Denkmale der Italienische Malerei*, Leipsic, 1870; the *Atlas* to Rosini; *Publications of the Arundel Society*. [F. Maynard, *Twenty years of the Ar. Soc.*, and *Five years of the Ar. Soc.*, is a useful guide. The *Grosvenor Gallery facsimiles* and the magnificent photographs by Alinari and Braun.] Kochler, *Polychrome Meisterwerke der Monumentalen Kunst in Italien*. [The Calcografia Soc. of Rome published engravings from works of art. L. Fagan, *Drawings in the British Museum, Handbook to the dept. of prints and drawings of all schools*.]

2. See Hettner, *Italienische Studien zur Gesch. der Renaissance*, Bruns., 1879. [J. Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the period of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. by S. G. C. Middlemore, Lond., 1878 (especially vol. ii.)]

3. L. B. Alberti, *De pictura præstantissimæ*, etc., first painted at Basle, 1540 [trans. by James Leoni, *The Architecture, etc., of L. B. Alberti*, Lond., 1726 and 1755]. *Kleinere Schriften* [Alberti's minor works], published and annotated by H. Janitschek in *Quellenschriften*, xi., Vien., 1877.

4. *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, pp. 70, 341. [Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 222.] Fr. Albertini, *Memoriale di molte Statue e pitture della città di Firenze*, 1510; reprint, Florence, 1863.

5. Gaetano Milanesi in *Giornale storico degli Archivi Toscani*, iv. p. 192. See too Knudtzon, *Masaccio og den Florentinske Malerkonst paa hans Tid*, Copenhagen, 1875.

6. Rumohr, *It. Forschungen*, ii. p. 250, expresses a doubt as to Masolino's work in this chapel. See A. v. Reumont *in Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii. p. 75; and A. von Zahn in the same periodical, ii. p. 250.

7. C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, i. p. 510. Their opinion, that no work by Masolino survives in the Brancacci Chapel, but that all, excepting the later pictures by Filippino Lippi, is by Masaccio, was at one time generally accepted. F. G. Knudtzon, however, opposed this view in his monograph (Danish) on Masaccio, of which a good review appeared, by W. von Seidlitz, in *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, xiii. p. 151.

We, however, cannot coincide in his distribution of the work of the two painters. Thausing discussed and disproved the views of C. and C. in *Zeitschrift f. b. Kunst*, xi. p. 225." On the whole, external evidence seems to prove that Vasari is correct. The Brancacci Chapel was the scene of labour for many successive artists, and it is hardly likely that any doubt as to the painter of each work could have arisen. Albertini, *Memoriale*, says that the chapel was half by Masaccio and half by Masolino, excepting the Martyrdom of S. Peter by Filippino Lippi; thus he does not ascribe the pilasters or the work begun by Masaccio to Lippi. Internal evidence is even more conclusive. For documentary testimony see Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 115; Milanesi in *Giornale storico degli Archivi Tosc.*, iv., 1860, p. 194. The earliest mention of Masaccio is in a MS. notice of the celebrated Florentines of the fifteenth century, first referred to by Milanesi, who attributes it to Antonio Manetti. [See also H. Layard, *The Brancacci Chapel*, Arundel Soc., 1868. Thomas Patch, *The Life of Masaccio*, Flor., 1770-72 (in English and Italian), engraved some heads from Masaccio's frescoes—On some portraits of Masaccio by himself, especially one from Panshanger, exhibited in 1881, see the *Academy*, 29th Jan. 1881. Mr. Drury Lowe possesses two portraits "wrongly named Masaccio," says Waagen, "in tempera, by Ghirlandaio, of great truth and uncommon force and clearness." Another portrait, in the University Galleries, Oxford, there ascribed to Masaccio, Waagen gives to Ghirlandaio.]

8. Vasari says that Masaccio was buried in the Carmine in 1443, and seems to think that this was the year of his death. For the MS. quoted by Landino and ascribed to Manetti see ed. Mil., ii. p. 299, note 3; p. 300, note 2.

9. P. L. Vinc. Marchesi, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, etc., domenicani*, Flor., 1854. Prints from Fra Angelico's works in P. L. V. Marchesi, *S. Marco convento dei padri predicatori in Firenze*, Flor., 1853; Förster, *Denkmale;* and *Arundel Soc. pub.*

10. Eugène Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes*, i. pp. 91, 126, Paris, 1878.

11. Luzzo, *Il duomo d'Orvieto descritto ed illustrato*, Flor., 1866. *Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, vi., Per., 1877.

12. Alesso Baldovinetti, *Ricordi*, ed. di G. Pierotti, Lucca, 1868.

13. All that is known of the circumstances may be found in Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. p. 633. [Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 316.]

14. The inscription has disappeared; see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. p. 615 (note). The genuineness of this work has been disputed by Lermolieff (Morelli), who ascribes it to a pupil of Pollaiuolo's and by Bode, who believes it to be by Verrocchio.

15. Authenticated by Vasari, and by Albertini, *Memoriale*. See C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, ii. p. 366. [J. Comyns Carr, *Art in Provincial France*, speaks of the "beautiful little Pesellino in excellent preservation at Nantes."]

16. Waagen, *Art Treasures*, iii. p. 296. This picture brought the painter and his patron into disrepute as heretics. [See Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, p. 236; and J. P. Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 24, with reference to Nos. 592 and 1033 in the National Gallery. S. Colvin in the *Academy*, 15th Feb. 1871, for a dissertation on the Greek inscription on No. 1034.]

17. [For an account of Italian (and other) decorated furniture, see J. H. Pollen, *Ancient and Modern Furniture, with illustrations from the Collection at South Kensington*, Lond., 1874.]

18. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 464 (note), from Puccinelli, *Cronica della Badia Fiorentina*, Milan, 1664.

19. Finished about 1495. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 465 (note).

20. Also called Raffaelino di Bartolommeo, after his father; see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. pp. 233, 243, for his contemporaries Raffaello di Francesco di Giovanni, Raff. Carli, and Raff. da Firenze; and C. and C. question their identity, *Painting in Italy*, ii. 455, 457, and iii. 415 ff.

21. [C. and C. do not regard them as identical, and Milanesi seems to concur; Vasari, *Vite*, iv. p. 234 (note).]

22. Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 211, gives an interesting passage from the *Cronica di Giusto d'Andrea di Giusto*, Benozzo's assistant in S. Gimignano, who, however, only painted certain accessory portions of this great cycle of frescoes.

23. Campi, *Notizie inedite della Sagrestia Pistojese de' belli arredi del Campo Santo Pisano*, pp. 110, 153. The documents are dated in the Pisan style, the year beginning in 25th March, and a year too many is noted. See Lasinio's engraved work, *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, 1820.

24. Lermolieff (Morelli) has noted that Piero painted in tempera and not in oil (*Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst*, ix. p. 75). Notwithstanding Vasari's statement, we concur in this opinion.

25. The author felt convinced of this even so early as 1866, when the picture still bore the name of Ghirlandaio. C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, ii. p. 412, and iii. p. 405, ascribe this class of paintings to Verrocchio and his school, in which Meyer and Bode have followed them in the catalogue of the Berlin Gallery. They base their judgment on a comparison with Verrocchio's sculptured work, admitting that his one authentic picture is insufficient. [J. P. Richter, *op. cit.*, says, "certainly not by Pollaiuolo."—See Morelli, *It. Masters*, p. 353.]

26. E. Müntz, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 2d ser. xii. (1875), p. 372. [H. Layard, *Ghirlandaio*, Ar. Soc. pub.] Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 577, gives the accounts of payments for Ghirlandaio's work in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

27. *Vasari*, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 276 (note). This confirms the conjecture put forward by C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, ii. p. 492, who were the first to ascribe this work to Ghirlandaio.

28. [At Nantes "an interesting work is an unfinished group of the Holy Family ascribed to Domenico Ghirlandaio. Technically, and even in regard to certain qualities of style, the picture bears a curious and puzzling resemblance to the unfinished group by Michael Angelo in the National Gallery. Probably Ghirlandaio, at any rate, had no hand in it." Comyns Carr, *Art in Provincial France*, p. 56.]

29. *Vasari*, ed. Milanesi (*Marcantonio*) v.-p. 395; Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xiii.; Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, v.; E. Koloff, "Baccio Baldini," in Meyer's *Künstlerlexicon*, ii. p. 706. [Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marcantoine*, Paris, 1884; *Prints and Drawings in the Brit. Mus.*, part iii.]

30. Paolo Minucci del Rosso, in *Archivio storico*, Ser. iv., No. 9, gives some notices of Robetta, who was still working in 1522.

31. See in Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 237, the Life of Gherardo del Fora, with the editor's notes.

32. Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, 2d ed., pp. 411, 469.

33. [F. F. Romer, "Les Manuscrits et Miniatures de la Bibliothèque Corvinienne," in *L'Art*, vol. x., 1877. A learned little pamphlet is L. Fischer, *König Mathias Corvinus und seine Bibliothek*, Vienna, 1878.]

34. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. p. 523. See too Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 171. [L. Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 26, 34.]

35. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 239. [For Italian miniature painting, with photographs from various examples by Attavante, Liberale, etc., in the Laurentiana, the Vatican, and elsewhere, see E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en It. et en Fr.*, p. 188 ff. Among many fine MSS. lent for exhibition in the Music Dept. of the Inventions Ex., 1885, were a beautiful illuminated Missal from Althorp, Venice, 1488, and Lord Ashburnham's fine *Graduale*, Italian, fifteenth century.]

36. Original documents in Guglielmo della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, Venice, 1782; G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte Senese*, Siena, 1854. C. and C., *New Hist. of Painting in Italy*, iii. chaps. iii., xi.; Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, pp. 70, 200, 252.

37. Engraved by Förster under the name of Taddeo di Bartolo, and formerly ascribed to Gentile da Fabriano.

38. Rumohr's sketch of the Tuscan-Umbrian school in vol. ii. of *It. Forschungen* is still a valuable contribution to history. See too in Passavant, *Raphael's Leben*, a chapter on the Umbrian painters [not included in the English translation.] Amico Ricci supplies local facts, *Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*, Macerata, 1834.

39. Morelli, *It. Masters*, p. 225.

40. E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, i. pp. 14, 16.

41. A. Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 109. E. Förster, *Denkmale Ital. Malerei*, iii. pt. ix., x.

42. Adamo Rossi, *Giorn. di Erudizione Artistica*, 1875, iv. p. 362. This Lorenzo is not to be confounded with the elder Lorenzo who worked in 1416 with Jacopo da Sanseverino on the archaic and uninteresting frescoes in S. Giovanni Battista at Urbino. [See Morelli, *It. Masters*, p. 255 (note).]

43. Adamo Rossi, *Giornale di E. a.*, i. p. 249; *I pittori di Foligno.*

44. Annibale Mariotti, *Lettere pittoriche Perugine*, Perugia, 1788, gives some facts concerning Ben. Buonfigli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. [See too Morelli, *It. Masters*, p. 262.]

45. Vasari calls him "Piero della Francesca," saying that he was so called after his mother, ed. Milanesi, ii. pp. 409, 503; but his fellow-countryman, Fra Luca Pacioli, names him rightly. The Franceschi were people of dignity in their own town; see Fr. Corazzini, *Appunti storici e filologici su la valle Tiberina superiore*, Sansepolcro, 1875, quoted by R. Vischer in his work on Luca Signorelli. E. Harzen, in a valuable paper (contributed to *Archiv für zeich. Kunst*, ii. p. 231, Leipzig, 1856) on Pietro degli Franceschi, mentions the record of his work at Santa Maria Nuova, Florence.

46. Harzen undervalues Piero's treatise, which, he says, "contains only commonly received principles;" see H. Janitschek in the supplement to *Zeitschr. f. b. Kunst*, xiii. col. 670, who mentions two other MSS. with drawings. The treatise is, in fact, a conspicuous advance on the rules of perspective in Alberti's work, *De pictura*, etc.

47. Fra Luca Pacioli, *Divina proportione*, Ven., 1509, ch. xix., says that Piero painted "e olio e guazzo" (with oil and water; fr. *gouache*), and in a contract drawn up for the execution of a church banner for the Brethren of the Nunziata at Arezzo, 20th December 1466, it is expressly stated that it is to be painted "*con colori fini e a olio*," Milanesi, *Giornale storico*, vi. p. 11, 1862.

48. Corazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. p. 494 (note).

49. Passavant and C. and C. had doubts of the genuineness of this altar-piece, but documentary evidence of its having been paid for in 1469 is conclusive; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. p. 493 (note).

50. Pungileoni, *Elegio storico di Giov. Santi*, Urbino, 1822.

51. His age was specified on the tombstone, which no longer exists; the date of his death is mentioned by Leone Cabelli in a *MS. Chronicle*. Gius. Melchiorri, *Notizie intorno alla vita . . . di Melozzo da Forlì*, Rome, 1835; E. Müntz, *Les peintures de Melozzo da Forlì et de ses contemporains à la bib. du Vatican . . . Gaz. des B.-Arts*, 2d ser., 1875, xii. p. 369. The name of Marco has been given him incorrectly; the pictures signed Marcus de Melotius Foroliviensis (one at Matellica is dated 1501) are by his pupil Marco Palmazzano. See C and C., *Painting in Italy*, ii. pp. 570-573.

52. These pictures are rightly ascribed to Melozzo in the London and Berlin Catalogues [see Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 248; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 56], though C. and C. doubt their genuineness, *Painting in Italy*, ii. pp. 565-566.

53. Pungileoni, *op. cit.*, p. 52. There is no direct evidence of the genuineness of the Brera altar-piece, and Pungileoni's authority for its having been painted in 1472 is not trustworthy; he based it on the idea that the Virgin and Child were portraits of the Duchess of Urbino and the infant Guidobaldo. [Morelli has no doubts, however; *op. cit.*, p. 250 (note).]

54. Pungileoni, *op. cit.*, is the chief authority as to Giov. Santi. Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbin et son père*, Paris, 1860. [*Translation*, anon., London and New York, 1872, pp. 9-32.] C. and C. over-estimate him as a painter, *Painting in Italy*, iii. pp. 586-592. [H. Layard, *Giov. Santi*, Ar. Soc., pub. 1859.]

55. J. G. Waagen, *Ueber Leben, Wirken und Werke der Maler Andrea Mantegna und Luca Signorelli*, in Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, 1850, and J. G. W.'s *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875; R. Vischer, *Luca Signorelli und die Italienische Renaissance*, Leipsic, 1879; Girolamo Mancini, *Notizie sulla chiesa del Calcinaio*, etc., Cortona, 1867, p. 87, gives original documents relating to Signorelli's official employments. [A biography by R. Vischer, translated in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 448. Notices of his work in Symonds *Renaissance in Italy*, iii. p. 202 ff; and in E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France*, p. 406.]

56. Vasari mentions Sixtus V. as paying for the work, but not as ordering it. His statement that the paintings on the ceiling had been begun by Domenico Veneziano and Piero degli Franceschi, and then, after an interruption, carried out by Luca Signorelli, is contradicted by the character of the work, which is remarkable for unity of effect; the angels, too, are very modern in feeling.

57. Mariotti, *Lettere pitt. Perugine*, gives some interesting documents; Bald. Orsini, *Vita, elogio e Memorie dell' egregio pittore P. Perugino*, Perugia, 1804; *Notizie e documenti, P. Vanucci detto il Perugino, Giornale di Erud.*, ii. p. 93. [E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie*, i. p. 402; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 287, 290, 315, 336.] In some inscriptions and documents he is named as Petrus de Castro Plebis = Castello della Pieve, and he is also called Pietro di Cristofano, after his father.

58. The question as to who was the painter of the first picture of the Moses series is still an open one (Moses meeting an angel as he leads the Children of Israel into Egypt, and Zipporah circumcising her first-

born). Vasari does not mention it; it has been ascribed to Signorelli. C. and C. observe with truth that it bears the stamp of Perugino's hand in many particulars (*Painting in Italy*, iii. pp. 9, 183); but they are less happy in their conjecture that Don Bart. della Gatta and Pinturicchio have had a hand in it. Indeed, the former—of whom Vasari speaks as working with Perugino in the Sistine Chapel—has been proved by Milanesi (Vasari, iii. p. 227) to be entirely mythical. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 266.]

59. Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 69. A picture of 1494 in the Scuola di San Giov. Evangelista is less authentically mentioned. Cigogna, *Iscrizioni Veneziane*, i. p. 47.

60. On what ground the catalogue gives the date 1495 for this picture we do not know.

61. [J. Comyns Carr, *Art in Provincial France*, p. 114. He mentions others at Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Toulouse. As to the pictures 295 and 304 at Hampton Court, ascribed to Perugino, see Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 234 (note), who gives them to Costa; C. and C. ascribe 204 to Chiodarolo.]

62. Ad. Rossi in *Giorn. di Erud.*, iii. p. 1; *Storia artistica del Cambio di Perugia.*

63. According to the register of S. Jacopo at Spoleto. C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, iii. p. 322, note 2.

64. Acquired and engraved by E. Eichens as a Raphael.

65. [J. C. Robinson, *Mem. on Fifty Pictures*, speaks of a small but elaborate composition by Lo Spagna in a private collection.]

66. G. B. Vermiglioli, *Memorie di Bern. Pinturicchio*, Perugia, 1837. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 264; Müntz, *Renaissance en It. et en France*, chap. ix.]

67. The author, who expressed this opinion so long ago as 1878 in a review of Springer's "Raphael und Michael Angelo" in the *Nationalzeitung*, is happy to find that Milanesi, in his edition of Vasari, takes the same view.

68. Constantino Corvidieri, *Antonazzo Aquilio Romano pittore del secolo xv.* in *Buonarroti* (a Magazine of Art, Rome, 1866, *et seq.*), June and July, 1869; E. Müntz, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 2d ser., xii. p. 369; *Giorn. di Erud.*, vi. p. 272.

69. C. and C.'s remark that Antoniazzo unites the "local Roman style" with peculiarities derived from Benozzo is not very clear, since no local Roman style can be said to have existed. ["A local Roman" influenced by the example of Ben. Gozzoli.] C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, iii. p. 167.

70. Bern. de Dominicis, *Vite de' pittori, etc., Neapoletani*, Nap., 1742. C. and C. have thrown some critical light on the subject, *Painting in Italy*, i. chap. xi. pp. 317-337; and *Painting in North Italy*, ii. chap. ii. pp. 100-118.

71. C. and C. are reminded of the early Umbrian school "of Gentile da Fabriano or Pisano, or still more of the Sanseverini," *North Italy*, ii. p. 110.

72. Bern. Scardeonius, *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, Basle LL., iii. 1560. Documents in Selvatico, *Scritti d'Arte*, Florence, 1859, p. 34.

73. C. and C., *North Italy*, i. pp. 298, 300. [Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, iii. p. 237; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 390.]

74. The author has not seen the Lazzara Madonna and must rely on the description given by C. and C. (*North Italy*, i. p. 305), though his conclusions are diametrically opposed to theirs. If there are two works ascribed to Squarcione which cannot possibly be by the same hand, of which one is known to have been ordered of him, but is only worthy of a second-rate pupil, while the other is signed with his name, and resembles the work of his best pupil, it is probable that the first is a mere studio work. The second is so far authenticated by the signature as to be a picture that the master did not hesitate to send out as his own, and as there is no other picture with the same credentials we are certainly justified in taking this as our standard of comparison. C. and C., however, finding the picture worthy of Mantegna, do not hesitate to stigmatise Squarcione as an impostor "who commonly used the work of his pupils," and infer that he was no more than a great *impresario*—a mere employer of artists of greater talent than himself.

75. The London picture is signed OPVS · SCLAVONI · DISCIPVLI · SQVARCIONI · S·; the Berlin picture, OPVS SCLAVONI DALMATICI SQVARCIONI. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 390; for Zoppo, see J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the N. G.*, p. 59.]

76. A mass of original material is collected in Pasquale Coddè, *Memorie biografiche . . . Dizionario dei pittori, scultori, etc., Mantovani*, Mantua, 1839; Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. and ii.; Conte C. d'Arco, *Delle Artie degli Artefici di Mantova*, Mantua, 1857-58; A. Baschet, *Documents sur Mantegna, Gaz. des B.-Arts*, xx.,

1866; W. Braghirolli in *Giorn. di Erud.*, i. p. 194; *Documenti inediti relativi ad A. Mantegna;* G. F. Waagen, *Ueber Leben, etc., Andrea Mantegna*, in Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, 1850; and *Kleinen Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875. [E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie—Mantegna et Mantoue*, p. 336. A biography in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 373, and a life in the *Great Masters Ser.*, by Julia Cartwright.]

77. C. and C. ascribe them to Lorenzo Canozzi, known as L. da Lendinara, *North Italy*, i. p. 317.

78. Julius Friedländer in *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, vii. pp. 1, 2, has identified the Cardinal, who lived chiefly in Rome and probably sat to Mantegna when on a visit to Padua before the painter left it in 1459. Ludovico died at Rome in 1465, aged sixty-three. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 391.]

79. Baschet in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1866, p. 324. [The panels at Tours are fully described by J. Comyns Carr, *Art in Provincial France.*]

80. As I am kindly informed by J. Friedländer.

81. See Goethe's minute description. [*Ferneres über Kunst: Julius Cæsar's Triumphzug.*]

82. *Giorn. di Erud. art*, i. p. 206, and ii. p. 145, where a curious story is told of a Jew being forced to pay for the picture.

83. I must differ from C. and C., who regard these later works as inferior and executed principally by pupils. [Dr. Richter speaks of the Enthroned Virgin in the Nat. Gal. (No. 274) as a very choice example, p. 66. The Triumph of Scipio was described by Waagen, *Art. Treas.*, ii. p. 248.]

84. [*Prints and drawings in the British Museum* includes examples by Zoan Andrea, G. da Brescia, and other engravers of this period. W. A. Chatto, *Treatise on Wood-Engraving*, describes works by Mantegna and B. Montagna, p. 218, and elsewhere. Amand Durand, *L'Œuvre de Mantegna reproduite*, Paris, 1878.]

85. Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie;* Ridolfi, *Le Meraviglie dell' Arte*, Venice, 1648; M. Boschini, *La Carta del navegar pitoresco*, Venice, 1660; M. Boschini, *Le ricche miniere della pittura Veneziana*, Ven. latest reprint 1733; Zanetti, *Della Pittura Veneziana*, Venice, 1771; Zanotto, *Pinacoteca dell' Accademia Veneta*, Venice, 1834, and *Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia*, 1842-61; Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del P. Ducale di Venezia*, 1842-61. [J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, iii., chap. vii. p. 347; E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en It. et en France*, chap. iv. p. 308; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Life of Titian*, p. 19 ff.]

86. See his will, dated 2d October 1439, in C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 10 (note).

87. Academy, No. 8, Ioannes et Antonius de Muriano F MCCCCXXXX; the three altars of 1443-44 in S. Zaccaria are the same; S. Pantalone, zuane e antonio de murano pnse. 1444; Academy, No. 23, M. 446, IOHANES ALAMANVS ANTONIVS D MVRIANO. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 358.

88. Ricci, *Mem. Storiche della Marca di Ancona*, 1834, i. p. 205 ff; ii. pp. 87, 118, 137.

89. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 149; C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 103, note.

90. So named in the new catalogue. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 367; his study of Giov. Bellini is throughout careful, pp. 361 ff.]

91. Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 189, quotes Colaccio.

92. Zanetti, *Della pittura Ven.*, p. 21. The date now looks like 1445, which is only explicable as a result of restoration. It was a cause of much confusion in the chronology of Antonello's works till C. and C. offered this explanation, *North Italy*, ii. p. 92, note 2.

93. P. Selvatico e Foucard, *Illustrazione del Palazzo ducale di Venezia*, Milan, 1859-81. See, too, *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, 1866, pp. 283, 286. Morelli's Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 99, quoted from Maria Sanudo and Fr. Negro.

94. W. Braghirolli, *Archivio Ven.*, xiii. pt. ii. p. 370; *Carteggio di Isabella d'Este;* Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. pp. 71-82, and C. d'Arco, *Arti di Mantova*, ii. p. 60.

95. C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 193, with a print.

96. C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 54 [with a print of the Treviso picture in the Venice Acad.]

97. Selvatico, *Storia estetico-critica*, ii. p. 466; Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 72.

98. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 360.]

99. The date 1475 on the first of the series is an error of the restorer for 1495; others are dated 1490, 1491, and 1495.

100. Nos. 548 and 545, the second wrongly ascribed to Lazzaro Bastiani.

101. [C. and C., in the *Academy*, 10th September 1870, speak of the altar-piece in the National Gallery (No. 803) as "illustrating a phase of the struggle which took place at Venice at the end of the fifteenth century between the disciples of the Paduan or Northern classic school and the Naturalists of the Italo-Flemish type, headed by Antonello da Messina." See J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*, London, 1884, p. 82.]

102. Tassi, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, etc., Bergameschi*, Bergamo, 1793. C. and C. regard him as identical with Andreas Cordelleagi, *North Italy*, i. p. 271. [Cordelleagy, in Waagen, *Art Treasures*, ii. p. 265; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 178. No. 695, in the National Gallery; "is perhaps the best picture he ever painted," says J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*.]

103. This picture is, or was, in the Venice Academy, in the third room, where pictures are placed from churches undergoing restoration.

104. C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 224. They give to Diana several works formerly ascribed to Catena.

105. [For Catena and Bissolo, see Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 150, 372, 373, and C. and C., *North Italy*, i. pp. 246, 287.]

106. Baruffaldi, *Vite de' pittori Ferraresi*, Ferrara, 1844; L. N. Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1864; Laderchi, *Pittura Ferrarese*, Ferrara, 1856; C. and C., *North Italy*, chap. i.; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 55, 101, 232.

107. L. N. Citadella, *Ricordi di Cosimo Tura*, Ferrara, 1866. [J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*, p. 59; E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie, etc.*, chap. v.]

108. Morelli also ascribes to Cossa a window in S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna (St. John at Patmos); S. Jerome enthroned, an altar-piece in the fifth chapel on the right, in S. Petronio at Bologna; in the fifth chapel on the left a Madonna, much repainted; and in the Marsili Chapel the Twelve Apostles. An Annunciation, ascribed to Pollaiuolo, in the Dresden Gallery; and a S. Mark in the Städel Institute, attributed to Mantegna. *Italian Masters*, pp. 107, 108.

109. [See C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 526, where this and other works by B. Estense are described. The author, Dr. Woermann, states that this picture was sold with others from the Costabili collection, and is in the National Gallery. He seems to have derived this from Signor Morelli, *It. Masters*, p. 177, note 2. The picture, however, is not in the National Gallery; Dr. Richter has been so good as to ascertain for me that it certainly passed into English hands, and Signor Morelli believed at the time that it was purchased for the National Gallery.]

110. [Morelli devotes some pages to this master (*Italian Masters*, p. 233 ff), whom he thinks underrated. J. P. Richter, *op. cit.*, and Morelli speak of No. 629 in the National Gallery as a powerful genuine work by Costa.]

111. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 238. [Dr. J. P. Richter detected a good picture by Bianchi in the collection of Mr. Leyland of London—the Virgin and S. Joseph adoring the Infant. *Italian Masters*, p. 121.]

112. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 113.

113. [*Ibid.*, pp. 57, 243; Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 373; Julia Cartwright, *Francia*, in the same volume with *Mantegna; Great Artists' Series*.]

114. Lami, *Graticola*, 1560, states this. C. and C., nevertheless, give this fresco to Giacomo Raibolini, *North Italy*, i. p. 574.

115. The only sound criticism of Timoteo Viti that has yet appeared is in Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 291 ff and 302 ff.

116. *Op. cit.*, p. 306. Morelli believes, too, that seventeen majolica plates, with mythological subjects, in the Museo Correr, are an early work of Timoteo.

117. Early writers, Vasari, ed. Milanesi, in the chapter, "*Fra Giocondo e Liberale ed altri Veronesi*;" Dal Pozzo, *Le vite de' pittori, degli scultori, etc., Veronesi*, Verona, 1718. More recent studies are C. Bernasconi, *Studj. sopra la storia della pittura Italiana dei sec. XIV. e XV.*, Verona, 1864; C. and C., *North Italy*, i. chap. xvi. p. 449; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 394. For reproductions see Nanin, *Disegne di varie dipinture a fresco che sono in Verona*, 1864. [Dr. J. P. Richter is preparing a work on Veronese Art.]

118. Eug. Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes* [and *La renaissance en Italie*, etc., p. 284.] Vasar discusses Pisano in the same chapter with Gentile da Fabriano, ed. Milanesi, iii. pp. 1-33; Bernasconi, *Il Pisano, grand' artefice Veronese*, Verona, 1862; Vicomte Tauzia in *L'Art*, No. 377, 1882; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 356 (note). Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 163.

119. Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 46.

120. Vasari, ed. Lemonnier, vi. p. 345; Bernasconi, *Studj.*, p. 245.

121. Vasari is not well informed, and Dal Pozzo has simply, as usual, followed Vasari; Bernascon *Studj.*, p. 257, first appreciated this painter.

122. For Caroto see Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 395 (note). C. and C. enumerate his later works, *North Italy*, i. p. 485 (notes 3 and 4).

123. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 395.

124. Lor. Muttoni, *Dipinti di Paolo Morando*, with letterpress by Aleardi, Verona, 1850-53. Vasari says that Morone was Morando's master, but Bernasconi shows that this must be inaccurate, *Studj.*, p. 274.

125. E. Galichon, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1859, ii. p. 321, was the first to point out this master's importance, even before Bernasconi. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, contends that as an artist Moceto is Venetian, p. 360 (note).

126. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, speaks of Torbido as hitherto underrated, pp. 51, 52.

127. M. Boschini, *I Giojelli pitt., etc., di Vicenza*, 1676, mentions some others.

128. Magrini, *Elogio di Bart. Montagna*, gives dates from original sources. Lemonnier in his edition of *Vasari* gave a list of his works, vi. p. 126; and in Milanesi's ed. C. and C. have added to it, iii. p. 672. See too V. Mosca, *Descrizione di Vicenza*, 1779, pp. 31, 56.

129. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 396 ff. The works of Giov. Paolo Lomazzo, himself a painter, though far from trustworthy, are valuable for information concerning certain masters of North Italy, of whom Vasari makes no mention, *Trattato della pittura*, Milan, 1584, and *Idea del Tempio della pittura*, 1590.

130. Stefano Fenaroli, *Dizionario degli artisti Bresciani*, Brescia, 1877, pp. 122, 135; Michele Caffi in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, v., 1878, p. 96; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 398.

131. As I am instructed by an obliging communication from Sig. G. Frizzoni. See his article in *Buonarroti*, ser. ii., vol. iii., 1873, p. 30; and M. Caffi in *L'Arte in Italia*, 1873, No. 8. For Foppa and Zenale, see Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 52.

132. [J. P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery*, p. 97.] G. Frizzoni in *Arch. stor. It.*, ser. iv., vol. v. p. 45.

133. Most writers have assumed the existence of an older and a younger Civerchio; but usually it is Foppa who is meant by the elder, and Vincenzo da Brescia by the younger. See Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 398 (note 3).

134. A useful work, but to be accepted cautiously, is G. L. Calvi, *Notizie sulla vita di pittori, etc., in Milano*, Milan, 1865. Mongeri, *L'Arte in Milano*, 1862, is a guide-book. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 410-419.

135. The Montorfani were a family of artists. See M. Caffi, *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, v. p. 85.

136. Calvi, *Notizie*, ii. p. 242. [Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 419.]

137. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 421 ff.

138. C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 14 ff; G. Frizzoni, an article reprinted from *Buonarroti*, February 1873; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 6 (note 2).

139. Lübke, *Gesch. der ital. Malerei*, 1878, i. pp. 501-509; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 412, 413.

140. Conte B. de Sorefina Vidoni, *La pittura Cremonese*, Milan, 1824, and sequel by Grasselli, *Abecedario biografico dei pittori Cremonesi*, Milan, 1827; M. Caffi in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, v. p. 82; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 187, 410.

141. For the various artists here mentioned, and notices or reproductions of their works, see Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xiii. p. 295 ff; Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, v. p. 79 ff; Galichon, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1874, Jan. and Feb. [Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc-Antoine*, Par., 1884. *Prints, etc, in the Brit. Mus.*, published by order of the Trustees.]

142. ["The opinion expressed by Harzen and Passavant that the engraver signing P. P. was P. di San Daniele seems no longer tenable" (Morelli, *op. cit.* p. 22).]

143. For Jac. dei Barbari, Thausing, *Holbein*, Eaton's translation, i. p. 283; Ephrussi, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, Feb., 1876; Kolloff, in Meyer's *Allg. Künstler-Lexicon*, ii. pp. 706-716; [Colvin in *Portfolio*, 1877, pp. 71, 89]; Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 141 ff. Whether all Signor Morelli's attributions are justified remains to be proved. Compare Passavant, iii. pp. 134-135, with Bartsch, vii. pp. 516-527, and Kolloff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 712-715. Springer has even ascribed to Barbari—or Walch—some of the plates signed W, which Bartsch regards as copies from Dürer by Wenzel of Olmütz, and which Thausing ascribes to Wolgemuth. A careful comparison of these with the acknowledged works of Jacopo proves this to be untenable. [Müntz, *La renaissance en Italie, etc.*, p. 205; Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, Paris, 1884.]

144. For the Italian miniatures and illuminators see Bernasconi, *Studj.*, pp. 230, 243, 289 ff; see Lemonnier's edition of Vasari, vi. pp. 159-357, *Nuove indagini, etc., per servire alla storia della miniatura italiana*, a valuable treatise on the subject. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. p. 206, and ii. p. 224; H. Shaw, *A Handbook of the Art of Illumination*, 1866; Waagen, *Die Vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, 1867, p. 102; Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris*, Berlin, 1839, p. 367; E. Cheney, *Remarks on the illuminated MSS. of the Venetian Republic*, in *Archivio Veneto*, 1871, i. p. 429. [H. Shaw, *Illuminated ornaments*, with an introduction by Sir F. Madden, see Pl. xxxv.] [Müntz, *La Renaissance en It., etc.*, pp. 188 ff and 377.] Jules Labarte, *Hist. des Arts industriels*, Paris, 1878, p. 258 ff; B. Bucher, *Gesch. der Technischen Künste*, i. p. 251 ff. Ivan K. Sakcinski, *Leben des Giulio Clovio*, Agram, 1868 (in German from the Illyrian). He catalogues thirty-seven works by the master, but is not a trustworthy critic.

145. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. p. 557. [Some illuminated pages of this date, ascribed to Giulio Clovio, were in Mr. J. Fuller Russell's collection.]

146. [H. Shaw, *Ill. Ornaments*, pl. xl., gives two borders from a choral book of 1623-44. "The design," he says, "shows how the progress of the higher branches of painting contributed, long after the invention of printing, to the perfection of the humbler art" of illuminating.

BOOK IV.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF PAINTING IN ITALY.

INTRODUCTORY.

ALL that has been said in the preliminary chapters of the earlier portions of this volume as to the rapid development of painting under the general influence of the Renascence, applies with special force to its progress in Italy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The sun of that golden age of art here reached a more glorious meridian than elsewhere; form rendered meaning more fully, truth and beauty were more intimately allied, practice more perfectly answered to theory. That highest beauty which the gods themselves had, two thousand years before, revealed to the Greeks now revisited earth among the Italians; and as in Greece it had inspired sculpture, so it here gave glory to painting, which now, for the first time, entered fully into its inheritance and henceforth took the lead among the arts in Italy.

In spite of the strong impression made by the discovery of such examples of the antique as the Belvedere Apollo and the Laocoon, the sculptors of the Renascence worked in a distinct line of their own; but fine works are comparatively few, and these show a singular compromise between a certain archaic conventionality and irrepressible subjectivity, with complete mastery of the laws of plastic treatment. The painters, on the contrary, had achieved perfect independence; they took the nature that was around them as the foundation of their art, as the Greeks had done for their sculpture; but, hand in hand with the sense of beauty that characterises these southern races, they cultivated a truly scientific study of the laws of pictorial art—perspective, anatomy, and chiaroscuro—and instinctively created those types of form and colour which modern æsthetic study has accepted as its standards. Nor was this full bloom of the art rare and local; the greatest masterpieces of painting came simultaneously into being in places wide asunder, and in such vast numbers as to be quite amazing when we reflect how brief the period was during which the most perfect were produced; for though some few of the supreme Italian masters lived on beyond the middle of the century, conventionality and mannerism had begun to show their baleful heads at a much earlier period.

The Italian painters of the epoch were not only the greatest but the most individually dissimilar that any country could produce. Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto and Giorgione, Michael Angelo and Titian, Raphael and Correggio,—greater contrasts cannot be imagined. Each saw the world around

him with his own eyes, and each had a strongly marked individuality which found its reflection in a thousand receptive or sympathetic natures.

It is certain that Italian painting could never so soon have reached its pre-eminence if the taste of the period had not met it half-way. Whether from a true love of art or a taste for splendour, from joy in sensual beauty or rivalry in patronage, it remains a fact that orders for painting have rarely or never been so lavish as they were in Italy at this time. Princes and prelates republics and nobles, vied with each other in the magnificence of their commissions; and the Medici, whose name is indissolubly connected with the earlier Renascence, were now only one of many families who encouraged the arts. Even during their exile, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Florence rivalled Venice and Milan as a great centre of artistic progress; but the headquarters of magnificent undertakings was Rome. The works begun by Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. were carried out on a scale of increased splendour by Julius II. (Della Rovere) and Leo X. Since, in consequence, the greatest masters were constantly changing their residence, the history of Italian art from this time no longer falls into local divisions, but must be classified under the head of their respective schools.

A circumstance which served to give the Italian art of this period its dignified and grandiose character was the demand for mural painting on a grand scale; when mere decoration was required the recently discovered paintings of the old Roman palaces suggested a new scheme of treatment; and the introduction of the "grottesque" led to a chromatic treatment of wide surfaces, in contradistinction to the earlier style in grisaille (or mere light and shade, in imitation of sculpture); but in other instances, according to the use and character of the room to be painted, Biblical, mythological, or historical subjects were depicted, always on a large scale and always in well-considered compositions, admirably drawn and executed. Easel-painting naturally followed in the wake of the more important art, and imitated its monumental character. Italian painting was historical painting in the widest sense of the word. At the same time portrait-painting also afforded a wide field for high realistic art, but pictures are rare in which *genre* or landscape fills a prominent place; only a few of the Northern Italians keep pace on this ground with their contemporaries in Germany and the Netherlands.

We may discern among the Italian masters of that day a marked care for the dignity of their calling; they aim at loftiness and purity as much as at truth and beauty; hence art—dwelling in the midst of religious, political, and moral subversion—stands aloof, as the representative of all that was worthiest and best, in marked contrast to the base license that prevailed alike in society and in literature. Her wing protected all that was noblest in the culture of the age, and it was in her works that the people found the expression of their undiminished vigour and sense of right.

CHAPTER I.

LEONARDO AND THE MILANESE

LEONARDO DA VINCI—His versatility and love of science and experiments—Nevertheless, above all a painter—His birth and biography—Early works—The scarcity of genuine examples—*The Last Supper*—The Battle of Anghiari—His studies and designs—Leonardo's disciples: Melzi and Salaino—Beltraffio—Sodoma (Bazzi) and others—*Andrea Solari*—BERN. LUINI—Frescoes in S. Maria degli Angeli, Lugano, and elsewhere—His pupils—*Gaudenzio Ferrari* and his scholars.

I. LEONARDO DA VINCI,[1] recognised by Vasari as the leading spirit of modern art, has always held the highest rank in the estimation of its historians; and the more and the better we know him through the publication of his writings—an achievement of quite modern criticism—the more we appreciate his importance as a pioneer, not only in art but in mechanics, in physics, and in every branch of natural science.

As we read his biography and find him employed as civil engineer—making canals and fortifying towns, contriving parachutes and levers, besides a variety of more practical tools and machinery, as we read the letter to Ludovico Sforza, in which he dilates on his devices for instruments of war, only adding "and I can also paint," we might be tempted to think of him principally as a mechanical genius who painted only in his leisure hours. When, on the other hand, we learn that he studied anatomy with the famous Marco della Torre, that he helped the great mathematician, Luca Pacioli, in one of his works, that he invented the camera-obscura, formed a theory of the motion of waves, made some most remarkable observations in geology, and was a student of botany, optics, and acoustics, we might fancy that he had been an ingenious scientific theorist, finding support for his views in the study of nature, but, again, a painter in only a secondary degree. But, in truth, he was not only gifted with extraordinary scientific insight, but he had the highest and subtlest artistic intuition, and distinguished himself in every branch of art. Some old biographies tell us that he was first employed by Ludovico Sforza as a musician, and Vasari says that he was the best "Improvisatore" of his day;[2] we know that as an architect he was engaged for some time on the building of the cathedral at Milan, that as a sculptor he executed the colossal model of an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, which was indeed one of the absorbing interests of his life, but which has unfortunately perished beyond recovery.[3] Nevertheless, we know, and not merely from his surviving pictures, that he regarded painting as his work in

life, for besides the fact that the list of his paintings—lost and extant—is much longer than that of his sculptured works, the most important of all his manuscripts is his Treatise on Painting (*Trattato della Pittura*), and in the very first book of that work he eagerly takes the part of painting as against sculpture. He speaks of it as the noblest of all arts, and at the same time treats it as a science, not laying down abstract rules, but founding them on the immutable laws of nature; we find that he has mastered the principles of anatomy, of optics, and of mechanics; he lays down, for the first time, fully and clearly, the principles of aerial and linear perspective, of light and shade, and of harmony in colour; and what is most remarkable is that in an age when the antique was the accepted basis of all artistic knowledge, he constantly had recourse to the direct lessons of nature, saying that such teaching at second hand made the artist not the child but the grandchild of nature.[4]

Leonardo's works are the outcome of his principles; his method made him the master of atmosphere, light, and colour, and he achieved a softness and roundness of modelling in which he had no equal before him and few rivals at any time. In the expression of form by light and shade he is in his element, and the "Sfumato" fusion of outlines and tones is absolutely his own; "fuse your light and shadow" he says, "after the manner of smoke." It is by comparing his precepts with his practice that we perceive that a deep and ruling unity of purpose lay at the foundation of his apparently desultory efforts and frittered life, and when all the writings of this marvellous man shall have been arranged and given to the public—a task that is now happily begun—this unity of purpose will no doubt be even more perceptible. Leonardo was wholly in love with nature, and to know her through science and to mirror her by art were the aim and end of his life.

Here we have only to deal with Leonardo as a painter. His finished works were, first and last, but few, and fewer still survive; a wise scepticism is nowhere more necessary than in accepting the pictures ascribed to him.

Leonardo da Vinci, born at Vinci in 1452, was the illegitimate son of Ser Piero da Vinci, a notary; and of his mother we only know that her name was Catarina, and that she married another man not long after Leonardo's birth. His father, who also married, kept the boy, and when his talent for drawing manifested itself he was placed with Andrea Verrocchio, then in great repute (*ante*, p. 313); it was in his studio that he painted, in the only authenticated work by his master, the Angel—and possibly more—(Fig. 322), which is so superior in beauty and expression to the rest of the work as to be unmistakably his. He was entered in the Red Book of the Florentine Painters' Guild in 1472; in 1476 he is still mentioned as Verrocchio's assistant, but in 1478 the Signoria commissioned him independently to execute a picture for the Chapel of S. Bernard in the Palazzo Pubblico, and in 1480 the monks of S. Donato in Scopeto ordered him to paint them an altar-piece. Neither of these pictures was finished;

but the sketch, or rather the under-painting, of the second may possibly be the undoubtedly genuine Adoration of the Kings in the Uffizi (Fig. 323).[5] The scene, of which there are many spectators, takes place in an open landscape and is a fine, original composition, and the technical treatment is highly

Fig. 322.

instructive, showing us how the master distributed light and shade even in a monochrome under-painting. Vasari mentions a number of early works, hardly one of which survives. The cartoon of the Deluge, the shield on which he painted serpents and reptiles, and a half-length figure of a foreshortened angel have all vanished; and most connoisseurs now admit that neither the Medusa's head in the Uffizi (No. 1159) nor a Madonna in the Borghese Palace is the

original picture described by Vasari. A drawing of Neptune done by Leonardo for his friend Antonio Segni on a sheet of paper, as Vasari says, may be identical with a chalk-drawing now at Windsor. The ascription of some reputed but unauthenticated early paintings to Leonardo must in almost every case be denied, though a monochrome under-painting of S. Jerome, in the Vatican, is beyond question genuine; the bold foreshortening of the kneeling figure is dealt with in a manner that is quite convincing. The Annunciation in the Uffizi (No. 1288),[6] on the contrary, charming as it is, and the admirable portrait of a goldsmith in the Pitti are hardly worthy even of his youthful powers; nor can I recognise his hand in the fresco, with a gold mosaic ground, in the Convent of S. Onofrio at Rome.[7] Many drawings, however, remain to us of his early Florentine period in the three volumes in the Royal Collection at Windsor, in the Louvre, the Accademia at Venice, the Ambrosiana, the Albertina, and the British Museum. No thorough sifting of the genuine from the spurious has yet been carried out. The methods used in these drawings are very various; the master greatly affected a greenish paper, on which he drew in chalk, heightening the lights with white. Red chalk and sepia-washed pen and ink drawings are not uncommon; he more rarely used the silver point and very seldom sketched in oil on canvas. Studies of heads (Figs. 324, 325) are more frequent than sketches of compositions, and among them not a few are elaborate caricatures. In the Uffizi and in the Louvre we see a number of these studies carefully observed and rendered with the wonderful care which is equally conspicuous in his masterly studies of drapery.[8]

From 1480 till 1487 we have no documentary record of Leonardo's history, but in this year we find him employed on the cathedral at Milan. The latest investigations seem to show that during the interval he went to the East, where he was employed in engineering works for the Sultan of Cairo,[9] and that he could not have returned to Milan, where he entered the service of Ludovico il Moro, before 1485. He remained there till his master's overthrow in 1499. On the 26th April in that year the duke presented him with a vineyard; and on the 2d September Ludovico fled at the approach of Louis XII. of France who entered Milan on the 6th October. He must thus have passed at least fourteen years in Milan, universally respected, and his master's favourite and factotum. A considerable portion of that time he devoted to the preparation of the ill-starred equestrian statue; but he was also much engaged in the construction of the Martesana Canal, while he still eagerly pursued his scientific investigations. He was the life and soul of the Academy,[10] founded by Ludovico, and it was probably for his pupils there that he wrote the *Trattato della Pittura*. This first Milan period was, besides all this, the high tide of his efforts in painting, and we will discuss first the portraits and then the sacred pictures executed there.

On the wall opposite to his Last Supper in the refectory of S. Maria delle

Grazie, and below Montorfano's Crucifixion (see *ante*, p. 435) Leonardo painted portraits of the duke, of his wife Beatrice d'Este, and of their two sons—"divinely painted," says Vasari; they have almost entirely disappeared. Of two fine portraits in the Ambrosiana, formerly ascribed to Leonardo and supposed to be those of Ludovico and his wife—or, again, Gian Galeazzo and

Fig. 323.

his wife—that of the lady is pronounced by Morelli to be Bianca Maria Sforza, the bride of the Emperor Maximilian, and not by Leonardo but by *Ambrosius de Predis*.[11] The life-size portrait of the man, however, is undoubtedly by Leonardo; the black dress, light hair, and red cap are worked into a fine harmony. The modelling has been amazingly fine, but the picture has been cruelly cleaned. We learn, too, that the master painted two of Ludovico's mistresses, Cecilia Gallerani and Lucrezia Crivelli; the former picture is lost,

but the second is now supposed to be the beautiful head in the Louvre known by the name of "La Belle Féronnière." This is certainly unproved, but the work is a masterpiece of expression, modelling, and finish.[12] It still remains incomprehensible that any competent critic should accept the uninteresting

Fig. 324.

and leaden-hued female portrait in the Augsburg Gallery as a work of the same hand.

Vasari and Morelli's *Anonimo* speak of a Nativity painted at this time for Ludovico and presented by him to the Emperor Maximilian; this has disappeared, and most of the church pictures that survive look as though he had only designed them and left the execution to his pupils. A passage

in the notes of Morelli's *Anonimo* seems to warrant the genuineness of the very charming small Holy Family from the Duke of Litta's Collection, now in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg; there is, however, no further evidence that this is the same picture that this traveller saw at Venice, and the technique is by no means certainly Leonardo's,[13] though the composition is very

Fig. 325.

similar to one by him which is known through an engraving by Förster as "La Vierge au Bas Relief." In this the Infant Christ leans forward towards the youthful Baptist who is kneeling; behind are S. Joseph and Zachariah. The heads are full of character and dignity. The picture in Lord Warwick's Collection at Gatton is regarded as the original, this being Waagen's opinion;[14] it may be doubted, however, whether it is by his own hand throughout. I have

Fig. 326.

only seen the copies in the Brera and in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The Madonna picture known as "La Vierge aux Rochers" is more conventional in arrangement and less free in execution (Fig. 326); the sepia study for the

Fig. 327

figure of the angel is in the Windsor Collection. The composition is elaborately studied in every detail, the action of the figures is perhaps, indeed, too studied; but the spiritual expression of the faces is exquisitely fervent and pure, and the scene—the rocky landscape with the rivulet, the plants and flowers—is full of natural poetry. In France the example in the Louvre is regarded as the original, painted by Leonardo himself; but the execution, which is here and there hard and in some places feeble, makes this appear doubtful. Waagen considers the replica at Charlton Park, in the possession of Lord Suffolk, as the finer work,[15] but in this even he thinks only the heads good enough to be the work of the master himself. There is a large early copy at Naples and a small one in the collection of Herr Weber at Hamburg.

A fresco lately discovered in a chapel of the Church of S. Euphemia at Milan, a good deal damaged, has been regarded as a work of this first Milan period, but I regret to say that I must consider its genuineness as extremely doubtful.

The most important of all Leonardo's works, however, the Last Supper, painted in oil on a wall in the refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie (Fig. 327), was unquestionably executed and finished by him. It was painted within a few years of the end of the fifteenth century, and cast everything that the art had till then produced altogether into the shade.[16] What now remains is but the pale ghost of what it originally was. Leonardo's attempt to apply the technique of oil painting—the only method by which he could produce his "sfumato" tones, and effects of light and shade—to wall decoration on so vast a scale, seems to have been fatal to it; so early as in 1566 Vasari speaks of the picture as a ruin. Then it suffered every kind of damage; a door was cut through it in the seventeenth century, over which an escutcheon was nailed to the wall, and in the eighteenth a bungling restorer continued the work of destruction; the *coup de grâce* was given during Napoleon's invasion, when the hall was put to every variety of base use, followed by an inundation. At last came a time of more intelligent restoration, and the defacements of later painters at any rate were removed. At the present time, in spite of its deplorable condition, the spectator cannot fail to be struck by the grandeur of the figures—almost twice the size of life, and the sculpturesque simplicity of the composition. We can now form an idea of the whole only from old copies and engravings. The most important copies are those by Marco d'Ogionno, one at Ponte Capriasca (Ticino), and one in the Royal Academy in London [in a room upstairs, open to the public].[17] Raphael Morghen's engraving is the best known, and there is a modern print by R. Stang. There is at Windsor a pen-and-ink sketch for this composition at an early stage of its development, and another in the Louvre; a third, in red chalk, of which the genuineness is doubted, is in the Venice Academy. That the Apostles' heads in the possession of the Grand Duchess of Weimar are not those of which Lomazzo speaks, no

one can doubt; the fact that they are copies from Leonardo is proved by the introduction of the hands of the figures near them on the lower part of some of the sheets. Until recently it was supposed that the Head of Christ in the Brera at any rate was genuine, but this, too, has had doubts cast upon it. Happily, the fragments that remain of the original picture and the various old copies suffice to enable us to understand and share the admiration which it aroused among the painter's contemporaries. It is one of those exceptional works in which realism and idealism have gone hand-in-hand, and are wrought to a perfect harmony. The ideal has governed the arrangement of the scene,[18] the symmetry of the composition and the harmony of the lines, the attitudes and the draperies; realism has given vigour to the noble heads, and strict simplicity to the room in which the figures sit; but the two elements are so fused that no line of demarcation can be detected. More striking still is the lively dramatic power of the scene. Goethe has described it admirably: "The emotion that has disturbed the peace of the sacred meal arises from the words of the Master, 'One of you shall betray me.' He has just uttered them, and the whole party is agitated; He sits with bent head and downcast eyes; His whole attitude, the action of His arms and hands, everything echoes the piteous words; His very silence gives them emphasis; 'Alas! for so it is—one of you shall betray me.'"

The sixteen years that followed the exile of the Sforza were full of vicissitude for Leonardo. He worked for many princes in turn, and in various parts of Italy. In 1500 he was at Venice; in 1502 he went to the Romagna as military engineer to Cesare Borgia, and it is probable that his first visit to Rome was about this time. From 1503 till 1506 he lived at Florence, and then returned to Milan. There, through the instrumentality of Maréchal Chaumont, he entered the service of Louis XII., and thenceforth Lombardy, or indeed France, became his residence. He paid short visits to Florence from time to time, and in 1514 spent some time in Rome at the court of Leo X.; in 1516 he went to France in the train of Francis I., and never again saw Italy.

Of the works produced during this time, two painted before his return to Florence—a portrait of the Duchess Isabella Gonzaga, and a Madonna painted for Robertet, the French Secretary of State—are lost. On his return home the Servite Brethren commissioned him to paint them an altar-piece; this he only carried out so far as to make a finished cartoon, which, as Vasari tells us, all Florence assembled to gaze at, and which is now one of the most precious possessions of the Royal Academy, London. [This is also in the room upstairs.] It is in black and white chalk; side by side sit S. Anne, who points to heaven, and the Virgin with the Child on her knees; He turns towards S. John, who is caressing the lamb. The composition is very fine, and the heads full of peculiar charm; indeed they are the earliest examples of the type to which Leonardo afterwards so exclusively devoted himself; the lips thin, the chin narrow, the eyes dreamy, the lips curved in a mysterious smile; the treat-

ment of the chiaroscuro is wonderfully powerful in every gradation from black to white.

A still greater sensation was produced at the time by the completion in 1505 of the cartoon of the Battle of Anghiari. It was a design for a mural painting, to be executed in the Council Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio. Leonardo

Fig. 328.

actually began it, but again he would make experiments with his medium,[19] and with so little success that he gave up the work. The cartoon is lost, and we only know the central group from a drawing, ascribed to Rubens, in the Louvre. This is commonly known as the Battle of the Standard. The whole composition is said to have been Leonardo's most powerful and dramatic work.

Two of the portraits that he painted at this time are especially famous—that of Ginevra Benci ("*Cosa Bellissima*," says Vasari), which has perished, and that of Mona Lisa, the wife of Francesco del Giocondo,[20] now in the Louvre

(Fig. 328), at which he is said to have worked for four years, and then to have declared that it was unfinished. It is, in fact, one of his most finished and lovely pictures, though the colour has sunk and faded somewhat, a result of the master's love of technical experiments. The carnations have flown, and the

Fig. 329.

flesh is cold and gray in tone, but the marvellous expression of the dewy eyes and bewitching smile is still there. The celebrity of this portrait is proved by the existence of no less than eight copies, of which the best is at Madrid. Another picture, a commission from Leo X. in 1514, never got beyond the preparatory stage, and some others mentioned by Vasari have disappeared.

Of his paintings during his last stay in Milan little is known ; he was principally occupied with hydraulic experiments. A large Madonna in the Villa Melzi at Vaprio is too much injured to form an opinion upon ; but there can be no doubt that Leonardo painted an important portion of it.

Finally, we turn to some pictures in the Louvre, which, so far as they are his at all, belong to this late period. In the first place, the Virgin on the knees of S. Anna (Fig. 329) ; this is a domestic and yet solemn treatment of the

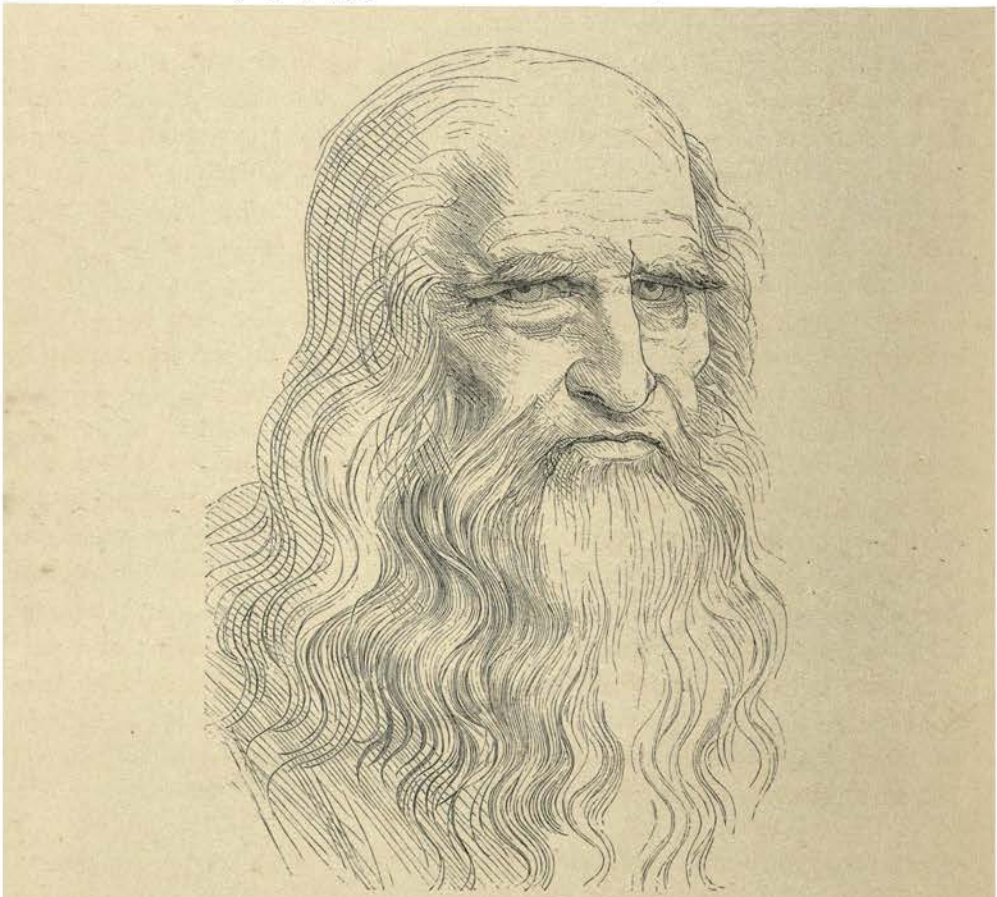


Fig. 330.

subject ; the figures are as large as life, the type of heads and the admirable modelling, no less than the delightful expression, betray the master's hand, though the picture in its present state looks half-finished, and has been severely cleaned.[21] A half-length figure of S. John must also be mentioned ; with his right hand he points to the Cross ; the smile on his lips—thoroughly Leonardesque—is too seductive for that of the Baptist. Morelli's *Anonimo* speaks of a S. John by Leonardo, and I see no reason for doubting that this is the picture. On the other hand, it is not likely that the Bacchus, which an old

couplet attributes to Leonardo, is a genuine work; it is spoken of as a studio copy in early inventories. A Leda and a Pomona, of which Lomazzo speaks,[22] were likewise of this later Milan time, but they have disappeared.

An enumeration of his drawings at this period would lead us too far; I must, however, mention the admirable portrait of himself in red chalk (Fig. 330) in the Royal Library at Turin; even in old age the features retain the beauty for which he had been famous, while the expression is one of bitter disenchantment.

We have seen that the number of genuine works that remain to us is exceptionally small; and it is more likely to be diminished than increased. We know that many of his authenticated works have disappeared, and even in the sixteenth century their rarity was recognised. If only half the pictures ascribed to this master in the various galleries of Europe were his work, Lomazzo and Paolo Giovio could hardly have lamented their paucity.[23]

Leonardo lived for three years in France, at Cloux, near Amboise, but no pictures of that period can be identified. He was feeble, and grew visibly weaker till his death on 2d May 1519. There can be no doubt that his studies and researches checked his productiveness as a painter; at the same time the few pictures he has left show the results of those studies in that many-sided perfection which first revealed to the world what colour and brush are capable of. [All the choicest of the Windsor Collection were lent by Her Majesty to the Burlington House Exhibition in 1879, including the studies for the Sforza statue. The Royal Academy also exhibited their cartoon, and several were sent by the Duke of Devonshire. An oil picture—a portrait of a lady—was lent, under the name of Da Vinci, by Mr. Osmaston, in the same year, and other pictures ascribed to him have been exhibited at various times; by the Marquis of Lansdowne, 1876, a very charming portrait (supposed to be by Luini); by the Duke of Devonshire, 1878 (ascribed by some critics to Beltraffio); and by other collectors.]

II. LEONARDO'S DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS[24] may be regarded as constituting a new Milanese school, though his influence and traditions ere long became the heritage of all Italy. Of his pupils in the literal sense *Andrea Sala*, known as *Salaino*, and *Francesco Melzi* are noteworthy as his personal friends rather than for their works as his scholars. *Melzi*, born in 1493, died after 1568, was a man of rank and fortune, by whom only a single drawing in the Ambrosiana can be identified; while *Salaino*, whom Leonardo mentions in his will as his "*Servitore*," was of humble birth. We first hear of him in 1495, and last in his master's will dated 1519. There are no authenticated works by him. Vasari tells us, however, that he painted some pictures, and tradition attributes to him a number of copies, more or less altered, from various pictures by Leonardo, as, for instance, a lovely composition of S. Anna with the Virgin

and Child in the Uffizi, and a S. John in the Ambrosiana. An original picture of the Virgin between SS. Peter and Paul in the Brera is ascribed to him, but on insufficient evidence. [Mr. W. Graham exhibited an undraped female figure, and Mr. Heseltine a drawing by him, in 1879.]

Other two painters of greater independence and merit—scholars of Leonardo's—are *Boltraffio* and *Marco d'Ogionno. Giov. Antonio Boltraffio* (or *Beltraffio*), a man of wealth and family, devoted himself to painting as the business of his life. He was born in 1467, and studied the elements of his art under Foppa and Civerchio. We find him, however, so early as in 1490-95, living and working with Leonardo, and in his best works he is a worthy pupil of his master in the delicacy of his modelling and chiaroscuro, as we see in the Madonna with saints and donors, of 1500, in the Louvre, which Vasari mentions as having originally been signed by the painter. Other fine examples are a figure of S. Barbara in the Berlin Museum, a Madonna in the Gallery at Pesth, grandly but finely modelled and gorgeously coloured, the Virgin and Child in the National Gallery (No. 728), and a beautiful and dignified Madonna in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan (Fig. 331). The best of his portraits is that in the Ambrosiana. If the two at Isola Bella are really by him, they prove how cold and hard he could sometimes be.[25] [A portrait at Chatsworth —"a delightful example"—was lent to the Leeds Exhibition.]

Marco d'Ogionno has left two important works on which we may form our estimate of his powers, both signed "Marcus." One in the Brera represents the Archangels triumphing over Satan; the other is a Madonna in the Bonomi-Cereda Collection, at Milan. In the Brera, too, are the two finest of the five frescoes from the Church of S. Maria della Pace—the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Marriage at Cana, besides several other of his pictures. There is a good example in the Berlin Gallery—a Madonna picture with saints; and a charming picture at Hampton Court (No. 64), in which the Infant Christ and S. John are kissing, has been ascribed to him.[26] Most of the early copies of Leonardo's Last Supper are said to be by him. His connection with that master is always very perceptible, but his figures have more action and less feeling. His modelling is harder and his colour cruder. [A portrait, belonging to Mr. F. Cook, was exhibited at the Old Masters' Exhibition, in 1875.]

Two painters who began as followers of Leonardo, but who subsequently came under other influences, are *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi*, called *Sodoma*, and *Cesare da Sesto*. Bazzi, however, became an important master of the Siena school.

Of *Cesare da Sesto's* life little is known. He was born between 1475 and 1480, and seems to have wandered much between Florence and Rome; it is not till a later date that we identify him as a painter, in works executed from 1508-20. In these we find him at first imitating Leonardo, and then imitating and even borrowing from Raphael. As examples of the former

vein, a large picture of the Baptism of Christ, vouched for by Vasari's mention of it, is in the possession of Duke Scotti at Milan, a sweet Madonna among others, in the Brera, another at the Hermitage, S. Petersburg, and a Salome at Vienna.[27] An infusion of Raphael's influence is perceptible in the Adora-

Fig. 331.

tion of the Kings in the Naples Museum, and is very pronounced in a large altar-piece in the collection of Duke Melzi at Milan; this, too, is authenticated by Vasari. His drawings may be seen in various galleries. In style and type this master varied greatly, but he never sacrificed his own peculiarly sweet and tender sentiment.

A painter who is interesting not merely as a fellow-worker with Cesare da Sesto, but as the one landscape painter, strictly speaking, of Leonardo's school, is *Bernezzano*[28] (or, as Lomazzo writes it, *Barnezzano*). Where it was that Lomazzo saw his mural painting, in which the strawberries were so lifelike

that peacocks tried to eat them, he does not say; but he and Vasari both expressly state that Bernezzano executed the beautiful landscape in the altar-piece by Cesare da Sesto just mentioned as being in the Melzi Collection, and from that we may appreciate his accuracy of observation and feeling for natural beauty.

Other artists who, without being in any strict sense Leonardo's disciples,

Fig. 332.

were open to his powerful influence were *Bernardino de' Conti*, already discussed (*ante*, p. 435), *Ambrosius de Predis*, who need only be mentioned, and *Giov. Pietro Ricci*, known too as *Pedrini*, or as *Giampietrino*, whose works—mean in drawing and chalky in colour—are scarce out of Italy (Fig. 332). [Two small panels in the possession of Mr. John Murray, both Madonnas, were exhibited at Burlington House in 1875, and are interesting from their rarity.]

III. Three more important masters of this group must now occupy us—*Andrea Solari*, *Bernardino Luini*, and *Gaudenzio Ferrari*. *Solari*,[29] born probably at Milan about 1460, was a descendant of a family of artists; Cristoforo Solari, the sculptor, was his elder brother. In 1490 Andrea went with him to Venice, where he at first worked under Giovanni Bellini, and it

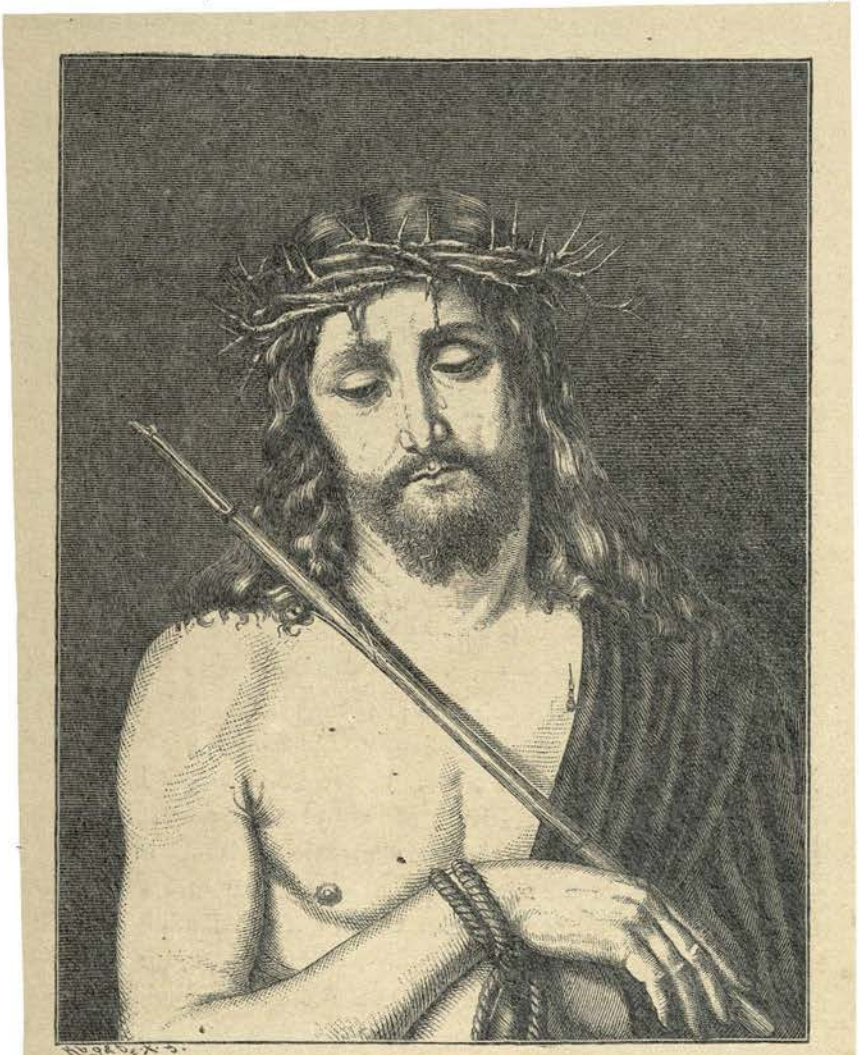


Fig. 333.

was at Venice that he acquired the practice of signing his pictures on a "Cartellino" or painted label. On his return to Milan he was wholly captivated by the charm of Leonardo, and though he never quite equalled him in the perfection of his method, he achieved exceptional success in combining firm and tender modelling with a "sfumato" execution and marvellous skill in the treatment of light and shade. In 1507, when Maréchal Chaumont sent

him to decorate the chapel in his castle of Gaillon, he was considered next to Luini, as the worthiest follower of Da Vinci. His works there, finished in 1509, are destroyed. His subsequent history is unknown; the fact that some critics have detected Flemish influence in his later works affords no clue to his career.[30] The latest date on any picture by him is 1515. One of his earliest works, a Madonna, in the Brera, was long ascribed to Bellini, and this and another small Madonna in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection must have been painted between 1485 and 1490; another picture done under Venetian inspiration is the portrait in the National Gallery (No. 923) of a Venetian senator, and even the Madonna, dated 1495, in the Brera, is Venetian in feeling, though the head of the Virgin is already suggestive of Leonardo. The most characteristic works of his middle period are several admirable portraits, of which that in the National Gallery (No. 734), representing Christophoro Longono (1505) is a superb example; one said to be of Maréchal Chaumont—or, according to Morelli, King Louis XII.—is in the Louvre, where the master is also represented by a Madonna, called "La Vierge au Coussin Vert," and a small Crucifixion. The grimly beautiful head of the Baptist in the same gallery was probably painted in France; it is dated 1507. His latest work—a perfect gem of Italian art—was certainly executed in Milan. It is a Riposo in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection, painted with the most exquisite fusion of tone. The altar-piece in the Certosa, near Pavia, representing the Assumption of the Virgin, is said to have been finished by another hand after his death. The landscape with the apostles grouped round the empty grave is singularly lovely.

LUINI,[31] the most productive master of this school, was born at Luino on the Lago Maggiore, between 1475 and 1480 (he signs himself Lovinus or Luvinus). Of his history we know hardly anything; he, like Solari, had probably learned the rudiments of his art before he met with Leonardo, under whose influence he worked exclusively after 1510, till about 1520 when his style became more independent. The latest mention of him is in 1533. Living to a ripe age Luini left an amazing number of frescoes and easel-pictures at Milan and in the neighbourhood. From these, notwithstanding their unequal execution—due, no doubt, to the employment of pupils—and in spite of faults of composition, and a conspicuous lack of dramatic individualisation and concentration, there is so genuine a feeling for beauty, particularly in the youthful figures, so much that is charming in his idyllic way of telling a story, and such a breath of soft and poetical sentiment, that we must regard Luini as the most successful practical exponent of Leonardo's theoretical principles.

They also enable us to trace the progress of his development. Works characteristic of his early years are the Adoration of the Kings in the Church of S. Pietro near Luino,[32] which is much injured, and of which the genuineness has been doubted; and the subjects from the Old Testament, from sacred legends, and from mythology, that he painted for the Casa la Pelucca near

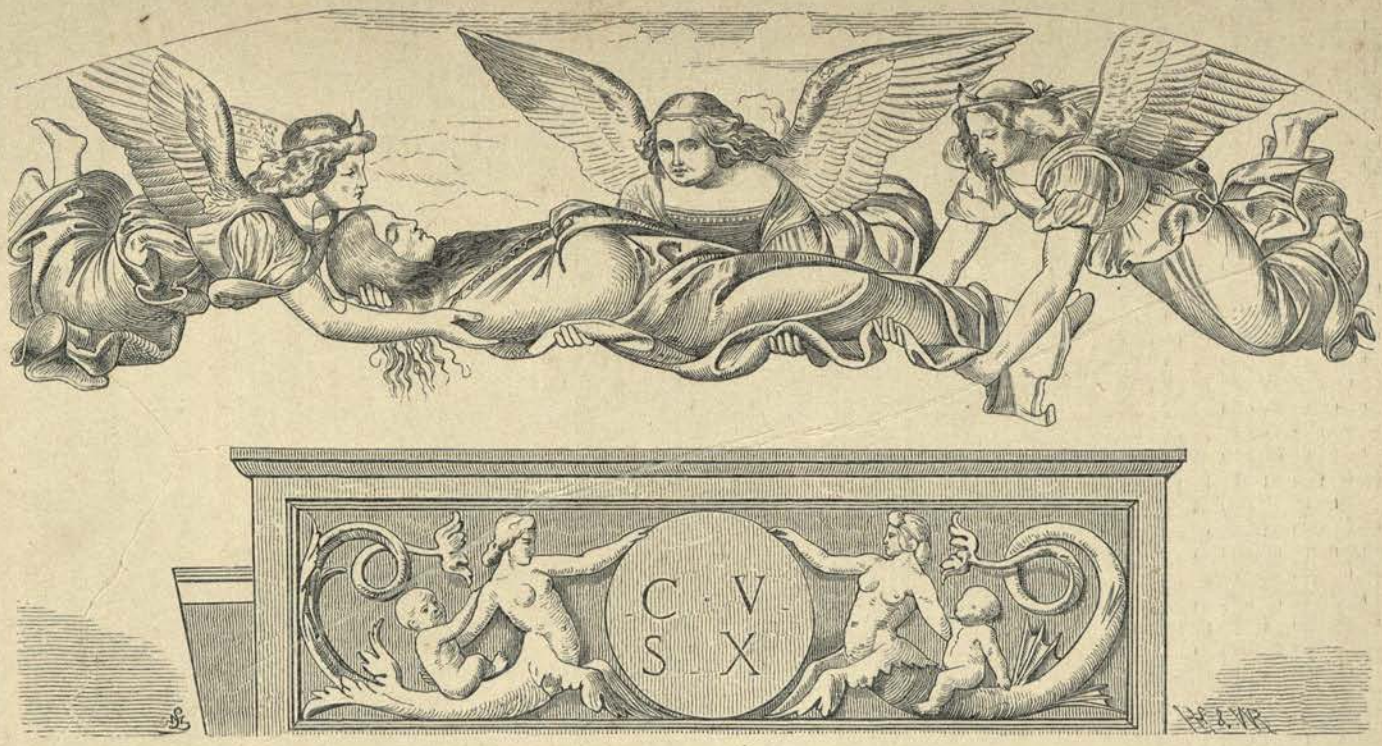


Fig. 334.

Monza. These have been removed—some to the Brera, and others to the Archæological Museum and the Palace at Milan. One fragment—Vulcan forging arms for Love—is in the Louvre. The most famous of this series is the body of S. Catherine borne by angels (Fig. 334) in the Brera. In the six frescoes in the Louvre, from the Litta Collection, Leonardo's influence is

Fig. 335.

marked, though two of them—the Adoration of the Kings and the Nativity—reveal the painter's independent power. The frescoes in the Brera from the Church of S. Maria della Pace, which had long been ascribed to Luini, and considered as striking examples of Leonardo's influence, are now claimed for Gaudenzio Ferrari.[33] After 1520, though he never loses the stamp of Leonardo's school, his works display greater independence, as we see in the

Flagellation in the Ambrosiana, begun in 1521 and finished in 1522, and in the enthroned Madonna in the Brera, both frescoes; the angel striking the lute and the Virgin and Infant in the last-named picture are divinely lovely. Between this time and 1530 Luini was employed on the decorations of the church at Saronno, between Milan and Varese, and the figures of S. Catherine and S. Apollonia, with their attendant angels, are among the very finest of his efforts. Vasari speaks with admiration of the four frescoes in the choir of this chapel; one is dated 1525. The frescoes in S. Maria degli Angeli at Lugano again are works of his best period, and though in one or two we still find reminiscences of Leonardo, in the Crucifixion, which is his greatest achievement, he shows himself quite independent and at his best. This is altogether his most important work; the arrangement of the three crosses is symmetrical; but the figures introduced in the representation of the scenes before and after the Crucifixion are so numerous that the spectator cannot for some little time distinguish and identify the various groups. Each by itself is admirable. How full of action are the soldiers who cast lots for the Saviour's raiment! (Fig. 335). How pathetic the figures of S. John and the Magdalene at the foot of the Cross! The frescoes in the Chapel of S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore) at Milan are not by the hand of the master throughout, but the best of the series are among the finest of his works.

His easel-pictures are very numerous. An early work of this kind is the *Pietà* in S. Maria della Passione at Milan, with a strong suggestion of the school of Borgognone. In the picture in the National Gallery (No. 18), Christ disputing with the Doctors, we see on the contrary a marked resemblance to Leonardo; indeed, this and a picture called Vanity and Modesty in the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome were long attributed to the greater master. Later works are the lovely Madonna with a rose-hedge, and one dated 1515, in the Brera; two gorgeously-coloured pictures of the Nativity in the Bergamo Gallery and the Berlin Museum; Tobit and the Angel in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 336), and others in various galleries. There are some fine examples of his independent style in the churches for which they were originally painted, and in the private collections in Milan and other towns of Northern Italy. A large proportion of these easel-pictures are of his Leonardesque period, and his resemblance to Da Vinci is sometimes deceptive; but on closer investigation we miss the vigour and fervour of the great founder of the school.

Among Luini's followers his three sons may be mentioned. Lomazzo speaks of *Aurelio Luini*, whose pictures—for instance, a Martyrdom of S. Vincent in the Brera, and a Madonna in the Uffizi—show him to have been a master of technical qualities, but otherwise a mere mannerist. A pupil who came much nearer to his master is *Giov. Antonio die Lagaia*, best known by his altar-piece at Ascona, in the Ticino, 1519.

A master of a very different stamp to the tender Luini, though he came

within his influence and is said to have been his pupil, was the splendour-loving *Gaudenzio Ferrari*,[84] of whom Lomazzo always speaks as a master of the first rank, classing him with *Leonardo*, *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael*, *Correggio*, and *Titian*. This position we are forced to deny him, for though his figures occasionally have a calm pure beauty almost worthy of Raphael, they are often hard in con-

Fig. 336.

tour; his colour is trenchant and gaudy, and his composition crowded. Still, he ranks high among the second-rate painters of his time; he is inventive, energetic, and dramatic; what he lacks is balance of mind, and when he most strives after ideal and simple treatment, he too often sinks into bathos or verges on extravagance. He was born about 1481 at Valduggia in the Piemontese Alps, and is said to have been a pupil of Giovenone (*ante*, p. 436), and then to have

studied under Leonardo, Perugino, and Raphael. All that is certain is that he worked at first in the school at Vercelli and was the contemporary there of *Giovenone* and of *Macrino d'Alba*, as well as of his namesake *Defendente Ferrari;* that he then fell within the charmed circle of Leonardo's influence, probably indirectly, through that of Luini, and finally was strongly impressed

Fig. 337.

by Raphael; but probably only from seeing engravings of his works, since it would seem that he never travelled from Northern Italy. When he gave up studying in Milan he painted frescoes in various towns in Piémont and Lombardy, living for some time at Varallo; in 1528 at latest he settled at Vercelli and did not return to Milan before 1536, where he died in 1545-47.

Gaudenzio's best works at Varallo are in the Church of S. Maria delle

Grazie, and especially the scenes from the Passion in the choir, where the Crucifixion is one of the noblest works of the period.[35] Of his numerous frescoes at Vercelli those in S. Cristoforo (1532-38) are remarkably grand; the Assumption of the Virgin is one of his finest. At Saronno he painted a cycle of angel musicians in the dome, above Luini's great paintings—figures overflowing with life and vigour; and he painted large subjects in many of the churches of Milan, whence several have now been removed to the Brera. His last frescoes, however, are still in their place in S. Maria delle Grazie, and show him at his best. The fine cartoons in the Turin Academy serve to complete our appreciation of the master.

The list of his easel-pictures may be headed by four small examples in the Turin Gallery (Nos. 52, 53, 57, 58); in these he appears as a Lombard painter of the transition. Then follow in order the delightful altar-piece of the Nativity in the church at Arona, 1511, the large altar-piece, 1515, in S. Gaudenzio at Novara, and the Marriage of S. Catherine in the cathedral there (Fig. 337), an unusually harmonious composition, besides others in the churches at Vercelli; that at Canobbio is, however, reckoned his finest easel-painting, and no doubt displays his best qualities as well as his faults. Of his latest period are the Baptism of Christ in S. Maria presso S. Celso, and the Martyrdom of S. Catherine in the Brera. His works are very rarely met with out of Italy, and his fame seems hardly to have reached Rome and Florence.

His most noteworthy scholars were—*Giuseppe di Amadeo Giovenone*, who worked at Varallo; *Bernardino Lanino* (or *Lanini*) at Vercelli; and *Giov. Battista della Cerva* at Milan.[36] [A Holy Family in the Nat. Gal. (No. 700) is "one of Lanino's few works out of Italy" (*Richter*).]

CHAPTER II.

MICHAEL ANGELO AND THE FLORENTINES.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI—His sublime conception of the aims of art—His love of sculpture—Birth and training—The Battle of Cascina—*The Sistine Chapel*—His disdain of effects of colour—*The Last Judgment*—Pictures in the National Gallery—Michael Angelo's followers and imitators—*Sebastiano del Piombo*—Marcello Venusti—Daniele da Volterra—His experiments in painting on stone—The contemporary Florentine school—FRA BARTOLOMMEO—His pupils and assistants—ANDREA DEL SARTO and his school—Francia Bigio—Pontormo.

I. THE mightiest artist soul that has lived and worked throughout the Christian ages is MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.[37] No other has shown as he did that art must rise supreme above nature, or has lifted it to a higher level, reflecting truth in a purified ideal. His strong and lofty subjectivity places him in marked contrast to Leonardo da Vinci, whose capacious and objective mind embraces all creation, and at the same time observes every minutest detail of inanimate nature. Michael Angelo saw only the grand total, never noting details. He studied man alone and for his own sake; even the story he has to tell is only a secondary consideration; the structure and action of the human frame is the first, and it was all-sufficient in his hands. He treats the figure as ornament when he needs it; uses as he might a tree, to fill up the background; but at the same time it is to him the expression of the sublimest conceptions of his mind. His incomparable mastery of anatomy was based on a course of study such as no painter before him, and perhaps none since, ever carried out; and he employed his knowledge—particularly in his later years—in giving to the muscles a variety and vigour of action, with the boldest balance of proportion and attitude, which reach the utmost verge of what is anatomically and mechanically possible; but which never, as a competent modern anatomist has assured us, go beyond it.[38] His figures assume positions which the Greeks, who studied only from the living and moving model, could never have conceived of, and Michael Angelo uses them to express wholly modern veins of thought and feeling; they reveal him as an original, and masterful, nay, an arbitrary thinker, who stands aloof from every school, always and essentially himself. And his originality is based on a mighty intellect, his masterfulness on a lofty purity, his arbitrary will on high and earnest aims. To his contemporaries his power was irresistible, and to us he is still as fresh, as stupendous, and as unique as if we had seen his dawn and rise.

Michael Angelo, like Leonardo, was one of the most many-sided men of

his time, but he brought all his various faculties to bear on his art. He was, indeed, above all things an artist, and, as an artist, a master of architecture, sculpture, painting, and poetry. The imperishable glory of the dome of S. Peter's displays his genius as an architect; as a sculptor we have the comparatively simple works of his earlier period—the Virgin at Bruges, the *Pietà* in S. Peter's, the David at Florence; and the more characteristic achievements of his mature age—the figures for the tomb of Julius II., the mighty Moses in S. Pietro in Vincoli, and the tombs of the Medici in S. Lorenzo at Florence. Guasti's collection of his verses show us what he was as a poet.[39] In this place, however, we have to study this great man exclusively as a painter, and it is interesting to note that though he began his artistic career as a painter in the studio of a man who did nothing but paint, his instincts, both during his hot youth and his ripest maturity, were those of a sculptor, and on the purely academical question as to whether painting or sculpture was the higher art he was as decidedly on the side of plastic as Leonardo was in favour of pictorial art. When Julius II. insisted on his painting he was furious, and even while engaged on his greatest works at Rome he ostentatiously signed all his letters "*Michelangiolo Scultore in Roma.*" He saw afterwards that the whole question was a war of words, and that each art had its own prerogatives;[40] in these later days he still found himself under the necessity of wielding the brush rather than the chisel, which he could only take up in leisure hours, and we cannot but own that his greatest creations remain to us as paintings in which he reveals himself at his noblest and best. At the same time it must be admitted that those paintings are based on the laws of plastic rather than of pictorial art. He no more thought of representing space and distance than of the elaboration of a detailed foreground; his treatment of colour is broadly massive, and he disdained all the artifice of atmospheric effects. His pictures represent the human form under every variety of impulse, but nothing else; his subjectivity is always conspicuous, and he makes no attempt to disguise his instincts as a sculptor.

Michael Angelo Buonarroti was born at Caprese in 1475 (or, according to the old Florentine style, 1474). His father, a scion of a noble Florentine family, returned to Florence soon after the birth of his son, and there the lad grew up and got his schooling. It was on the 1st of April 1498 that he entered the studio of the famous painter Domenico Ghirlandaio (*ante*, p. 315), and afterwards, when the collection of antiques in the garden of San Marco had fired his imagination, he studied sculpture under Bertoldo, a disciple of Donatello's. Lorenzo the Magnificent, the greatest of the Medici, soon had his eye on the lad and had him educated in his palace with his own sons under the care of Poliziano, the finest scholar of his time. From 1496 till 1500 Michael Angelo was in Rome for the first time, and proved himself the greatest sculptor the world had seen since the days of Praxiteles and Lysippos; then he spent five years in Florence. In 1505 he was summoned to return to Rome by Pope

Julius II.; in the following year the great pope and the great artist had quarrelled, and Michael Angelo hastily went back to Florence, but they soon after met at Bologna, and 1508 saw them in Rome together once more.

The pope then commissioned the master, who had hitherto been employed on some grand works of sculpture, to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Julius died in 1513, and his successor, Leo X.—Giovanni de' Medici—made many plans for the employment of Michael Angelo, but he did not know how to take full advantage of his genius. In 1516 he sent him to Florence to design and construct the façade of the Church of S. Lorenzo, and the artist did not settle in Rome again till eighteen years later. During this period he was at Carrara, at Genoa, at Venice, at Pisa, and for brief intervals in Rome, but his residence was at Florence; there he became a member of the Academy. In 1521 he was one of the Supreme Council, and in 1529, when Pope Clement VII.'s army was marching on Florence, he was appointed to superintend the fortifications. For this he was subsequently pardoned by the pontiff, but it was not till the year of Clement's death, 1534, that he returned to Rome, where he died. Paul III. appointed him superintendent of architecture, sculpture, and painting in the papal palace, and these were his happiest years, graced by the friendship and society of Vittoria Colonna, who died in 1547. He survived not only Paul III. but his successors Julius III. and Paul IV., dying in 1563, aged eighty-eight, full of honours and working to the last. His body was conveyed to Florence and laid in the Church of S. Croce.

As a painter his grandest and best works are his decorative mural paintings. His first important task was at Florence. The two principal walls of the great Council Hall were to be painted with battle-pieces taken from the history of the city; one of these was entrusted to Leonardo da Vinci and the other to Michael Angelo. The cartoon was ready by 1505; then the commands of Julius II. hindered the execution of the work, but the design remained on view and excited the admiration of all his contemporaries; unhappily it was soon after divided into fragments, of which only a few remained even in the following century. At the present time only a portion of it is known at all, and that by the engravings of Marc Antonio and Agostino Veneziano (Fig. 338). There is a slight first sketch in pen and ink in the Albertina, and several studies in red chalk or pen and ink exist in different collections.[41] The subject was the Battle of Cascina, fought in 1364 between the Florentines and Pisans. The Florentines had plunged into the river to refresh themselves when the foe fell upon them; they seized their clothes and arms and victoriously repulsed the enemy. Thus, even in representing a fight the master carefully selected an incident which might require the treatment of the naked human figure, and the studies that remain prove that he drew them from the living model.

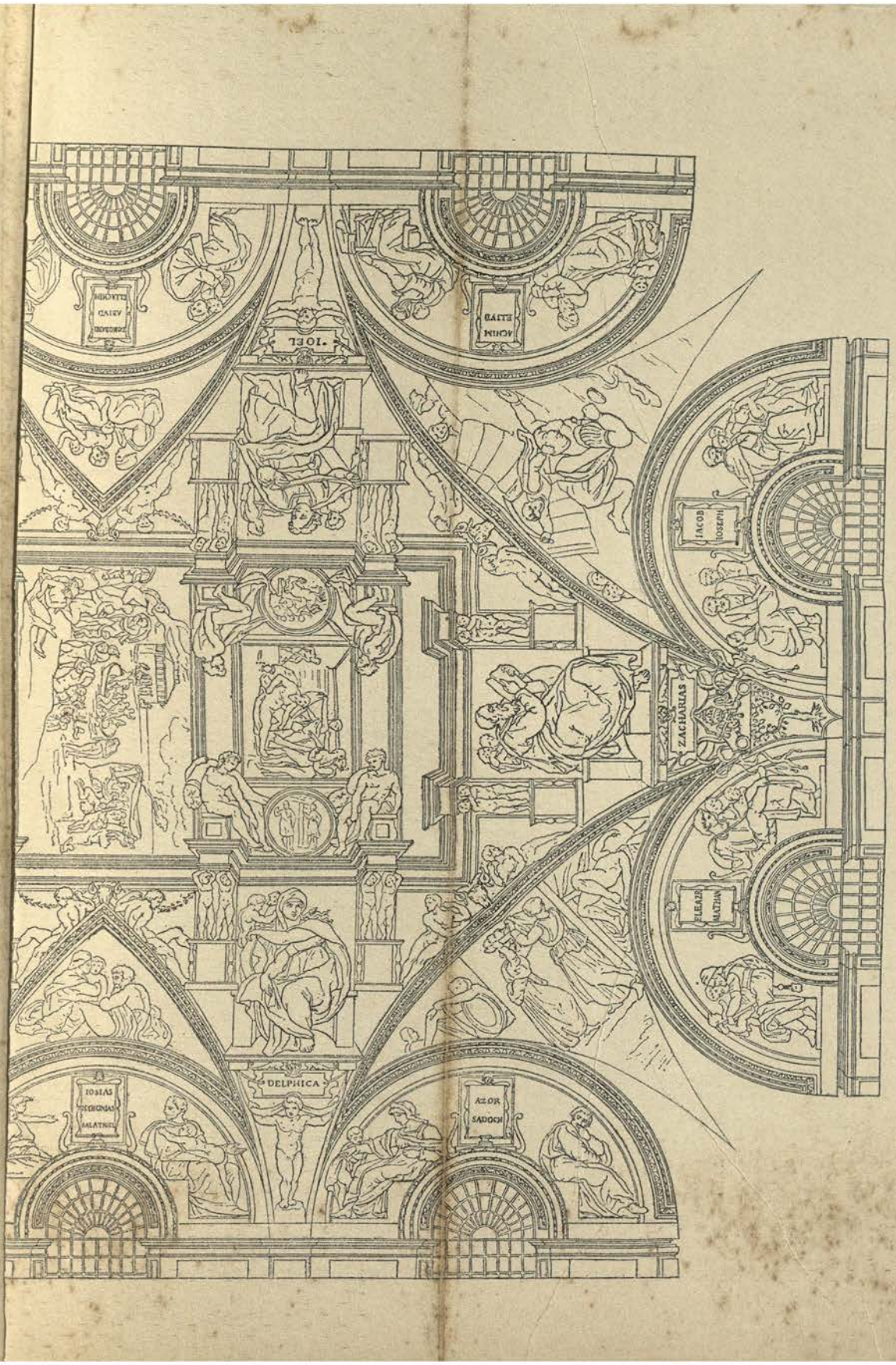
The next great work was the decoration of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel; the walls had already been painted under the direction of its founder Sixtus V.

by the most distinguished of the earlier Tuscan and Umbrian painters. Julius II. had given Michael Angelo the commission in 1506, but it was not till 1508

Fig. 338.

that he went unwillingly to work. It was completed, however, by the autumn of 1512,[42] and when it was uncovered no one doubted that it was the greatest work ever achieved by the palette and brush.

The ceiling (Fig. 339) has been described again and again. The master's


IOEL
ACHIM
ELIUD
IACOB
IOSEPH
ZACHARIAS
ELEAZA
MATHAN
DELPHICA
IOSIAS
AZOR
SADOCH

first care was to break up the space by a grandly conceived architectural design; this was supplied by the thrones of the prophets and sibyls. The central portion is divided by cross-beams into nine panels—four large, and five small; these five are intentionally reduced by the introduction of medallions painted in imitation of bronze, and the magnificently athletic figures which support these medallions, sitting or leaning on the pilasters that rise from the plinth-like arms of the thrones. All have their heads—as the prophets themselves have—towards the centre; while the figures in the panels all gravitate, so to speak, towards the end wall, on which Michael Angelo subsequently painted the Last Judgment. These figures, beyond holding up the medallions, have none but a decorative purpose, like the rest of the figures in bronze or stone colour, or in natural carnations, which are lavishly introduced in every portion of the surface that is

Fig. 340.

not occupied by the pictures properly speaking; the master has simply used these splendidly vigorous and beautiful beings in lieu of arabesques or floral ornament to frame in the Biblical subjects; they are there the embodiment, so to speak, of the genius of architecture.

The scheme of the cycle of subjects filling the nine chief panels has evidently been planned on mediæval traditions, to harmonise with the subjects on the walls, where, on one side, they are taken from the Old Testament story after the Mosaic dispensation—*sub lege*—and on the other from the New Testament—*sub gratia*. All that was lacking was an antecedent series—*ante legem*.[43] These Michael Angelo worked out in scenes from the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood, and the story as he has represented it stamps itself indelibly on the mind of all succeeding generations. The four large panels contain the Creation of the Sun and Moon (Fig. 340); the Creation of Man; the Fall of Man, and the Expulsion from Paradise; and the Deluge (Fig. 341). The five intermediate

smaller pictures represent the Parting of Light from Darkness; the Creation of Animal Life; the Creation of Eve (Fig. 342); an Offering of Sacrifice; and Noah's Drunkenness. It is remarkable that the last three pictures at this end of the ceiling are more full of figures on a smaller scale than the others; they

Fig. 341.

were painted first and then the master perceived that the effect from below was inadequate.

The four corner spandrils also contain historical subjects connected with this series—the Healing of the Pestilence by the Brazen Serpent; the Crucifixion of Haman; Judith with the Head of Holofernes; and David cutting off the Head of Goliath. Never had any artist told so much, so graphically, with so few figures, or with such natural ease, in such a restricted space.

While the nude predominates in the historical scenes, in the figures in the coving we have a grandiose series of studies in drapery; these are figures of the prophets Jonah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zachariah, Isaiah, and Daniel, and the Persian, Erythræan (Fig. 343), Delphic, Cumæan, and Libyan sibyls; the most stupendously grand single figures in the whole realm of art—superhuman in their colossal majesty and attended by god-like children. Indeed, the way in which they at once fulfil the conditions of decorative design and carry out the sublime idea that animates the whole scheme is worthy of the genius that could first conceive and then solve so vast a problem. The groups in the lunettes

Fig. 342.

above the frescoes represent the families of Christ's Ancestry with perfect simplicity and a marvellous variety and accommodation of the figures to the space.

The whole of this ceiling he painted with his own hand; he sent back the assistants whom he had written for to Florence—among them men of such note as Bugiardini and Granacci—because their work did not satisfy him. He chose, too, to make his own experiments in fresco-painting; at first he put too much water in the lime, and Condivi tells us that *Giuliano da Sangallo* assisted him with his advice in this difficulty. He finished the whole in fresco, but before he could touch it up with dry colour—a process which was more widely used than is generally admitted—he was prevented by the pope's impatience

Fig. 343.

to see the effect of the whole. When subsequently the pontiff desired that the colour should be heightened by the introduction of ultramarine and gilding,

Fig. 344.

Michael Angelo refused to reconstruct the scaffolding and the work remained in its first state—an untouched fresco. It is now more than three centuries and a half since it was finished; the smoke of tapers has darkened it and the plaster has cracked; still, though its original colouring was no doubt fresher and brighter, that was certainly not the master's first consideration; the drawing was what he trusted to for the effect, and that impresses us with a sense of power and truth which makes us forget while we study it that there is any other work of art worth looking at.

A few of the studies for the figures are in the University Galleries at Oxford; eight pages of a book in which the painter has sketched his ideas in chalk or pen and ink are particularly precious.[44]

It was not till twenty-two years later that Michael Angelo began the great picture of the Last Judgment on the end wall of the Sistine Chapel. It was in the first instance a commission from Clement VII., and the cartoon was prepared for him; but the painting was only begun in the reign of Paul III. In 1535, at the latest, the master set to work alone on what is perhaps the greatest fresco in the world, and by the end of seven years[45] had finished it. It was uncovered for the Christmas festival of 1541, and took the world by storm. The master has shown us the Day of Judgment as the *Dies Iræ* and Christ as the wrathful Judge—a youthful beardless figure of Herculean frame, such as none but Michael Angelo would have dared to conceive of. The Virgin sits shrinking by His side (Fig. 344). In this stupendous work, containing more than a hundred heads, Michael Angelo has given the reins to his imagination and individuality. A homogeneous treatment of the whole space has not been aimed at; each group is admirably composed in itself, but each must be studied by itself, as though they were groups of sculpture. Those in the middle and lower portions are especially fine. Figures in every conceivable attitude and action are seen suspended, as it were, in space, which offers no impediment to movements and attitudes never seen in real life. The boldest originality is shown in his venturing to represent the awful drama by entirely nude figures, and even to suggest the perfection of eternal bliss by the freer and more beautiful development of the redeemed. It is quite comprehensible that such a conception should rouse indignant opposition; the only wonder is perhaps that Paul IV. should finally have rested satisfied with having the most conspicuous nudities veiled with draperies by Michael Angelo's pupil, *Daniele da Volterra*. Repainting and smoke have now utterly disfigured the work; it is but the shade of its original self.

Michael Angelo's last frescoes were executed between 1542 and 1550, not without interruptions from illness, in the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican; they are two enormous pictures on a colossal scale—the Conversion of S. Paul (Fig. 345) and the Crucifixion of S. Peter. In both these subjects the master has selected the moment of intensest action, and the least practised eye at once

detects that in later life he indulged the caprice of unlimited power, which in his hands was the outcome of absolute sureness, but in those of his imitators degenerated into painful mannerism.

Fig. 345.

Michael Angelo's easel-pictures are too few to detain us long. Vasari and Condivi tell us that the first picture he ever painted before entering Ghirlandaio's studio was a coloured copy of Martin Schongauer's Temptation of S. Anthony.

Of those now extant the Entombment in the National Gallery is perhaps the earliest.[46] This is unfinished; the Madonna in the same collection (Fig. 346),

Fig. 346.

generally accepted as genuine, is also an early work by his own hand. It is executed in light tones and in *tempera secco*. The composition is grandly simple; the gravity of the heads is stern and almost scornful. Michael

Angelo's biographers speak of two pictures painted by his own hand; one is the circular Madonna picture in the Uffizi (Fig. 347), executed in 1504 for Ser Angelo Doni of Florence; a thoroughly characteristic feature is the introduction, simply as filling up the background, of five naked youths; the free vigour of

Fig. 347.

the Virgin's action is no less his own, and the cool pale colouring, with the perfection of the modelling, reveals the master who has studied nature with the eye of a sculptor. The other picture—which is said to have been painted in 1529-30 for the Duke of Ferrara—represented Leda with the Dioscurides coming out of the egg; it has disappeared.[47]

The pictures now existing under this great name in the various galleries of Europe are at best by the master's scholars from his sketches, but as a rule

they are merely copies. We may, however, mention some compositions originally his, and extant either as sketches by him or in reproductions whether paintings or engravings. To begin with some that are authenticated by Vasari and Condivi; in his early Roman time he executed the cartoon, now lost, of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and in his later Roman period he made several drawings for his younger friend Tommaso Cavallieri and for Vittoria Colonna. Of the former he made a life-size portrait—the only likeness he ever took, according to Vasari—and it was for him that he drew Ganymede borne through the air on Jove's eagle; Prometheus, at whose vitals the vultures of hell are gnawing; the Fall of Phaeton; and a Bacchanalian scene of children. For Vittoria Colonna he did a *Pietà*, the Virgin at the foot of the Cross, near the body of Christ supported by two angels; Christ on the Cross, an amazingly powerful figure of which there is a replica—not by the master's hand—at Oxford; and Christ at the Well with the Woman of Samaria. A drawing of Christ on the Mount of Olives was among the master's possessions at the time of his death. Here, too, may be included two compositions which can only be attributed to him—first the Gods shooting with the Arrows of Love, a fresco executed by Raphael's pupils in the Borghese Palace, and the Dream of Human Life, of which there are two paintings, one in the National Gallery (No. 8) and one in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Besides these he designed some Holy Families.[48] Whether the Fates, in the Pitti Palace, is by him is very doubtful; but a cartoon of Cupid kissing Venus, in the Naples Museum, is esteemed genuine, and his drawings are not rare in various collections; the most important are in the British Museum, in the Louvre, at Windsor, in the Albertina, the Ambrosiana, the Venice Academy, the Musée Wicar at Lille,[49] and chiefly in the University Galleries at Oxford. [The treasures of Her Majesty's collection and of the Oxford Galleries were exhibited at Burlington House in 1879. Among the drawings lent from Windsor were the "Prometheus," executed for Tommaso Cavallieri, and the sketch for the Borghese fresco.]

Michael Angelo's strongly-marked individuality was of its nature inimitable; no one could see the world as he saw it, and those who tried to adopt his treatment of the figure without seeing as he saw fell into conventionality and mannerism. Hence he could not be the founder of a school; still he dragged his contemporaries away with him; they fell under his spell almost unconsciously, and the result was inevitable—they were mannerists.

We can here only mention a few of the painters of the latter half of the century whose close connection with Michael Angelo brought them under his direct influence.

II. Of these by far the most important was *Sebastiano Veneziano*, as Vasari calls him, and as he signed himself, whose family name was *Luciani;* he is better known, however, as *Sebastiano del Piombo*, a name he acquired from

having held late in life the office of Keeper of the Leaden Seals.[50] He was born in Venice about 1485, and, as Vasari tells us, he studied first under Giov. Bellini and then under Giorgione; on his earliest known work, a *Pietà*, in the possession of Sir H. Layard at Venice, he proclaims himself a scholar of Bellini's,[51] while his *Santa Conversazione* in the Church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice, is one of the most Giorgione-like works of the school, from the sensual type of its beauty and the golden tone of its colouring. Sebastiano having been invited to Rome by the great banker, Antonio Chigi, to assist in the decoration of his palace, afterwards famous as the Villa Farnesina, he painted on the ceilings of the garden Loggie eight subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, representing the Realm of Air[52] in mythological scenes, and these pictures bear the stamp of Giorgione's school, though they are not very happily executed; indeed, they met with so little acceptance that when, a year later, he painted with no better success a Polyphemus in the hall of the palace, as a pendant to Raphael's Galatea, he obtained no more commissions.[53] He remained in Rome, however, endeavouring to compete with Raphael by attaching himself to Michael Angelo and by engrafting Venetian richness of colour on to the types of the mighty Florentine. Unconsciously, too, he gained much from Raphael, and rapidly developed into one of the finest portrait-painters the world has known, besides becoming a historical painter of an eclectic character, which won him the enthusiastic suffrages of some, at least, of his contemporaries. The Venetian sentiment is predominant in the Holy Family belonging to Lord Northbrook; in the *Pietà* in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg—a fine work full of figures, and signed—Venetian feeling and a vigour of drawing that reminds us of Michael Angelo are harmoniously combined and balanced. After this he painted a number of pictures for which the sketches were more or less suggested by Michael Angelo himself. Vasari tells us that Buonarroti designed the singular *Pietà* still extant in the Church of S. Francesco at Viterbo. He also says, and the letters of the two painters prove, that Michael Angelo sketched only certain portions of the Resurrection of Lazarus[54] in the National Gallery (Fig. 348). This work, executed in 1519, was at once recognised as one of the great works of the period; the momentous event is worthily treated and with due concentration of purpose. The whole scene is full of eager vitality, and it is painted with all the skill of which Sebastiano was master. The broad ease of the Venetian handling has, however, given way to an almost metallic smoothness, and the rich deep colouring is lost in a colder but still very effective chiaroscuro. Michael Angelo also supplied the first sketch for the pictures in a Chapel of S. Pietro in Montorio (Rome); in the cupola a Transfiguration (in fresco), and in the apse the Flagellation (in oils)—a very striking composition that has been repeatedly copied.

The success of this attempt to employ oil in mural paintings was a revelation to Sebastiano; but it was in vain that he tried to interest Michael Angelo in the use of this technique, and to persuade him to adopt it for his

Fig. 348.

Last Judgment—nay, it even led to a breach in their friendship; but he himself, as soon as he had executed the great commissions he had received for works in

other Roman churches, devoted his attention to the application of oil painting on stone, as being more durable than wood or canvas. The unfinished Holy Family, for instance, in the Naples Museum, is on slate—a particularly inter-

Fig. 349.

esting work as showing the influence, though transient, of Raphael. Of his later treatment of sacred subjects there is an example in the Salutation in the Louvre, painted in 1521—a powerful work, still showing reminiscences of Michael Angelo, but cold and heavy in treatment; this, however, is on canvas. The

Ecce Homo, with a cross, in the Madrid Museum, another in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg, and a *Pietà* in the Berlin Gallery are on stone.

The same course of development and change is observable in his portraits, with this difference: that in this branch of his art he was forced to be independent of Buonarroti. The delightful portrait in the Uffizi (Fig. 349), formerly called the Fornarina and ascribed to *Raphael*, but now universally attributed to Sebastiano, is dated 1512, and has all the character of his early Venetian style; similar in work is the fine female portrait in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim. There is a whole series of portraits of popes, in which we see a constant progress in breadth and firmness of modelling, and in the gravity and simplicity of colour and harmony. Examples exist in the Museums at Naples, Parma, Rome, Arezzo, Florence, and elsewhere. In the National Gallery we have a portrait of a lady with the attributes of S. Agatha, and one of the finest portraits ever painted is that of the Doge Andrea Doria in the Palazzo Doria (Rome). Several of his portraits were done on slate. After his appointment in 1531 with a comfortable revenue, Sebastiano, who had never been a facile worker, almost ceased to paint, but he did not die till 1547. [The Holy Family belonging to Lord Northbrook (see p. 501) was in the Old Masters Exhibition in 1870, "one of the finest examples of this master in England, grand and grave in feeling and superbly composed."]

Marcello Venusti of Mantua,[55] after studying under *Perino del Vaga*, became an imitator of Michael Angelo. His early style may be seen in the Coronation of S. Catherine in the Church of S. Agostino, and some pictures in S. Caterina ai Funari at Rome. His next works were some paintings from his master's designs,—for instance, the Annunciation in the Lateran; then he executed the copy of the Last Judgment in the Sistine, which is at Naples, and finally produced some original works; imitated from Buonarroti, in various Roman churches. His first style is marked by careful attention to details; in his later works he aims at breadth and simplicity, but his colour is cold and his drawing unimpressive. He died during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. (1572-85). [A *Pietà* belonging to Mr. W. Graham was exhibited in 1879, and a picture ascribed to Venusti, from a design by Michael Angelo, is in the Liverpool Royal Institution.]

Daniele Ricciarelli, born about 1509, died 1566, is better known as *Daniele da Volterra*[56]—his native town; he seems to have been a pupil of Sodoma's before he became a follower of Michael Angelo. His *Justitia* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Volterra might be taken for a work by Sodoma if it were not signed. He afterwards distinguished himself in sculpture as well as in painting. It was his graceless task to clothe the nakedness of the figures in his master's Last Judgment, which gained him the nickname *Il Braghettone*, the breeches-maker. His best and best-known picture is the Descent from the Cross in the Church of S. Trinità de' Monti, of which Lanzi writes in high praise. It is,

Fig. 350.

in fact, a grand composition, full of vigour and emotional power (Fig. 350), and has impressed many successive generations. His frescoes in the same church, of scenes from the life of the Virgin, are very inferior. A singular piece of work is the slate panel in the Louvre, painted on both sides with David killing Goliath—a whimsical attempt to reproduce the effects of sculpture by painting.

III. MICHAEL ANGELO'S CONTEMPORARIES IN FLORENCE.[57]—The two greatest masters of Florence had quitted their native city—Leonardo for Milan, and Buonarroti for Rome. Still some masters of high merit remained to form a true Florentine school at this the most glorious period of Italian art. The most influential perhaps of these faithful sons of Florence was *Fra Bartolommeo*,[58] whose fame extended far beyond her precincts; nay, Raphael himself owed some of his greatness to him. *Baccio della Porta* was born in, or close to, Florence in 1475. His master was Cosimo Roselli, in whose studio he formed a lifelong friendship with *Mariotto Albertinelli*, who subsequently worked with him. In the last years of the century Baccio became a warm adherent of Savonarola, and after the reformer's martyrdom in 1498 he himself joined the Dominican Order, and under the name of *Fra Bartolommeo* he set up a studio in the Convent of S. Marco for the production of religious pictures, in which Albertinelli was his colleague from 1509 till 1512. Fra Bartolommeo never quitted his cloister for any length of time; he was in Venice for a while in 1508, and at a later period he visited Rome; he spent the summers of 1514, 1515, and 1517 at Pian di Mugnone, for the sake of his health, and died in October 1517.

He soon emancipated himself from the style of his first master, feeling the charm of Perugino's greater simplicity and religious fervour, and of Leonardo's sense of form and technical skill. Still, all that is best in his development is visibly the outcome of his own truthful instincts and innate feeling for beauty and purity. His range of subjects was limited; excepting the portrait of Savonarola, still preserved in the Convent of S. Marco, he hardly painted anything but religious pictures, though some of his saints have portrait heads. History, mythology, and allegory were out of his ken, and as a follower of Savonarola he never represented the nude, though he studied from it before clothing his figures with drapery, and even adopted the naked child-angels of the period instead of the robed but older angels of the fifteenth century. Nor has he any dramatic vein; his principal works are all devotional, but within these limits he is quite admirable. He exalted the realistic severity of the preceding period to an idealism which, being inspired by nature, never degenerated into conventionality or mannerism; he composed his groups with a true sense of beauty and adopted the richer technique of oil painting instead of tempera; indeed, he was the first real colourist of the Florentine school. He was, too, one of the first to make a study of drapery, and is said to have invented the

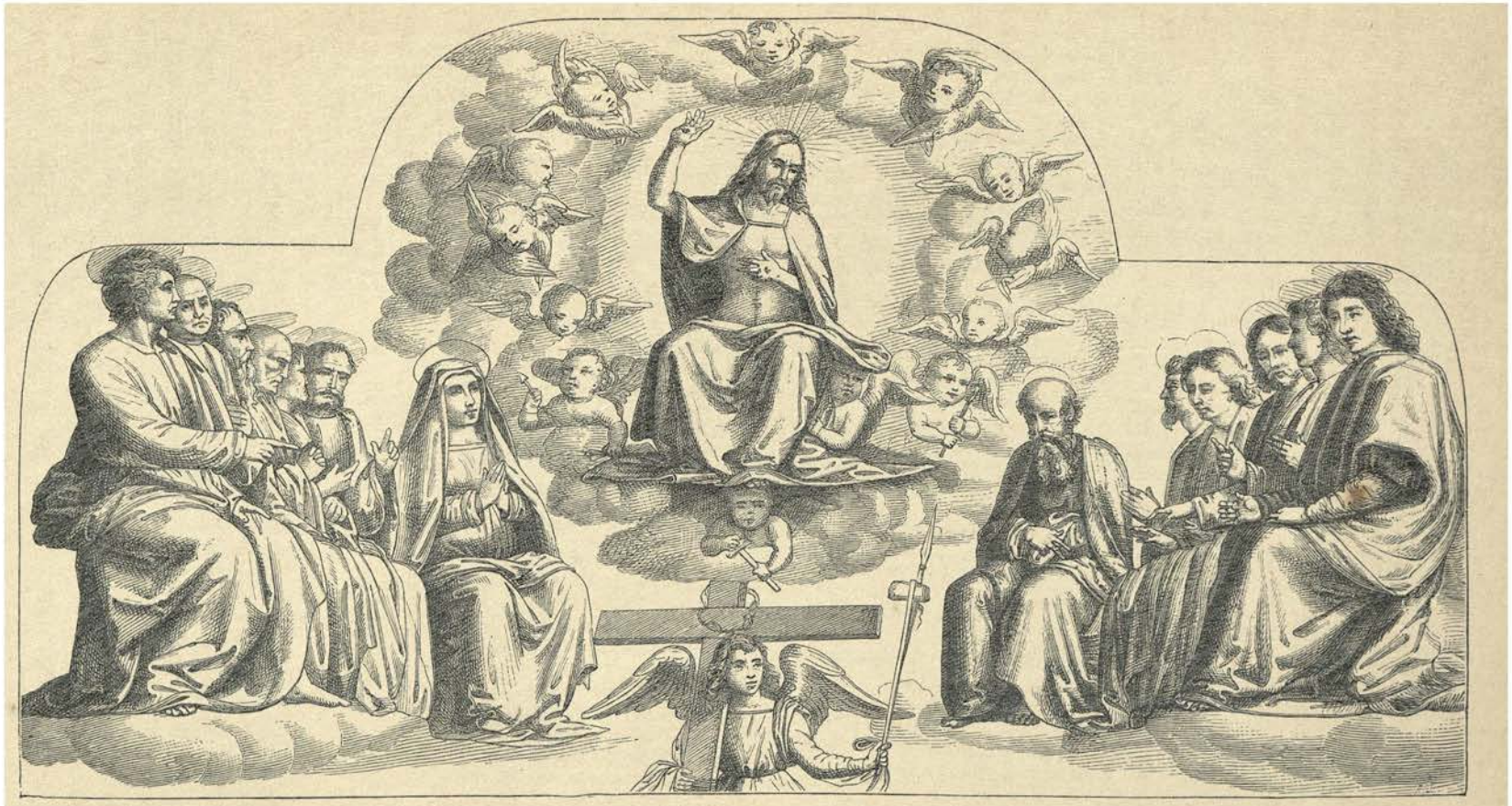


Fig. 351.

use of the lay figure; still, through all his feeling for beauty, we are aware of an ascetic vein that reminds us of the work of earlier painters.

Of his first period, until his taking monastic vows in 1500, we have a considerable number of drawings,[59] and a fresco of the Last Judgment in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, of which the lower portion was finished by *Mariotto Albertinelli.* The upper half (Fig. 351) marked a new point of departure in the school. Christ sits enthroned, surrounded by cherubic heads; to His right and left are ranged the Virgin and the twelve apostles. Every figure is grandly conceived and yet full of individuality; the arrangement is symmetrical, while the actions are easy and natural. His second period may be reckoned from 1504, after a pause of nearly five years, till the close of his connection with Albertinelli in 1512. The first picture he painted at this time is the Vision of S. Bernard in the Florence Academy—a delicately finished work with no trace of the freedom of his later style. To this period too may be assigned the Holy Family in the possession of Lord Cowper at Panshanger [exhibited in 1881]; the majestic Madonna enthroned with four saints in S. Marco, Florence; and two pictures of 1508 at Lucca, one in the gallery and one in the cathedral—the Virgin between the Baptist and S. Stephen (Fig. 352), both of which show the influence of his visit to Venice in 1508. In the cathedral Madonna the master's genius is fully revealed. The composition is still somewhat rigid, but the figures are free and gracious, and though the little minstrel at the foot of the throne wears his robe the two that float above appear in innocent nudity.

We must try to separate the works of this period in which *Albertinelli* had a hand from those painted entirely by the master himself, though it is difficult to distinguish them. The studio works, properly speaking, on which *Fra Paolino* may also have worked, are signed with a monogram of two rings linked together and a cross. To this class the Madonna in the Church of S. Catherine at Pisa; the Annunciation in S. Madeleine at Geneva, 1511; the Madonna in the Borghese Gallery, 1511; the Holy Family in the Corsini Palace, Florence; the Virgin with six saints in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, 1510; the Marriage of S. Catherine in the Pitti, 1512; and the Assumption of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum, all seem to belong. The great Marriage of S. Catherine in the Louvre, on the contrary, 1511, seems to be entirely by the master himself, and the concentrated spiritual purpose entitles it to rank as one of his very finest works. One of his frescoes in S. Marco may also be assigned to this period. The remaining five years of his life may be regarded as forming a third period of his art, though the frescoes at Pian di Mugnone and in his convent are inferior to his altar-pieces. In these he never falls below the standard of his great picture in the Louvre, and they prove that his powers did not diminish with his failing health. Among his finest works may be mentioned the S. Mark, painted in 1514, in the Pitti Gallery, and the S.

Sebastian, 1515, in private hands at Bezenas. Both betray the influence of Michael Angelo; the second, a magnificent study of the nude, so scandalised the monks of S. Marco that they refused to keep it, and it passed into France, where it was long supposed to be lost. A large picture ordered by the Signoria

Fig. 352.

for the Palazzo Pubblico unfortunately remained unfinished, but the composition, completely under-painted in bistre, is one of the most splendid altar-pieces ever designed. This highly instructive work is in the Uffizi; in this all the figures are as yet undraped. In 1515 he painted three of his most important works—the Madonna della Misericordia, in the Lucca Gallery, the Annunciation, in the Louvre, and a Holy Family, in the Hermitage at S.

Petersburg. The Holy Family, in the Corsini Palace, and the dignified picture of the Resurrection, in the Pitti, are dated 1516; the latter is admirable in composition, in the treatment of the drapery, and in the spiritual expression of the heads (Fig. 353). One of his last works is the *Pietà* in the Pitti Gallery (Fig. 354). The emotional sentiment of the scene is rendered with classic

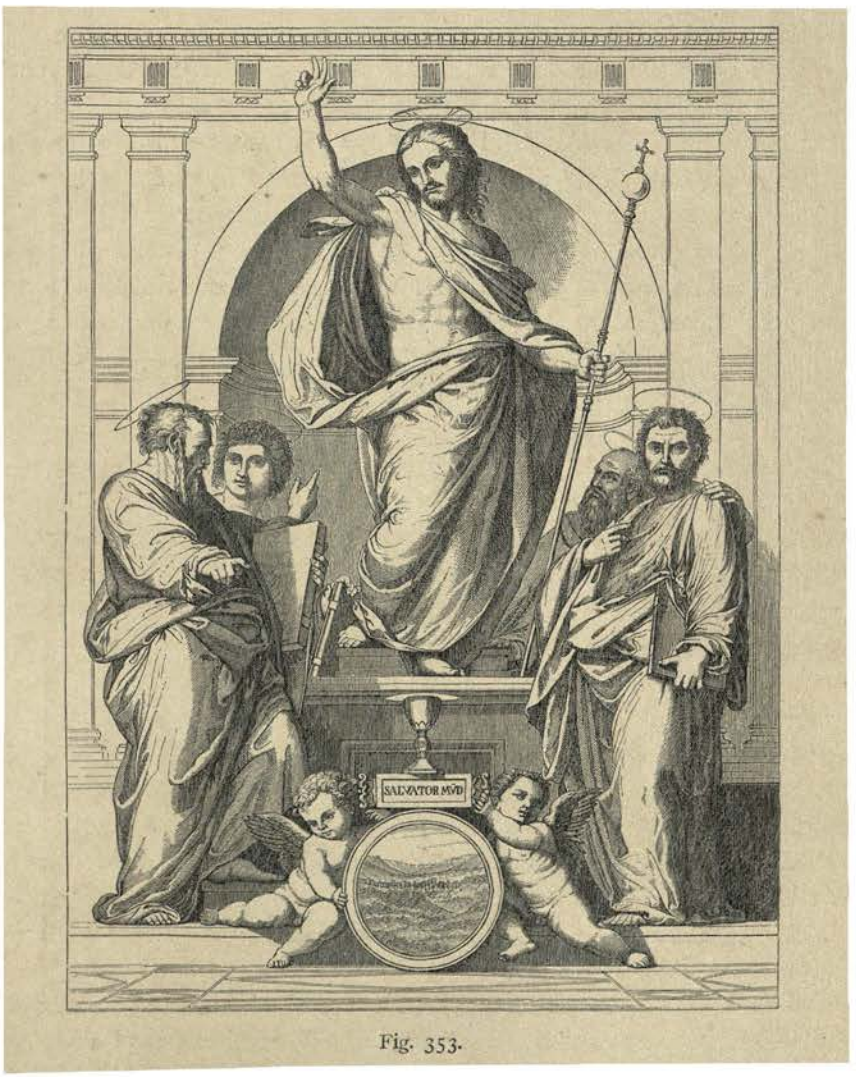


Fig. 353.

reserve and perfect beauty of line and expression. The figures of SS. Peter and Paul, painted by *Bugiardini* to complete this work—were afterwards separated from it. It seems possible, judging from this Pietà, that, if death had not shortened his career, Fra Bartolommeo might have developed a fourth style characterised by greater emotional and dramatic power.

Of his assistants *Fra Paolino* of Pistoia and *Mariotto Albertinelli*

have been mentioned. Works by *Fra Paolino*,[60] born 1490, died 1547, are not rare in the Tuscan Galleries, and he may possibly be the painter of the

Fig. 354.

Virgin and Saints in the Vienna Gallery; he was heir to all that Fra Bartolommeo had to leave of sketches and designs, which served as the ground-

work not only of all his works but also of those of his sister, *Plautilla Nelli*, 1523-78, into whose possession they passed at her brother's death.

Mariotto Albertinelli[61] was a painter of greater mark. He profited by the genius of his great associate, who was about a year his junior; still, his own works have a certain independent merit. The best modern critics ascribe to him a small triptych in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan, which till lately was given to Fra Bartolommeo, and a small picture of Christ as a Gardener, in the Louvre. There is a good fresco by Albertinelli in the chapter-room of the Certosa at Florence; his best oil pictures are a Salutation, in the Uffizi, 1503; a Madonna with the infant Baptist, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, 1509; and religious pictures of various dates in the Pitti Palace, the Louvre, the Florence Academy, and the Pinacothek at Munich. In spite of the far more worldly character of his treatment we can quite understand from these pictures that Fra Bartolommeo should have regarded him as his most efficient colleague; Vasari speaks of him as "a second Fra Bartolommeo." [The example in the Nat. Gal. (No. 645) is ascribed by Morelli to Sogliani, a rare later master.]

Giuliano Bugiardini, 1475-1554, was a painter of moderate merit and of no independence. His fame principally rests on his personal relations with Michael Angelo, with whom he studied under Domenico Ghirlandaio; he subsequently worked under Mariotto and imitated various masters. The Madonna in the Uffizi (No. 213) suggests Leonardo; the Martyrdom of S. Catherine in the Ruccellai Chapel, S. Maria Novella, recalls Michael Angelo; but he more generally gravitates towards Fra Bartolommeo. He usually signs himself *Julianus Florentinus*, though a picture of the Baptist in S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan bears his name, *Jul. Bugiar. Flo.* Works by him are to be seen in the Pinacotheca at Bologna, in the Colonna Palace at Rome, and the Palazzo Battista Mansi at Lucca. [In the Dulwich Gallery (No. 354) is a Holy Family by Bugiardini "much repainted" (*Catalogue* by Richter and Sparkes).]

In the same rank as Bugiardini we may name *Francesco Granacci*, a Florentine, born 1477,[62] died 1543. A few of his pictures in the Berlin Gallery show that he served his apprenticeship under Dom. Ghirlandaio, though at an early age he strove to adapt his style to the grander forms of Michael Angelo; a good example is a half-length portrait of a man in the Oxford Gallery. A later work at Berlin (No. 229), representing the Trinity in a glory of cherubim, proves that he subsequently tried to adopt the colouring of Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo. Finally, he strove to emulate the grace of Raphael, as we see in the Assumption of the Virgin, in the Florence Academy, and in the picture of S. Thomas receiving her Girdle, in the Uffizi.

A third and allied painter was *Ridolfo Ghirlandaio*,[63] a son of Domenico's, born in 1483, and only eleven years old when his father died. It was, however, in his father's studio, carried on by *Davide Ghirlandaio* and *Granacci*,

that he got his first instruction in art. His hand may be traced in two predella pictures, ascribed to Granacci, in the gallery of smaller works in the Florence Academy; and in a Nativity in the Petersburg Hermitage, there attributed to the same artist, although Vasari speaks of it as the work of Ridolfo. After 1503 he succumbed wholly for a time to Leonardo's charm; this is conspicuous in various pictures painted at that period, and especially the Coronation of the Virgin, 1503, in the Louvre. Judging from these works, it is safe to attribute to him sundry pictures that have been baptized by the greater name of Da Vinci—the Annunciation in the Uffizi, and the portrait of a Goldsmith in the Pitti Palace His four best pictures are two altar-pieces at Prato and at Pistoia, and two scenes from the life of S. Zenobio in the Uffizi, very bright and attractive works. He achieved a high mark in technical qualities, but his later works are stiff and mannered; indeed they degenerated almost into a manufacture, as he employed a number of apprentices, and accepted every kind of commission, from an altar-piece to a coat of arms. He died in 1561. [An example of his work has lately been added to the National Gallery (No. 1143)—Christ bearing His Cross, and a portrait at Hampton Court (No. 296, unnamed) is "probably by him" (*C. and C.*)]

Raffaello di Francesco Vanni was a painter connected with Granacci; his most important work is an altar-piece in the Uffizi, dated 1504.

Giovanni Ant. Sogliani, 1492-1544, may also be mentioned in connection with this group; he was for many years a scholar of Lorenzo di Credi's, and occasionally imitates his coarse contours and smooth modelling. At a later date, however, he studied the works of Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Albertinelli, and developed a peculiar and characteristic effect of misty radiance that floats over his pictures. Vasari mentions about two dozen works by him—frescoes and oil paintings—which are to be found chiefly in the churches and collections of Florence. The Crucifixion of S. Arcadius in S. Lorenzo is signed and dated 1521. His finest work, dated 1536, is in the cloister of S. Marco, and represents the Miraculous Feeding of the Brethren through the intercession of S. Dominic; the composition is simple and noble, and the sentiment devout. Some of his best altar-pieces are in the cathedral at Pisa.

His scholar, *Sigismondo Foschi* of Faenza, whose signed work in the Brera —a Madonna—is strongly akin to Fra Bartolommeo's, has lately been regarded as the painter of a picture hitherto ascribed to Sogliani himself, in the Florence Academy.[64]

Leonardo da Pistoia also finds a place among the followers of Fra Bartolommeo; his chief work is a Madonna with saints in the cathedral at Volterra.

IV. An independent master, and the leader of a contemporary group of Florentine painters, was ANDREA DEL SARTO,[65] who was not merely of equal

importance with Fra Bartolommeo as a representative Florentine master of the age, but who was so far the Dominican's superior by his wider scope of art as to be one of the greatest masters of his time and country. He was the son of a tailor named Angelo di Francesco, from which he was called *Andrea d'Angelo* or *Angeli*, but more commonly *Del Sarto* from his father's calling. He was born in 1486, apprenticed at first to a goldsmith and subsequently to an obscure painter; from him he went to Piero di Cosimo, who, however, seems to have left little impression on the style of his landscapes. His higher advance dates from his study of the cartoons by Leonardo and Michael Angelo, and of Fra Bartolommeo's works; but he was, nevertheless, the most independent master of the group. He shows his indebtedness to Fra Bartolommeo in his love of a symmetrical and pyramidal composition, but his separate groups are more animated, his type of heads—though often repeated—more faithful to nature, and he tells his story with more vivacity and cogency. In colouring he is a follower of Leonardo; he feels the value of the "sfumato" method of painting; but his tones are ruddier and brighter, and his brushwork being broader, his colour is more vaporous and tender. Andrea del Sarto is the only Florentine to whom the colour of his work is a matter of serious consideration and purpose; in this respect he is more truly a *painter* than any other master of his school. Even the expression of the heads is largely produced by the effective treatment of colour, especially about the eyes, which have a liquid and glowing fulness of gaze. His conception of a subject is always secular rather than sacred, and often very superficial, excepting in his best works. On the whole he is a highly attractive painter, essentially modern, and yet possessed of a dignity of style which renders him a not unworthy son of his epoch. *Andrea del Sarto* was admitted to the Guild of Physicians and Apothecaries (to which the painters were affiliated) in 1508; about 1513 he married Lucrezia del Fede, of whom Vasari speaks as the evil genius of his life, and whose beautiful face smiles at us out of many of his pictures. In 1518 he went to France by the command of Francis I., but returned, for love of his wife, in the following year. He never revisited France, though he had sworn to do so, and he is said to have embezzled the sums paid to him on the French king's account for the purchase of works of art; he did not, however, meet with the punishment he deserved, for he remained in Florence fully employed and highly esteemed till he was carried off by the plague in 1531 (according to the old Florentine style, 1530).

He not only left a vast number of fine easel-pictures, but executed several cycles of frescoes worthy alike of the traditions of the fifteenth century and of the new impulse of the great age of Italian art. The works composing these cycles were in many cases painted at different periods, and must therefore be treated in groups instead of chronologically. The ten scenes from the history of the Baptist, in the cloister of the Scalzi, were finished at long intervals. They

are executed in monochrome, and are especially interesting in throwing light on the painter's progress. The first, the Baptism of Christ, which Vasari mentions as one of his youthful works, was probably executed about 1511, and the arrangement has evidently been suggested by Verrocchio (*ante*, p. 313);[66] the second was finished before 1515, and is interesting from the circumstance vouched for by Vasari that two of the figures were borrowed from prints by Dürer. The rest were executed by degrees; the last not being finished till 1526. The fourth of the series—the Baptist seized by the Guards (Fig. 355)—is a masterly composition of eight figures and tells the incident with perfect simplicity and force. In the four corner panels are the Cardinal Virtues, by the same hand,

Fig. 355.

and the whole effect is highly decorative, notwithstanding the absence of colour, and in spite of repainting in many places. Another series of frescoes, in the Church of the Servites in S. Annunziata, were in the same way painted at long intervals, and only seven of the twelve pictures in the *Cortile* are by him; five of these are scenes from the life of Filippo Benozzi, the founder of the Order. In 1511 he added the Adoration of the Kings, and in 1514 finished the finest of the series—the Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 356). Here the scheme and the composition are imitated from *Ghirlandaio* (*ante*, p. 318), but adapted with infinite skill in the grouping and rich adjuncts of colour. This cycle is as important a landmark in the history of the master's progress as the former one, and has the additional charm of colour; it is indeed one of the most interesting monuments of Florence. Some other frescoes that Andrea painted for the Servite

brethren have disappeared. Two, removed from their places, are in the

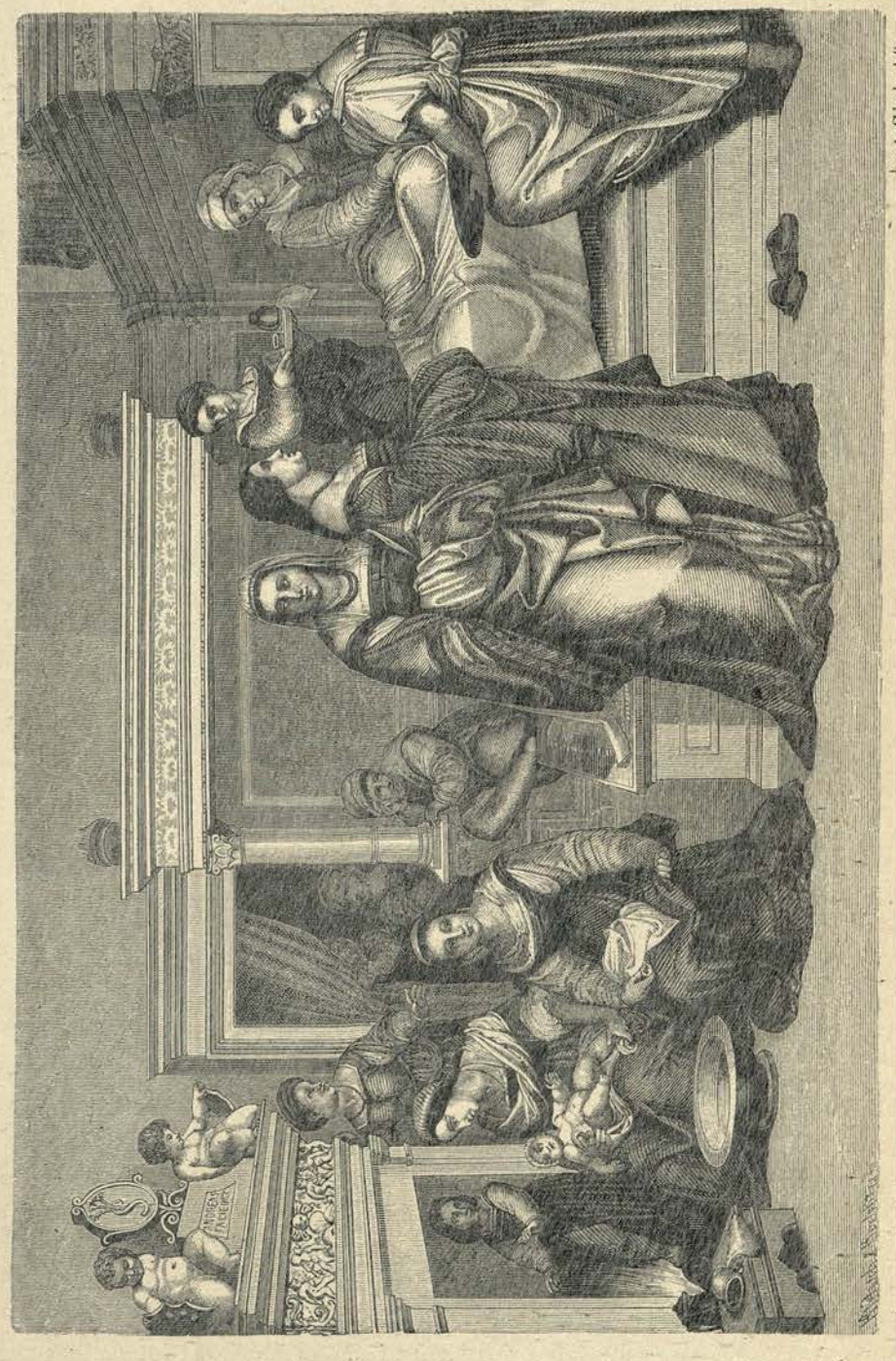


Fig. 356.

Academy; while the Holy Family, known as the *Madonna del Sacco* (Fig. 357),

Fig. 357.

is still to be seen over the entrance to the cloister. Four arched panels in the refectory of the Convent of S. Salvi are among his early works; and here, in 1526-27 (as Reumont has proved), he painted the Last Supper on the wall opposite the entrance. He has chosen the moment of action immediately following that depicted by Leonardo—Christ is in the act of dipping His bread

Fig. 358.

in the dish, and Judas has raised his hand to do the same. As compared with Da Vinci's work this composition is less compact, the types and draperies more familiarly realistic (Fig. 358), the whole conception superficial and commonplace; but it is full of the master's delightful freshness of treatment and of brilliant and softened atmosphere. He has also combined dignity of action and simplicity of arrangement with a feeling for decorative fitness that dawns on the spectator as an anticipation of the splendid facility of *Paolo*

Veronese. An oil sketch for the picture is in the Oxford Gallery. Another interesting though unfinished work is a fresco decoration in the villa of the Medicis at Poggio a Caiano.

Fig. 359.

We must now turn to the consideration of some of the oil pictures, mostly altar-pieces, of which he painted a vast number. These may best be studied in the great Florentine galleries, and especially in the Pitti, where we find one of the best of his early works—an Annunciation, 1512, the most beautiful treat-

ment of this subject in the world perhaps; the Disputa, with the Trinity in a vision above, in which the master's delicious atmosphere is already conspicuous, but still combined in a very remarkable manner with a firm clear outline; the Holy Family, 1523; the large Pietà (Fig. 359); and the Adoration of the Virgin, in which we see increasing breadth and softness of treatment, while spiritual feeling is fast merging into mere luxury of beauty. Besides these and many others there are here a Holy Family, 1529, in the full bloom of his latest style, and several of his best portraits; among these a man and wife are supposed—and perhaps rightly—to represent the painter himself and his wife Lucrezia.

The most important of his religious pictures in the Uffizi is the Madonna with the Harpies, so called from the pedestal on which the Virgin is enthroned being decorated with harpies; and in the same gallery is a fine late portrait of himself, of remarkable power and breadth. In the Accademia is a picture of stately and splendid saints, painted in 1528 for the Convent of Vallombrosa.

A few of his more important works are to be seen out of Florence—five noble figures of saints in the cathedral at Pisa; the Charity (Fig. 360), in the Louvre; an admirable portrait (No. 690), in the National Gallery; and others elsewhere, especially Abraham's Sacrifice, in the Dresden Gallery, a late work which has always been recognised as a masterpiece. The best of his drawings, for the most part in red chalk, are in the Louvre and the Uffizi. [Pictures by Andrea del Sarto have frequently been exhibited at Burlington House; in 1881 Earl Cowper, besides three portraits—one supposed to be that of Petrarch's Laura—sent three small panels with scenes from the history of Joseph.]

Vasari says that Andrea had "an infinite number of scholars," himself among them; he and some others belong to a later generation, but some may be mentioned here.

The first, at any rate in point of age, was *Francia Bigio* (*Francesco di Cristofano*), who, having been born in 1482, was older than Andrea. He worked at first under *Albertinelli*, who probably was not his first teacher,[67] but afterwards went to Andrea del Sarto, whose colleague he often was. A characteristic work of his early period is the Annunciation in the Turin Gallery; the light, swift flight of the angel is remarked upon by Vasari. Whether he may not also be the painter of the Madonna del Pozzo in the Uffizi is still doubtful; the picture has been ascribed to Raphael, Mündler gave it to *Bugiardini*.[68] A Virgin, with Job on one hand and S. John on the other, in the Uffizi, is signed with his monogram, and so is the Calumny, in the Pitti, from Lucian's description of the painting by Apelles. Both these are far more like Albertinelli than Andrea del Sarto. Francia Bigio was employed by Andrea as his assistant on almost all his frescoes, and he painted the Marriage of the Virgin in the outer court of the Servite Convent in 1513; this is considered as his finest work although he himself in a fit of disgust destroyed the Virgin's head; and during Andrea's absence in France in 1518 he executed in the Convent of the Scalzi

the pictures representing S. John quitting his father's house, and the meeting of S. John with Christ. He also painted the Triumph of Cicero in the hall of the

Fig. 360.

villa at Poggio a Caiano. It was *Paolo Giovio* who devised the allegorical scheme of decoration of this room, which was executed by *Andrea del Sarto*, *Francia Bigio*, and *Pontormo*.

Francia Bigio was, however, greatest as a portrait-painter. His portraits, which are distinguished by their individuality, by smooth but conscientious modelling and warm rich colour, have been attributed to various other masters of greater fame. Some are signed; among these are a fine portrait of a youth in the Pitti Palace, 1514; a capital example, though darkened [and Dr.

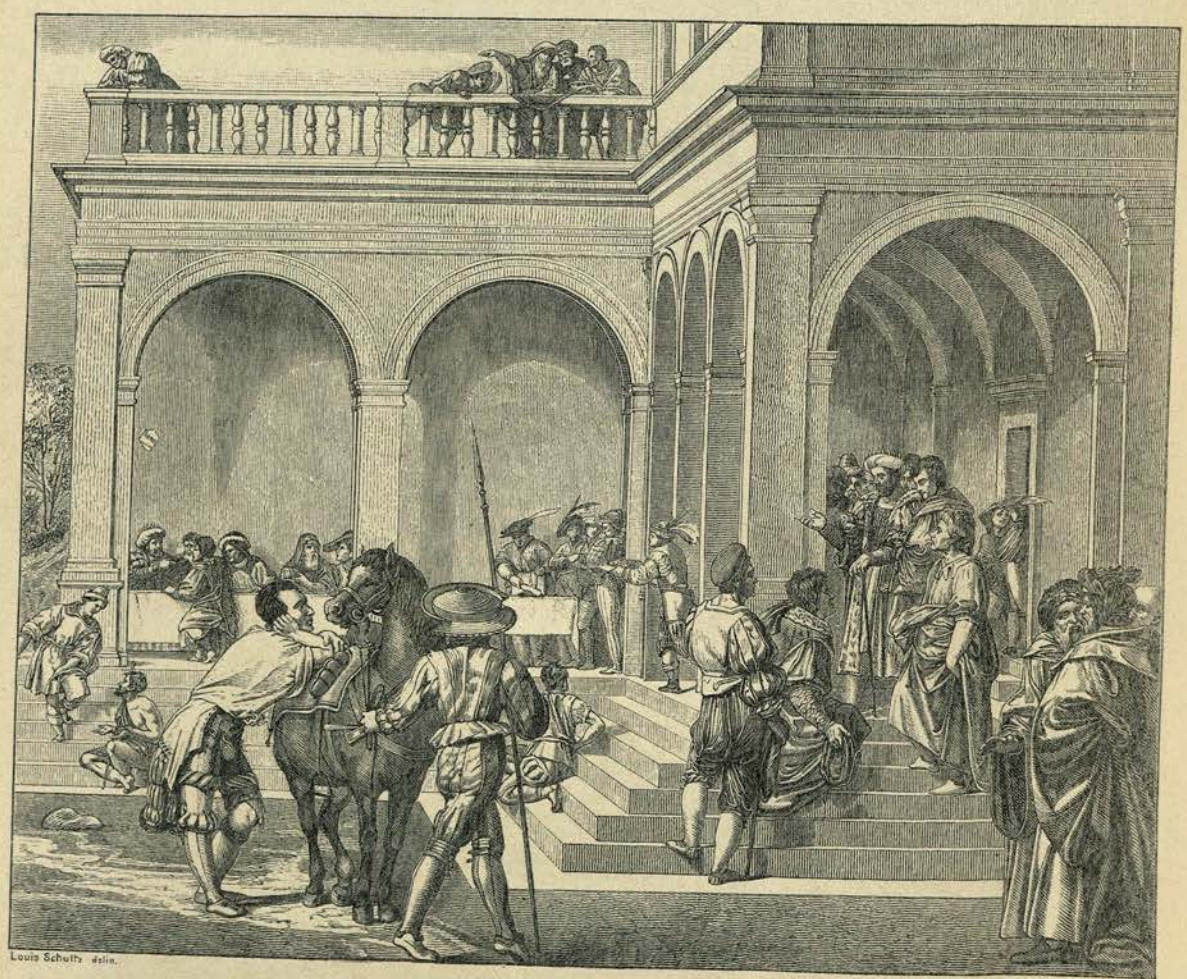


Fig. 361.

Richter thinks restored], in the National Gallery (No. 1035), from Mr. Fuller-Maitland of Stanstead House; another belonging to Lord Yarborough, 1516; and one ascribed to Andrea del Sarto, at Windsor; besides others on the Continent. Two late historical works by this master are the Temple of Hercules in the Uffizi and the Story of Bathsheba, 1523, in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 361).

A pupil, more strictly speaking, of Andrea's was *Jacopo Carucci*, commonly

known by the name of his birthplace, *Pontormo* or *Punturmo*,[69] born 1494, died 1557. Though he became a disciple of Andrea's in 1512 he was always open to fresh influences. In 1522 he painted a series from the Passion, in the cloisters of the Certosa at Florence, which in composition and treatment bore

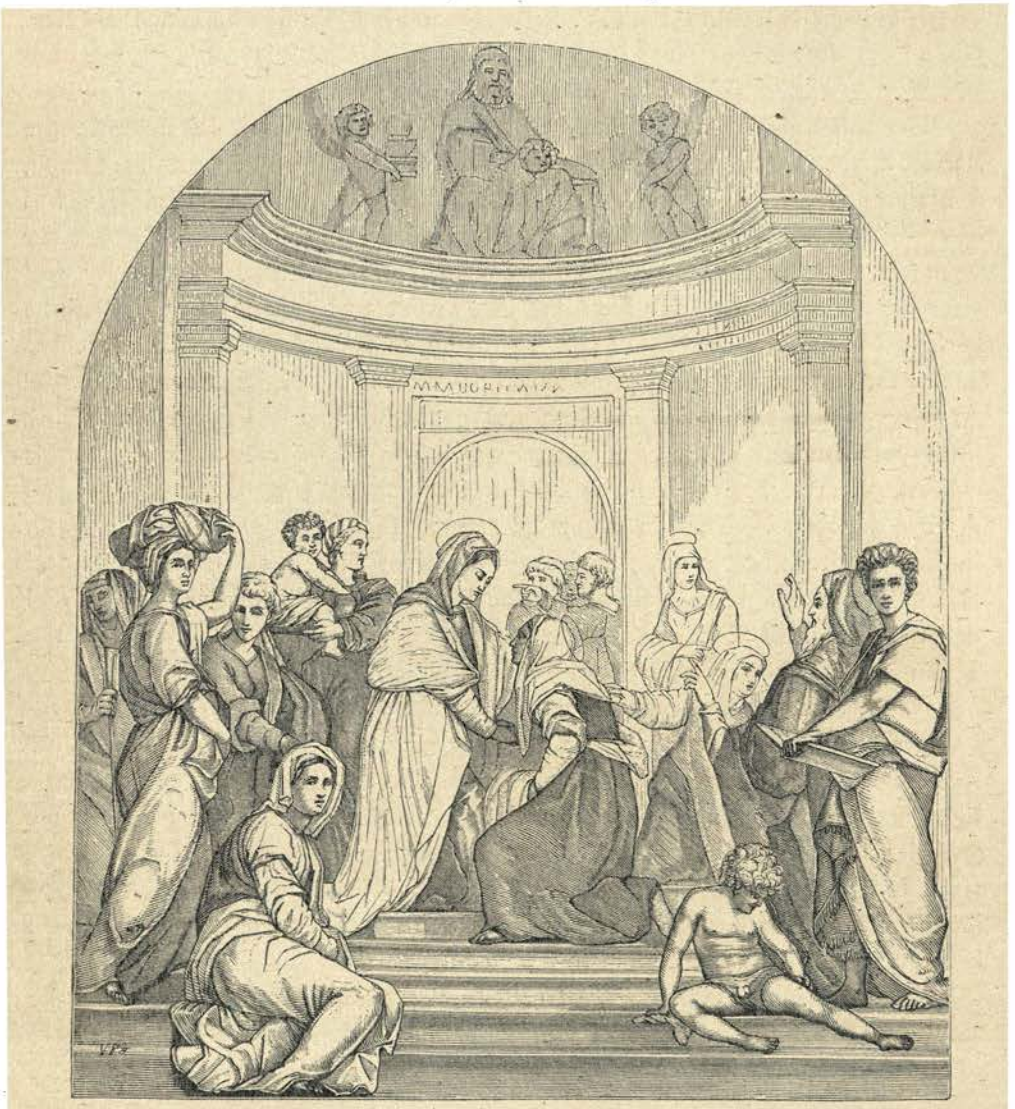


Fig. 362.

a marked resemblance to Dürer; these have perished. He afterwards followed in the wake of Michael Angelo, executing the Venus and Cupid, now in the Uffizi, from a cartoon by that master. He is seen at his best, however, in those works which he executed under the influence of Andrea del Sarto, as, for instance, in the fresco of the Visitation (Fig. 362) in the Servite Convent. His

various phases of style may be traced through his works in the Florentine galleries. In portrait he was admirable; there are fine examples in the great German galleries; one, of a Gem-cutter, is in the Louvre, and a Boy, life-size, in crimson and black, is in the National Gallery (No. 649). [A picture acquired in 1881 from Hamilton Palace, of Joseph and his Kindred (National Gallery, No. 1131), is authenticated by Vasari's description and is "in excellent preservation" (*Richter*).]

The third master who painted side by side with Andrea del Sarto in the Servite Convent was *Giov. Battista di Jacopo*, called *Il Rosso*,[70] from his red hair, sometimes *Rosso Fiorentino*, and by the French *Le Maître Roux*. He was born in 1494, and admitted to the Florentine Guild in 1516; he left for Rome in 1524, but was driven thence in 1527 by the sack of the city, and after wandering about Italy for some years went to France in 1530, where he became famous, and died in 1541. In his later works Rosso reveals himself as one of the earliest and most pronounced mannerists of the imitators of Michael Angelo. From this point of view, and as he worked chiefly in France, we must postpone our study of him, and we can only allude here briefly to his earliest pictures, in which he is still a follower of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto. Thus in 1517 he painted the Assumption of the Virgin in the Servite Church. A fine Deposition from the Cross, in the cathedral at Volterra, and a large Madonna in the Pitti Palace, with others in the Uffizi and the Church of S. Lorenzo, show his early style; the Four Seasons in the Berlin Museum display a beginning of mannerism.

Another of Andrea's pupils was *Domenico Puligo*,[71] 1492-1527; he resembles *Ridolfo Ghirlandaio* rather than his master; still his figures of saints have somewhat the effect of paintings by Del Sarto that have melted away into light and sheen, as may be observed in several pictures in the Florentine galleries. He was a very capital portrait-painter, but most of his portraits seem to be ascribed to other masters. [Three pictures (Nos. 75, 76, and 77) in the Royal Institution, Liverpool, bear this painter's name; they were brought from Palermo and seem to have composed an altar-piece.]

Finally *Francesco d'Ubertino*, called *Bacchiaca*,[72] 1494-1557, may be mentioned as a friend and scholar of Andrea del Sarto's. He frequently executed predellas for the altar-pieces of other masters, and still more frequently painted scenes on panels for the artistic decoration of furniture. [Two panels of this kind, belonging to Lord Methuen, were lent in 1877 to the Old Masters Exhibition; the subjects taken from the history of Joseph.]

CHAPTER III.

RAPHAEL AND THE ROMAN SCHOOL

RAPHAEL'S position as a master—His birth and youth—Early works, before 1508—Frescoes and easel-pictures painted at Florence—Madonna pictures—Holy Families—The Borghese Entombment—*The Stanze della Segnatura and d'Eliodoro* in the Vatican—Portraits: Julius II.; La Fornarina—Madonnas of his Roman period—*Stanza dell' Incendio; Stanza die Constantino*—The Loggie—*Raphael's Bible*—His use of the grotesque—Cartoons for tapestry—The *Villa Farnesina*—Drawings for engravings—His latest works; four Madonna pictures; portraits—The Visitation and *Spasimo* at Madrid—The *Sistine Madonna*—His studies and sketches—His early death—HIS PUPILS AND FOLLOWERS; THE ROMAN SCHOOL—Giulio Romano—His frescoes at Villa Madama and Villa Lante—*Palazzo del Tè*, Mantua—Easel-pictures—Minor painters—G. da Udine and "Grottesque" decoration—Façade-painting by Polidoro da Caravaggio and others—The Roman School in the south—MARC ANTONIO, the great engraver from Raphael's designs and works.

I. AS the Greeks and Romans spoke of Apelles when they wished to suggest perfection in painting, so, in modern times, the name of RAPHAEL[73] has become that which epitomises all that is finest and loveliest in the art. Though to some of the critics and amateurs of the present day there are other masters nearer and dearer, so to speak; still, at his best, Raphael came closer to absolute truth and absolute beauty than any. In looking at his greatest works we forget alike the master and the model, and ignore the laws of form and colour which have united to immortalise such truth and beauty; they stand before us as self-existent creations; we feel that they could not have been otherwise, but have been part and parcel of our own experience. At the same time the works which have set the master on this supreme level of creativeness are very few, and it is both interesting and instructive to follow the history of his genius. Raphael's was not a towering and domineering soul like that of Michael Angelo; on the contrary, he accepted with singular docility the impressions which were successively brought to bear on him. At the same time his own native qualities enabled him to assimilate and digest these influences; an unbounded respect for nature, an innate sense of beauty, such as no man perhaps since Phidias had possessed, passionate industry, and an almost unequalled power of grasping and mastering subject and space as the problems of his art. These qualities enabled him to use every influence that touched him to higher ends, and thus to elaborate at last that perfection of style which is to be found nowhere but in the works executed by his own hand and at the summit of his powers.

Raphael Santi da Urbino was born at Urbino on 6th April 1483;[74] he was

the son of *Giovanni Santi*, the painter, and of Magia, his first wife. Giovanni Santi, painter and poet, was a personage of some importance in the ducal household, and Raphael grew up under beneficent influences. He first learned of his father; but when Giovanni died, in 1494, his teacher seems to have been *Timoteo Viti*, who settled in Urbino in the following year. On this point opinions differ widely; at any rate there is a conspicuous resemblance in some of Raphael's earliest works to those of Timoteo.[75] It is not even certain that the young painter remained in Urbino till 1500, and then went to study under *Perugino*, and above all it is very questionable whether Vasari is accurate in his statement that Raphael assisted in the execution of the frescoes begun in 1502 by *Pinturicchio* in the cathedral library at Sienna.[76] Thus much, however, may be said: Raphael was for some few years, from 1500, if not from an earlier date, Perugino's scholar and assistant, and was strongly influenced by his teaching; he even imitated some of his works and for some time seems to have known no greater ambition than to imitate him deceptively, while in fact his genius, perhaps unconsciously, was bearing him to a far higher level; nor can there be any doubt that he came into contact with Pinturicchio at this time.

In 1504 he was once more in Urbino, and in the same year we first hear of him in Florence,[77] where he seems to have resided, making various short visits to other towns, till 1508, when he went to Rome. In 1505 he painted a fresco in Perugia, and it was in 1505 that the exhibition of the great cartoons, by Michael Angelo and Leonardo in the Hall of the Five Hundred, marked the commencement of a new era in art, while, at the same time, Fra Bartolommeo had returned to his easel with new and wider aims. Thus, in Florence, a new world of art had been revealed to Raphael, of which he had gradually appropriated the wealth, and he arrived in Rome in full possession of all that the schools of central Italy could teach him.

In pausing to consider these earlier works we cannot venture with Morelli to distinguish the pictures of his first or Urbino stage from those of his pupilage under Perugino; still, we may take the year 1504 as an epoch of change, and compare the works produced before that date with those executed under Florentine influence before 1508. His first Madonna pictures are simply composed, modest in expression, and slightly austere in feeling. The earliest, perhaps, is the *Solly* Madonna in the Berlin Gallery; it is quite Umbrian in type, richly and warmly coloured, solemn, saintly, with almost exaggerated earnestness. Next in order we may place the Madonna with SS. Francis and Jerome, also at Berlin; the *Connestabile* Madonna in the Petersburg Hermitage,[78] a very graceful and simple little work, in which a certain animation is derived from the action of the Child, who tries to grasp His mother's book. Two pictures of S. Michael,[79] and one of S. George, all three in the Louvre, are of this period, as well as an extremely interesting small work in the National

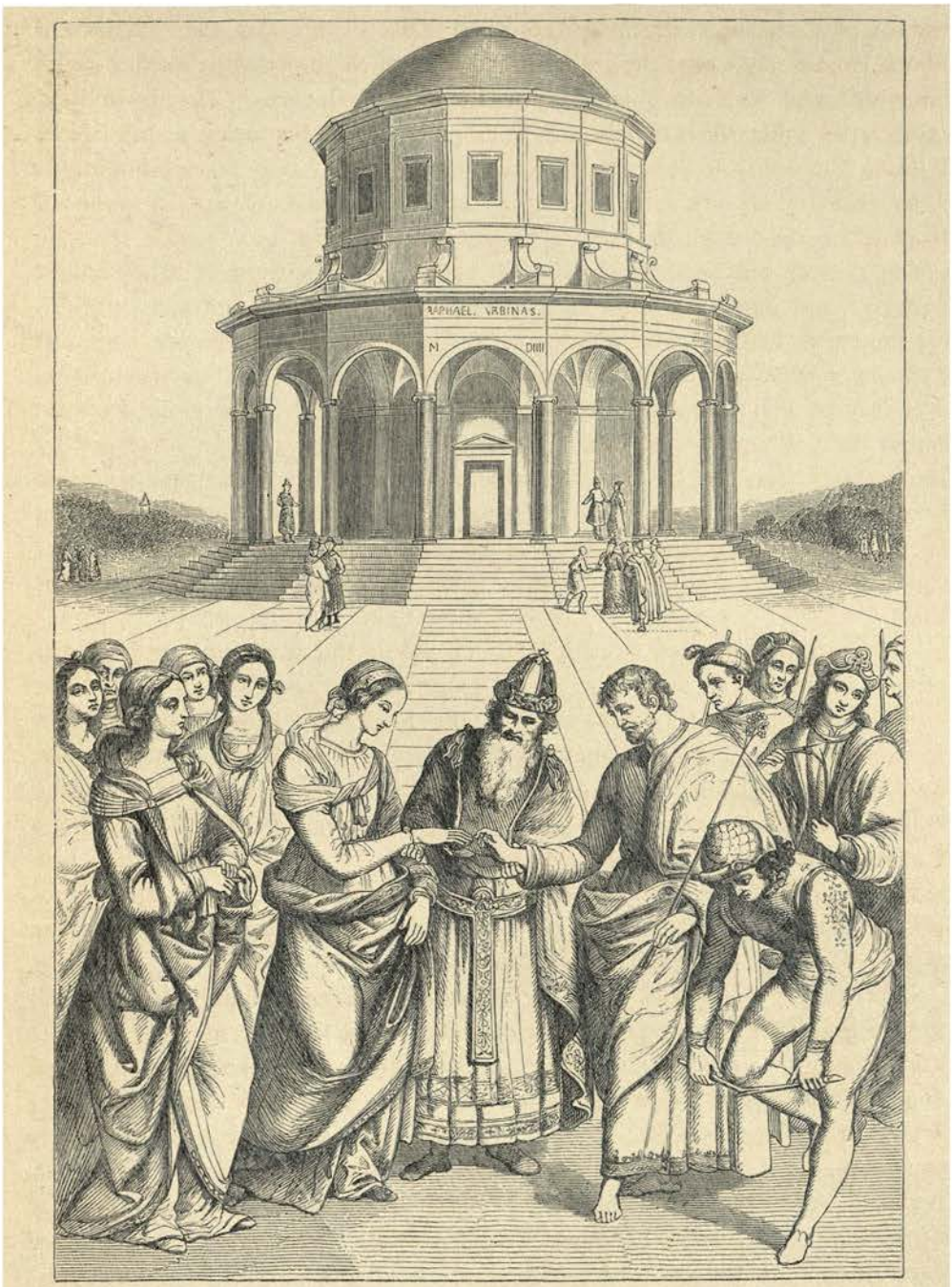


Fig. 363.

Gallery (No. 213), the Dream of a young Knight, in which the allegorical idea seems to be that of the myth of Hercules; it is not impossible that Raphael may have had this fable in his mind when painting this picture,

which was certainly executed before he had come under the guidance of Perugino, as may be seen from the broad form of the hands.[80] Another highly interesting little picture is that of the Three Graces in Lord Dudley's Collection, evidently founded on the antique group in the cathedral at Siena;

Fig. 364.

it is a delicate rendering of the antique into modern Umbrian, and there seems no reason to cast doubts on its genuineness. Another work that should be assigned to this period, if Morelli is correct in ascribing it to Raphael, and in saying that it is a portrait of Perugino, is a picture in the Borghese, there attributed to Holbein.

The most characteristic works of his Umbrian phase are those in which he has imitated Perugino's compositions. It is probable that these were commissions, but it would also seem that, even in his original work, Raphael could not yet wholly escape from his master's traditions. The Crucifixion in Lord Dudley's Collection reminds us of Perugino's admired work in S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Florence, but the composition is more concentrated. Here we must class the large Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican Gallery; studies for it remain at Oxford, in the British Museum, and at Lille, and the picture is so thoroughly in the style of Perugino that it was formerly ascribed to him; it is, however, too powerful a work for Perugino, and certainly one of the finest pictures of the transition period of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Finally, in this place, we must mention the famous *Sposalizio* in the Brera, which, at the first glance, strikes us as a reversed copy of Perugino's Marriage of the Virgin in the Museum at Caen. On examination we perceive that this picture, more than any other perhaps, betrays the pupil's immense superiority to his master (Fig. 363). He has refined every detail, from the temple which rises majestically in the background, to the stripling in front who breaks his staff.[81]

The most interesting records that remain of Raphael's Florentine period are his drawings, which prove the extent and variety of his studies—sketches from Leonardo's cartoon, at Oxford and Dresden, and from Michael Angelo's David, in the British Museum. Among the earliest of his paintings at this time is the altered replica, in the S. Petersburg Hermitage, of the S. George in the Louvre (Fig. 364). It is a gem of exquisite execution; in the replica the action is more vigorous, and, as it is directly borrowed from a bas-relief by Donatello in Or San Michele,[82] it is plain evidence of the impression made upon Raphael by Florentine art. This may also be traced in his first great fresco, the Adoration of the Trinity, painted in 1505, in the Church of S. Severo, Perugia; only the lunette is by him (Fig. 365), and nothing can be finer than the six figures of saints seated, three on each side of Christ; each full of character, while, at the same time, each is a symmetrical pendant to the figure opposite. We see at once that this arrangement was suggested by Fra Bartolommeo's Last Judgment, *ante*, p. 507, and it is singular with what close imitation he has adapted the drapery and attitude of the Saviour. The other pictures of this period are easel-pictures and of various kinds. One of his earliest portraits is that of Angelo Doni (Fig. 366), in the Pitti Gallery, with that of his wife, 1505; they are powerfully realistic, but a little of the conventionality of the portraits of the fifteenth century still clings to them. Besides others in the Florentine galleries we may mention the portrait of himself, at the age of about twenty-three, in the Uffizi. Of this period (about 1507) is the beautiful S. Catherine (No. 168) in the National Gallery.

The Madonna pictures painted within these few years bear the stamp of the

Fig. 365.

new era alike in form and in feeling. They are even more secular in sentiment than the most secular of the Florentine Madonnas of the previous century ; their ecclesiastical motive is barely indicated by a fast-fading nimbus, but Raphael elevates his Virgins above the realm of the commonplace by their supreme and noble beauty, and the spirit that breathes in them is that of the loftiest and most refined humanity. They have their being generally in the open air, in a

Fig. 366.

lovely Italian landscape, in which the lines harmonise caressingly with those of the subject. The scale of colour is bright and gay, and though the sober richness of the Umbrian school gives way to the colder tones of the Florentines, we feel that Raphael must always have composed his pictures from the first with a scheme of colour in his mind as well as of arrangement. At the same time his modelling and brushwork are unfailingly careful ; he combines a delicate "sfumato" handling with conscientious truth of detail, and though he

shows a marked predilection for vigorous chiaroscuro, he freely employs full and pure local colour. But his colouring is always made to subserve the unity of the whole effect.

Fig. 367.

The Madonna reading is a motive that occurs repeatedly in his sketches—as at Oxford, and in the Albertina—as well as in the charming *Colonna* Madonna in the Berlin Gallery, which is all the more instructive from being unfinished. The Madonna pictures which have no accessory motive, but simply

represent the beauty of young motherhood, are by far the most numerous. One of the gravest and most statuesque is the Madonna *del Granduca*, in the Pitti Gallery (Fig. 367), and of those in England, two lovely examples are in the possession of Earl Cowper; [who exhibited them at Burlington House in 1881. One is signed and dated M.D.VIII.] To this simple treatment he

Fig. 368.

sometimes added the infant S. John—standing reverently shy, as in the *Terranuova* Madonna at Berlin (and in another small picture in the same gallery of which the genuineness has lately been stoutly defended [83]); or kneeling in adoration, as in the *Belle Jardinière* in the Louvre; or sometimes, again, as the Infant Saviour's companion and playmate.[84]

This motive is an element in many of the more elaborate Holy Families,

representing the Virgin and Child with the addition of Joseph, Elizabeth, and other personages.[85] In England we have the *Vierge au Palmier* in the Bridgewater Collection, and there is an exquisite example in the Madrid Gallery (Fig. 368), representing an episode of the flight into Egypt; the Virgin holds the Infant, who sits on the back of a lamb, while Joseph, staff in hand, looks on. Of this class of pictures, however, the one which contains most figures is that known as the *Casa Canigiani* Madonna in the Pinacothek. Mary and Elizabeth kneel opposite each other in a lovely landscape, and Joseph looks thoughtfully down on the two Infants at play; two angels hover above; these have been largely repainted. A pen and ink sketch for this picture is in the Duke d'Aumale's Collection, in which the figures are not yet draped—an interesting illustration of the master's method. There is at Lille another sketch for a Holy Family, including several persons.

A distinct class of paintings consists of the grander and more devotional works executed for churches, but they are comparatively few. In 1505 he painted an altar-piece for the Convent of S. Anthony at Padua. This picture, which is said to be the property of the Duke of Ripalda, is a *Santa Conversazione*, with a reminiscence of Fra Bartolommeo, and is a solemn well-balanced composition, full of deep devotional feeling. Above, in a lunette, sits the Father with robed angels, of Peruginesque origin, in adoration; at the bottom is a predella, of which the panels are dispersed;[86] the central portion belongs to the Baroness Burdett Coutts, while the two end figures—S. Francis and S. Anthony—are in the Dulwich Gallery; it is not certain, however, that these predella pictures were painted by Raphael. Another work of this year is the magnificent Ansidei Madonna, from the Blenheim Collection near Oxford, and now the property of the nation. A much later work, which remained unfinished in consequence of his departure for Rome, is the altar-piece begun for the Chapel of the Dei family in S. Spirito, Florence. It is now in the Pitti Palace under the name of the Madonna *del Baldacchino*; it was completed by another hand, but the composition still betrays the immediate influence of Fra Bartolommeo. Raphael's first really independent composition was, however, painted at almost the same time; the Entombment, finished in 1507 for the Church of S. Francesco, Perugia, now to be seen in the Borghese Gallery. His resolute attempts to master the grouping and motive of the subject may be traced through numerous sketches and studies in various galleries, as, for instance, in the drawing (Fig. 369) in the Louvre.[87] In the finished work (Fig. 370) the connection between the group of men lifting the sacred body on the left, and that of the women supporting the fainting Virgin on the right, is skilfully managed by the action of the Magdalene, who rushes forward to gaze once more on the face of the Dead. The effect is, on the whole, so studied as to seem artificial, but its complete independence of all tradition gives it importance as a landmark in the history of the master's development. The colouring

is colder and the brushwork less subtle than in most of his earlier pictures. The predella, in monochrome, is in the Vatican Gallery.

In April 1508 Raphael had not yet left Florence, but by September in that year he was hard at work in Rome—Rome as it was under Julius II., that large-minded pontiff whose tastes and policy made the Vatican the head-quarters of the art of all the world. There is no reason to doubt Vasari when

Fig. 369.

he tells us that it was Bramante, Raphael's fellow-citizen of Urbino, who recommended him to the notice of the pope. He was at once commissioned to decorate a large hall and three smaller rooms in the Vatican, which have hence become known as Raphael's *Stanze*. The Pope did not live to see them completed. He died in 1513, and Raphael himself died seven years after, before all his designs for the walls and ceilings were executed; they were carried out by his pupils. During the twelve years of Raphael's life in Rome they must have absorbed much of his time and attention, and the marvel is

how vast an amount of work he achieved besides. During those three years, when he was employed by Julius II., he painted his finest works with his own hand. Leo X. loaded him with honours; but he asked too much of him—appointing him chief architect of S. Peter's in 1514, and in the following year

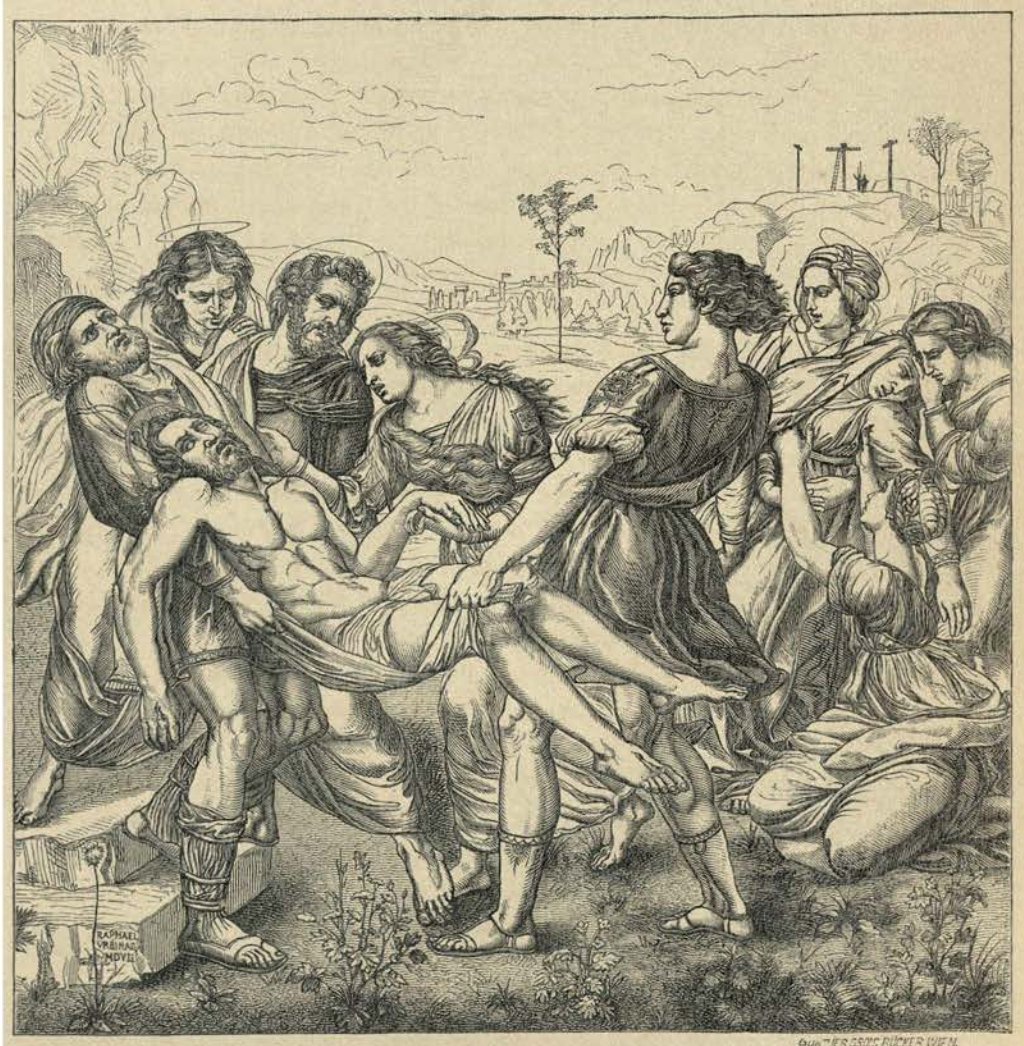


Fig. 370.

superintendent of all the excavations of the ancient monuments of Rome.[88] His labours in these departments do not come within the scope of this work, but it is easy to understand that they must have divided his attention and his time. Nevertheless, he was required to produce designs of endless variety, even for architectural decoration and for engravings; the result was that he ceased to execute his paintings with his own hand. Raphael's Roman period therefore

divides itself naturally into two distinct phases—the first under Julius II.; the second under Leo X.

First to speak of the great decorations begun in 1508—the *Stanza della Segnatura*, 1508, and the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, so called from the subject of the principal picture on one of its walls. Both these rooms have vaulted ceilings, so that the walls run up into pointed arched panels; on two sides they are pierced by windows, and on the other two by low doors. *Sodoma* was already engaged in painting the ceiling of the *Stanza della Segnatura* when Raphael was commissioned to undertake the whole decoration. Sodoma was forced to retire, and of the work he had done his successor only left the undraped angels which support the papal arms at the crown of the vaulting. Raphael designed the decoration of the room as a whole, and for grace and dignity of line, elegance of detail, and charm of colour it stands unrivalled. We must suppose that the scheme of the subjects was suggested by some learned member of the papal court, but the composition and treatment were the artist's, and the studies which exist in collections of drawings show how indefatigably he laboured to attain to the perfection that he has here achieved. The general plan of the work was to represent the four spiritual powers: Religion—or the Church—Science, the State, and Art—personified as Theology, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Poetry. These, under the aspect of beautiful women attended by infant genii, fill the circular medallions in the fields of the arches on the ceiling; in the corner spandrils are four appropriate subjects, and on the walls historical pictures emblematic of the effects of each of these spiritual powers. First, as accompanying Theology, we see in the lunette the Fall, which necessitated the saving grace of religion, and on the wall below is the grand composition known as the *Disputa* (Fig. 371). The upper portion, above the clouds, shows the hierarchy of heaven; seated among the saints are Moses and David, Jeremiah, and Judas Maccabæus; and on earth we see an assembly of the most famous representatives of the Church with some illustrious laymen. It is a grand and simple composition, which has gained its name from the figures of the two men sitting nearest to the central altar, whose gestures are vehemently argumentative; they give an impetus of eager life to the whole of the lower circle. It has been demonstrated that the groups are arranged on a strict mathematical scheme of lines,[89] which gives a peculiar gravity and solidity to the composition; at the same time every detail is studied from life, and the colour is luminous and rich. Studies exist at Oxford, Windsor, in the British Museum, in the Louvre, the Städel Institute, and the Albertina.

Philosophy is accompanied by Astronomy, and the picture beneath is known as the School of Athens.[90] Plato, the idealist, as the guiding light of the Renascence, and Aristotle, the realist—the stronghold of Mediæval philosophy—stand on opposite sides; Plato lifts his hand to heaven; Aristotle points to the earth—the solid foundation of all our conscious knowledge. Their

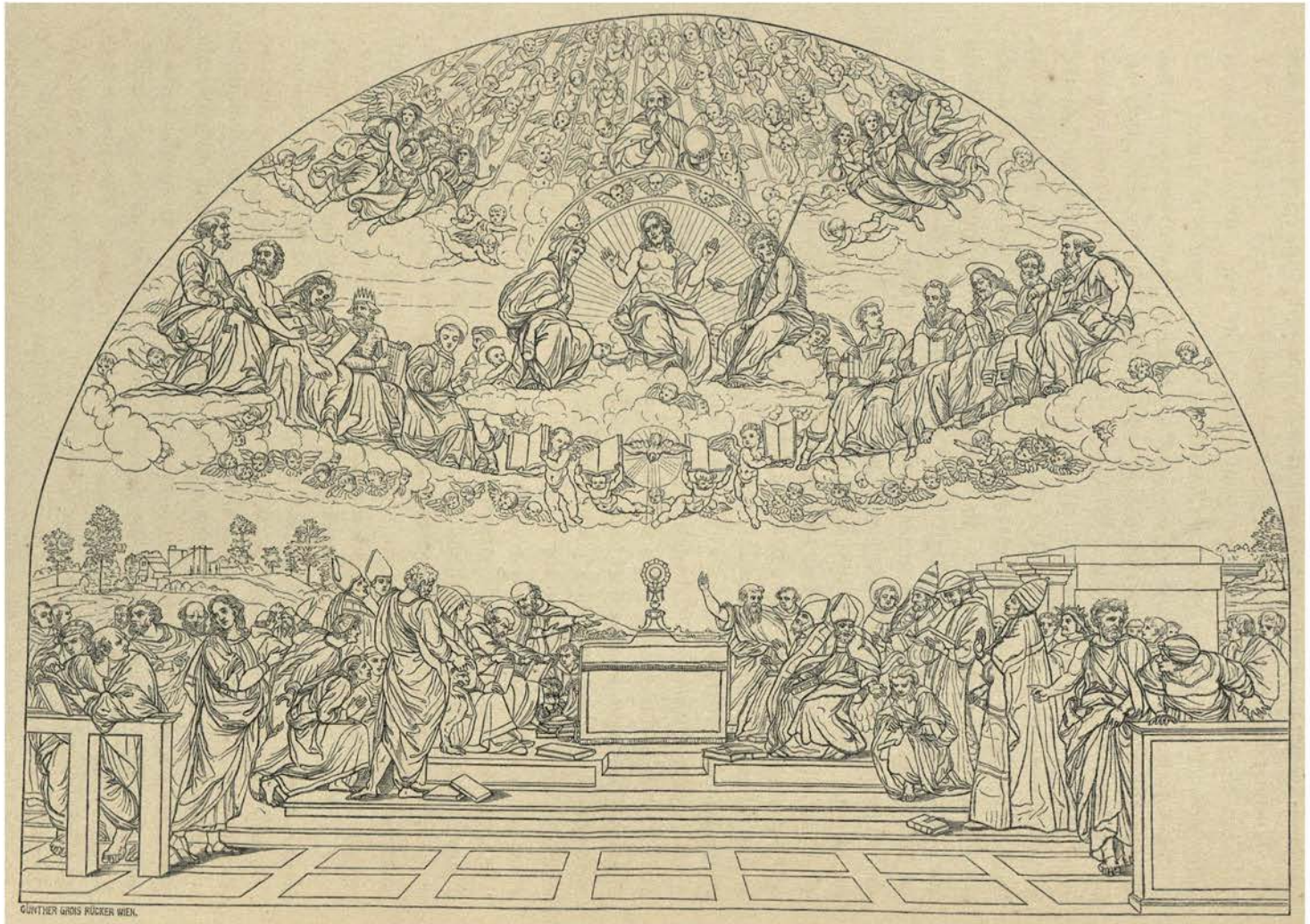


Fig. 371.

adherents,—the wisest of the human race—twenty-seven on each side, form two groups, in every variety of attitude and occupation, and on the side of Aristotle Raphael has placed his own portrait with that of his precursor Sodoma.[91] The magnificent cartoon for this work is in the Ambrosiana.

Jurisprudence is figured as *Justitia;* of which the typical illustration is the judgment of Solomon. The wall below, being divided into unequal portions, did not allow of an equally balanced arrangement; Raphael therefore painted three subjects. On the narrower side, to the left of the window, we see the Emperor Justinian giving his pandects to Trebonianos; on the wider space, to the right, Pope Gregory IX.—a portrait study of Julius II.—seated among his cardinals, is promulgating the decretals. In the arched field over the window are the three cardinal virtues which maintain justice—Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude.

The figure of Poetry is the most gloriously beautiful that Raphael's inspired genius ever created. The wall picture is the Victory of Apollo over Marsyas. In this wall again there is a window, and Raphael conquered the difficulty even more triumphantly than before by representing Parnassus above the opening with Apollo surrounded by the Muses; while on the declivities of the mountain, which extend on to the side walls, he grouped all the most famous poets of antiquity and recent times.

The scheme of subjects in the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* is totally different. The motto of the whole was "God will not forsake His own," and it is lucidly illustrated in the four historical pictures on the walls. But these illustrations were also to shadow forth the triumph of the Church under the two popes by whose orders they were executed, and consequently Julius II. and Leo X. appear here in places where they seriously interfere with the connection of the subjects. Raphael had to submit, and he adapted himself to circumstances by a fresh plan of treatment; indeed, this Stanza shows him in many respects at a still higher stage of his art. The four circular medallions on the ceiling contain scenes from the Old Testament, and all the remaining space is filled with arabesque decorations of infinite variety and grace. These smaller pictures bear a direct reference to the larger works on the walls below. The master does not seem to have executed them all, but only to have supplied the designs[92] which have a special interest in his personal history, as showing that he had seen and understood the grandeur of the Sistine Chapel. The picture to which the room owes its name is that of the miraculous expulsion of the Syrian general Heliodorus from the temple at Jerusalem. The Angel of the Lord in golden armour, on a white horse, has sprung upon the sacrilegious robber, whose soldiers vainly attempt to make off with the treasure. The power both of the conception and the execution are dazzling. While the right-hand side of the picture is filled with terrified and agitated groups, to the left we see Pope Julius II. borne into the temple in a litter to signify the perennial triumph of the Church.

The second picture is the *Miracle of Bolsena*, representing the conversion of a heretic priest by the miraculous bleeding of the Host. This has had to be arranged round a window, and the same plan has been adopted as in the Parnassus; for beauty and ease of composition, as well as for truth of individuality and glowing splendour of colour, this is perhaps the finest work of the series.

Opposite the Heliodorus *Attila, the King of the Huns*, is depicted, diverted from his purpose of seizing Rome by the ban of Pope Leo I., and by the vision of SS. Paul and Peter above the pope's head. The pontiff is a portrait of Leo X., in whose pontificate this picture was finished.

On the fourth wall again, with a window cut in it, Raphael once more triumphantly made a virtue of necessity[93] in representing the *Release of Peter from Prison* (Fig. 372). Admirable as this is in every detail, Raphael's contemporaries were most struck by the wonderful skill shown in the treatment of the gloom of night with the partial illumination of the moon, of torches, and of the heavenly vision. In this, as in everything else, Raphael accomplished what his predecessors had only aimed at.

These pictures, from the *Disputa* to the Release of S. Peter, are so many pages of Raphael's history as a painter; the *Disputa* marks the first step from flatness and shallowness of scenic arrangement; the Expulsion of Attila and the Release of S. Peter have reached the utmost limit of dramatic perspective permissible in mural painting; a step farther would be suicidal—the true style would be lost. They are commonly described as frescoes, and they were, beyond a doubt, painted in the first instance on wet lime; but it seems equally certain that Raphael did not regard them as finished till he had touched them up in many places, *al secco*, and there can be no doubt that this process was far more freely resorted to in the great age of Italian painting than is commonly understood or admitted.

One more fresco by Raphael of this period has been preserved—the Prophet Isaiah,[94] on a pier in the Church of S. Agostino; it has been repainted, and only the type of the figure can be judged of; its resemblance to Michael Angelo's prophets in the Sistine Chapel is conspicuous.

His easel-pictures show the same rapid growth of freedom and the same emancipation from the tradition of the past century. To begin with his portraits, those of Julius II. are among the earliest; in these the expression is full of character, thoughtful, even anxious. The best perhaps are those in the Uffizi and the Pitti Gallery; that in the Uffizi is the finest and the most interesting; there are others of which the genuineness is disputed;[95] [that in the National Gallery is pronounced a copy by Dr. Richter.] In the S. Petersburg Hermitage is a portrait of a man which, if it is by Raphael, must be of this early Roman time as well as that of Bindo Altoviti, certainly by him,[96] in the Pinacothek. Finally, the portrait of a fiery-eyed beauty, known as the *Fornarina*, in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, is accepted as genuine by most connoisseurs.

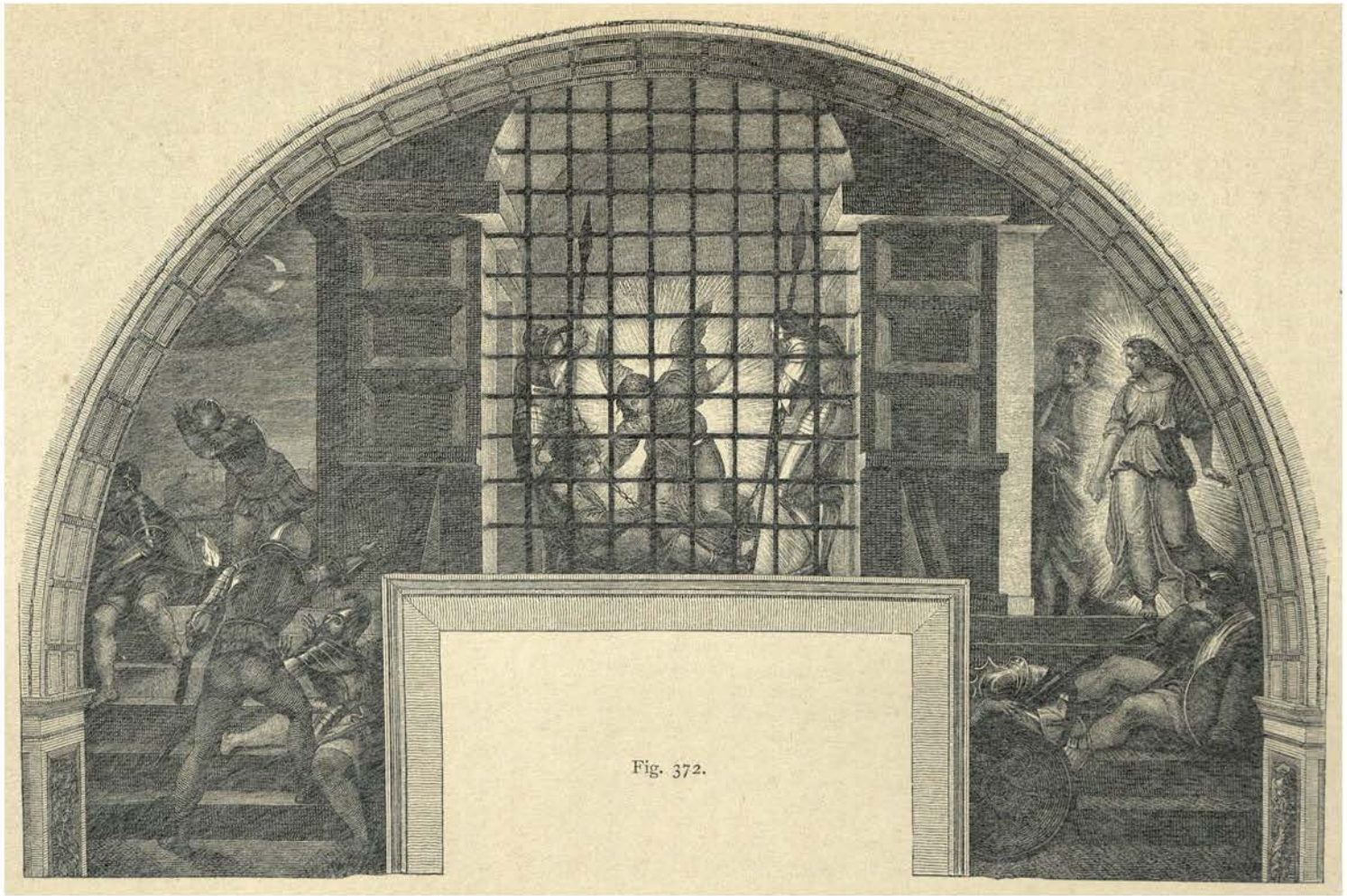


Fig. 372.

His religious pictures greatly resemble those of his earlier period in arrangement and feeling, but the conception is more solemnly mystical, and the execution firmer, freer, and more truthful in texture; the landscape ceases to be rigidly Peruginesque, but is wrought from nature. Lord Ellesmere's is a well-known example of the simplest type of Virgin and Child; of those in which the Baptist figures the most popular perhaps is the circular picture known as the *Madonna della Sedia* in the Pitti, for which there is a sketch in the Lille Museum. The landscapes in the background of the *Alba Madonna*, at S. Petersburg, and of the Madonna with a diadem in the Louvre, are studied from the neighbourhood of Rome. The *Aldobrandini* [Lord Garvagh's] Madonna, in the National Gallery (No. 744), is a very fine example; the action is free and dignified, the painting is broad and truthful, and the arcade gives it dignity. The *Madonna della Sedia*, on the contrary, is essentially domestic in treatment, though no less admirably painted. A similar work is the *Madonna della Tenda;* the original is in the Pinacothek; that in the Turin Gallery is a copy.[97] The Madonna with the candelabra, in the Munro Collection, is another striking variant of the subject: the two tapers, and the cherubs behind the Virgin, give great solemnity to the composition, which in fact reflects the ecclesiastical feeling of the time; unfortunately the picture is not painted throughout by the master himself.[98] The only Madonna picture of this period in which several figures are introduced is that in the Naples Museum; the Virgin and S. Elizabeth are seated in a magnificent marble hall, each with her Infant; S. Joseph is walking alone in the background. The composition is extremely fine, but the execution seems to have been entrusted to some cold-handed pupil.

At this period Raphael produced some grand altar-pieces; the *Madonna di Loreto* is now only known through copies, but two remain which show us Raphael at the summit of his powers—the *Madonna di Foligno*, painted in 1511 for the Araceli church at Rome, and afterwards removed to Foligno; and the *Madonna del Pesce* (*Virgin del Pez*), which quitted the Church of S. Domenico Maggiore at Naples to be the glory of the Madrid Gallery. In speaking of the Foligno Madonna it is hard to decide whether it is more remarkable for its splendid technical qualities, for its glory of colour and atmosphere, or for the fervent religious feeling which finds expression alike in the whole sentiment of the picture and in every head. If Raphael had painted nothing but this altar-piece he would have made good his position as the finest painter and most thorough artist that ever held a brush. The Madrid Madonna (Fig. 373) is less poetical in treatment and aims at no such splendour of colour, though it is rich and bright, and toned to a delightful harmony. It derives its name from the introduction of the figure of Tobias, who kneels to the Infant Saviour, holding the fish in his hand. The composition is altogether more varied than in any other of Raphael's altar-pieces.

We have thus reached the starting-point of Raphael's last period, when press and variety of business compelled him to work with extreme rapidity.

Fig. 373.

His compositions are grander than ever, but he rarely or never executed them himself. The little we have by his own hand shows that he steadily aimed at the highest qualities both of conception and technique.

The third of the *Stanze*, painted between 1514 and 1517, is named, after one of the pictures, *Del' Incendio;* the ceiling, painted by Perugino, Raphael did not touch. Leo X., weary of the anachronisms of the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, which had no excuse but in their symbolical purport, chose the subjects for the walls from history, and selected those of his namesakes, Leo III., 800-816, and Leo IV., 847-858. From the life of the former pope the Coronation of Charlemagne was the first subject selected. In this Raphael, with his unfailing skill, placed the minstrels and singers over the window, which cuts into the wall low down on the left; all the rest is a grand ceremonial scene. The second subject, of which the arrangement is very similar to that of the Miracle of Bolsena, is the justification of Leo III. before Charlemagne.[99] The third picture represents the naval victory of Ostia, won by the army of Leo IV. against the Saracens; and the fourth is the *Incendio del Borgo*, the burning of a suburb of Rome in the reign of the same pope, who is represented as staying the progress of the flames by a miracle; but miracle and history are lost in the vivid details with which the imminence of the peril is set before us; such a powerful piece of dramatic realism was at that time quite unprecedented, and it is easy to understand the excitement it occasioned. None of these pictures were executed by Raphael himself; they were painted by his pupils, and it is even doubtful whether he drew the whole of the designs excepting for the Incendio. But the care with which he made the studies for many of the figures is proved by their existence in various collections; in the Albertina and the Uffizi, for the *Incendio;* and at Oxford and in the Albertina, for the Battle of Ostia; many of them have been altered in the painting, and one fine group of naked men struggling (Robinson's Cat., No. 102) is not introduced at all.

The last of the Stanze is that known as the *Sala Constantina*—much the largest of the four—in which less of Raphael's hand is to be traced than in either of the others. Vasari only says that Raphael began it; indeed, it was not executed till after his death, and though the general scheme is his, in detail many alterations from his designs were made. The pictures are historical, illustrating the founding of the Christian Church under the auspices of Constantine. Raphael originally intended[100] that the four subjects should be the Vision of the Cross, Constantine's Victory over Maxentius, the Judgment of the Prisoners, and the Intervention of Pope Sylvester to prevent the slaughter of the children in whose blood Constantine desired to bathe to cure himself of a disease. The last two were discarded in favour of the Baptism of Constantine and the Presentation of Rome to the Popes; in these Raphael had absolutely no share. He is responsible only for the composition of the first two, and for some of the figures of popes which fill the walls at the sides of the principal pictures. A comparison of the original drawing for the Vision of the Cross, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, with the finished

work, shows that many deviations from it have marred the design. The principal interest centres, however, in the picture representing the Victory of Constantine over Maxentius; it is probable that Raphael furnished the drawings for by far the greater portion of this grand work, which is the first example of the representation of a great battle-scene known in the history of art. To the right we see the Milvian bridge, and to the left the Campagna, across which the Christian host are rushing down on the city. Constantine on horseback is seen in the middle of the picture, with the Angel of Victory floating above his head. The heathen are taking refuge in boats or trying to swim the river, and the action of the separate groups is as wonderful as the impetus of the contending masses. A drawing in the Oxford Galleries (Robinson, No. 143) is the study for two soldiers swimming and fighting.

It is an interesting fact in the history of technique that two of the allegorical figures are painted in oil on the method advocated by Sebastiano del Piombo; the rest are executed in fresco.

From the Stanze we pass into the Loggie, a colonnade originally open to the courtyard, but now protected by glass windows; the architecture was Bramante's, and Raphael was commissioned by Leo X. to decorate the arcades. For these again he only furnished the designs, and not all of those; he left the execution entirely to his pupils, though he lived to see the work finished in 1519;[101] but few of his sketches for the Loggie have been preserved—at Windsor, Oxford, and in the Albertina—but the spirit of Raphael reigns over all. Fifty-two pictures fill the panels of the vaulted ceilings of the thirteen Loggie, and the pilasters are covered with ornament in the late Roman style, (known by the comprehensive designation of "grottesque") imitated from the baths of Titus, then lately excavated;[102] these decorations are remarkable as being the highest outcome of that particular style (Fig. 374).

The panels in the ceiling are of greater interest in the history of painting. The first twenty-eight of these are subjects from the Old Testament, and the whole series is commonly known as "Raphael's Bible"; and though four from the New Testament and eight others, representing the history of David and of Solomon, are not his in any sense, forty remain which were no doubt designed by him and which are highly characteristic of his skill in telling a story with the utmost simplicity and the fewest possible figures. In the pictures of the Creation he could, it is true, hardly escape imitating Michael Angelo; still, in those of Adam and Eve he shows himself independent, and they are the finest of all. As we follow the cycle to the end we are charmed here by the idyllic grace, and there by the dramatic power of the compositions, and by the unfailing beauty of the lines in the action and grouping of the figures.

Other two rooms in the Vatican were decorated from Raphael's designs—the Sala Vecchia de' Palafrenieri, which has been entirely altered in the repainting; and the bath-room of Cardinal Bibbiena, finished in 1516. In the

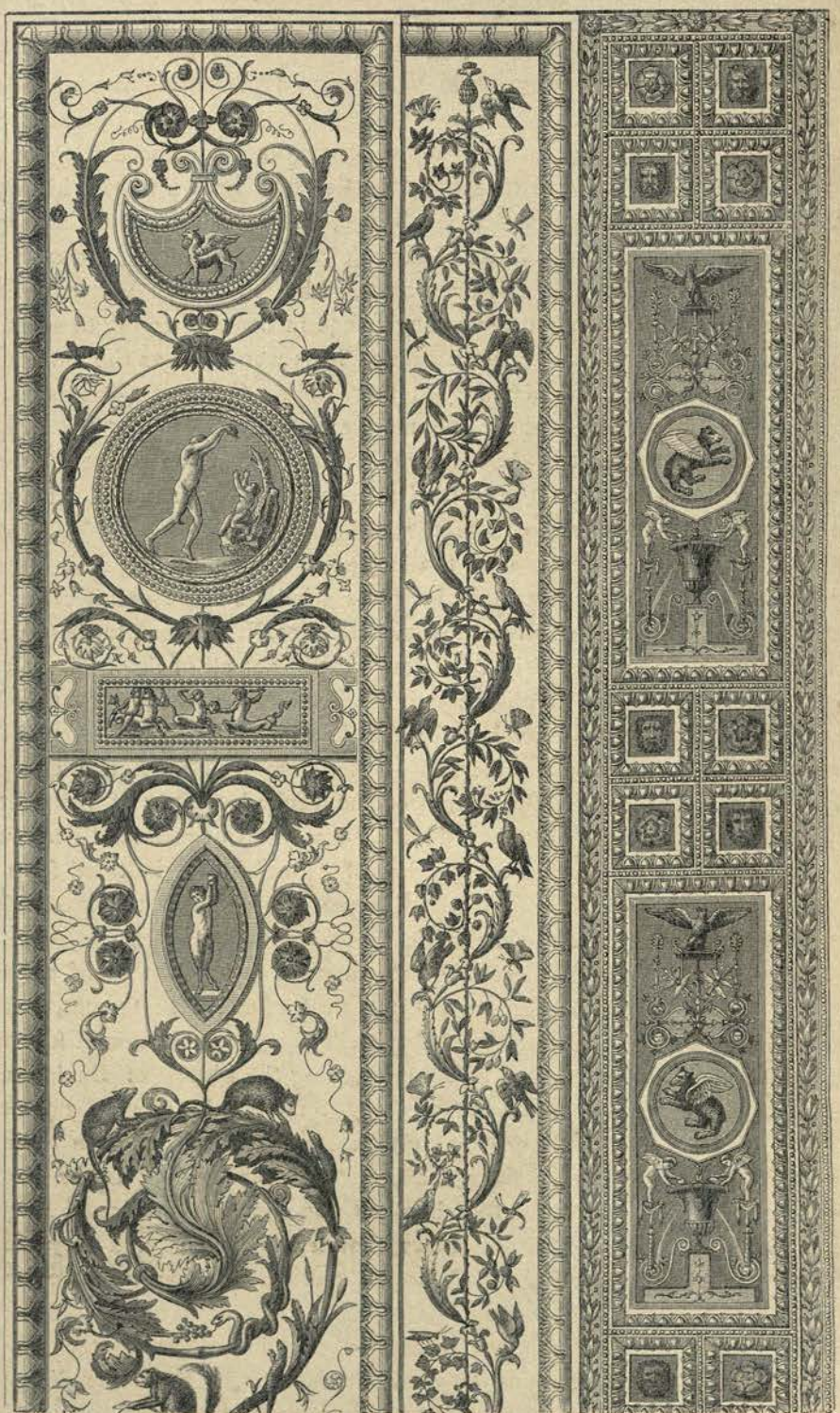


Fig. 374.

Sistine Chapel, he also had work to do. The panels below the great pictures by the Umbrian and Tuscan painters of the fifteenth century were hung with

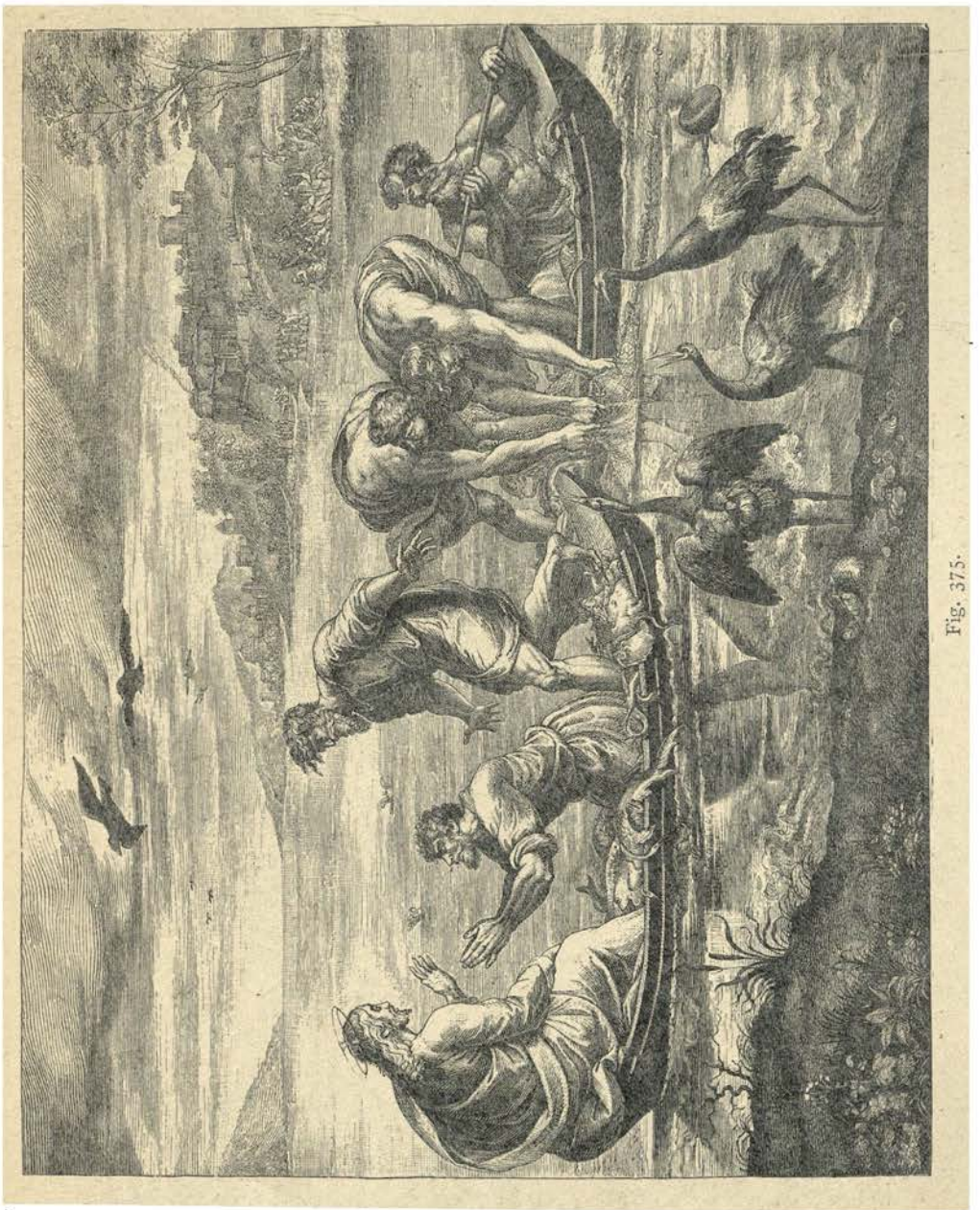


Fig. 375.

old tapestry in which the archaic drawing was in strong contrast with that of Michael Angelo, and Leo X. instructed Raphael to prepare cartoons for new tapestry. They were to represent ten scenes from the history of the apostles, and these cartoons, executed between 1515 and 1516, are among his grandest

works.[103] Three of them have perished, the remaining seven are in the South Kensington Museum, and though they have suffered some damage by being

used as patterns, they are still to be reckoned among the noblest works of art the world can boast of. Two of the most beautiful are the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (Fig. 375), and Paul preaching at Athens (Fig. 376). The tapestries

from these cartoons, woven in Brussels, were finished and hung up in 1519, and are now, after a long absence and many vicissitudes, preserved in the Vatican. Other copies were made at the Brussels Factory and may be seen in the Dresden Gallery and the castle at Madrid. There is also in the Oxford Galleries a sketch by Raphael for a cartoon for the tapestry of the Coronation of the Virgin, which, in its finished state, can hardly be ascribed to him, though it now hangs with the others in the Vatican. Leo also ordered him to design the set of tapestry representing the life of Christ. For this he only made a few slight sketches; still, it bears the character of his school.

The pontiff's last commission was for the frescoes of the Papal Chapel at La Magliana, and for these again Raphael provided the sketches, but left the work to his pupils. The Martyrdom of S. Cecilia was destroyed in 1830 by a barbarous owner, but the composition is known from an engraving by Marc Antonio. The picture of God the Father, supported by angels strewing flowers, was acquired for the Louvre in 1873. The frescoes in the Borghese Gallery, which are commonly known as from *Raphael's Villa*, may also be mentioned; they were executed by his pupils. The Gods Shooting (see *ante*, p. 490) is worked out from a drawing by Michael Angelo; the Marriage of Alexander and Roxana is from a drawing by Raphael, now in the Albertina.

In S. Maria della Pace Raphael was commissioned by Agostino Chigi to execute a series of prophets and sibyls. The picture of the sibyls, which Vasari speaks of as Raphael's finest work, is obviously inspired by a study of Michael Angelo, though the suavity of the lines is peculiar to himself; he only supplied the first sketch for the figures of the prophets. Raphael also designed for this wealthy patron the architectural and plastic decorations of the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, and the mosaic ceiling—half Pagan, half Christian astronomical emblems; the original sketches for these are in the Oxford Collection. The most important work he executed for Chigi were the paintings on the walls and ceilings of his palatial villa, which now bears the name of the *Farnesina* and belongs to the Duke de Ripalda, a Spaniard. One of the loveliest of these pictures is the Galatea[104] (Fig. 377), painted in 1514 in a Loggia, which had already been partly decorated by *Peruzzi* and *Sebastian del Piombo*. In this work the antique really lives again; thus would the Greeks themselves have painted under the influence of the culture of the fifteenth century. In no other work do we find Raphael at once more realistic or more purely idealistic than in this. It is with the same perfect amalgamation of the antique and the modern that he designed the pictures of Cupid and Psyche in the Northern Loggia. This, however, was not the work of his own hand. The series was finished in 1517; the garlands which frame and connect the decoration are by *Giovanni da Udine*, and the rest of the work was executed by *Giulio Romano* and *Francesco Penni;* they have given us coarse forms and harsh colours; still, the beauty of Raphael's conception and composition has

Fig. 377.

survived. Not one of his predecessors or of his imitators has ever displayed the nude with such divine purity, nor has any other master succeeded in telling a story so simply, so dramatically, or with so few figures. Of the ten pictures of this series one, representing Mercury descending to release Psyche, is the

subject of the woodcut (Fig. 378). The drawings in red chalk for some of this series are in the Louvre, the Albertina, and at Windsor.

Towards the end of his short life Raphael produced, besides the designs for these sets of frescoes, a great number of drawings to be engraved by *Marc Antonio*, of which mention will be made in the next chapter. There are serious objections to the hypothesis that he ever himself used the graver.[105]

Of his other drawings, one in the Albertina, which he sent in 1515 to

Fig. 378.

Albert Dürer "to show what he could do" is among the most interesting; it is a study of admirably drawn male figures, proving how diligently he worked from nature, even in his ripest mastery.

During these last years of his life he was overwhelmed with commissions for easel-pictures, which, again, he was forced to entrust to other painters to execute from his designs. He himself only painted portraits or those grand religious subjects which his soul loved, particularly those of an ecstatic, visionary character which gave rise to fresh problems of pictorial treatment; the

Madonnas and Holy Families, into which he constantly introduced new variations on the hackneyed theme, he left to be executed by his pupils, though the care he devoted to their composition is always conspicuous. The following pictures of this class may be considered to have been certainly designed by him, though painted only under his eye. Four important Holy Families are: (1) That *with the lizard*—or *under the oak tree*, in the Madrid Museum; this was probably painted by *Penni*. (2) The famous picture in the Louvre—a commission from Francis I. of France; in this S. Elizabeth and the Baptist, with an angel strewing flowers, adore the Holy Infant with His Mother and Joseph—a noble composition in which the powerful but cold colouring suggests the co-operation of *Giulio Romano*. (3) That known as *The Pearl*, at Madrid, which seems to be identical with that described by Vasari as having been painted for Count Canossa; this is very finely composed and admirably executed; still, the handling does not resemble that of the pictures known to have been painted by the master, and seems to be the work of the same artist as the Louvre Madonna. (4) A smaller Holy Family in the Louvre. All these pictures are characterised by having a cradle introduced, and other works of the same class are the *Madonna dell' Impannata* in the Pitti Gallery; the *Madonna del Passeggio* in the Bridgewater Gallery, and another, with a Banderole, in the Madrid Museum; besides some very striking and dramatic figures of saints; for instance, the youthful Baptist seated on a rock with a panther skin round his loins; of this there are replicas in two or three collections (the Uffizi boasts of possessing the original, painted by the master himself); S. Margaret and the badly-restored S. Michael, in the Louvre. The S. Michael may have been originally painted by Raphael, but Vasari tells us that the S. Margaret was almost entirely wrought out by *Giulio Romano*.

At this last period of his short life Raphael devoted himself with evident interest to painting portraits; one of the finest pictures of this time is the portrait group, finished about 1518, of Leo X., with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici on his right behind the table, and Ludovico de' Rossi on his left (Fig. 379). In this fine work Raphael can bear comparison with any portrait-painter the world has produced; the typical characteristics are grasped and recorded with truth and dignity; texture and detail are equally masterly, and the portrait group is at the same time a richly-coloured composition, and a miracle of tone in the treatment of the flesh in contrast with the mass of red drapery. The original is in the Pitti Palace, and there is a brilliant copy by Andrea del Sarto in the Naples Museum. Not less splendid is the portrait of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Madrid Museum—a replica by another hand is in the Pitti; we may also name as vivid and characteristic portraits those of Thomas Inghirami (Fedra) at Volterra—a contemporary copy in the Pitti; of Baldassare Castiglione in the Louvre, and an admirable water-colour drawing, said to represent Timoteo Viti, in the British Museum. Others have disappeared, but the Doria

Gallery at Rome and the Museum possess replicas of the picture of two Venetians, Navagero and Beazzano. A portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, long supposed to be lost, is said to have passed into the possession of the Grand

Fig. 379.

Duchess Maria of Russia some fifteen years since;[106] two delightful portraits by Raphael are the Violin Player in the Sciarra Palace, Rome, 1518, and the fair Youth in the Louvre. His most famous portraits of women are the lovely *Donna Velata* in the Pitti, and Joanna of Aragon in the Louvre, a splendid work, though in fact it was only executed from a drawing Raphael had made

Fig. 380.

at Naples to work from, painting the head only with his own hand and leaving the rest to Giulio Romano.

The sacred works of this period are of the greatest interest. Two of these have a more dogmatic feeling than most of his earlier religious works; these are the Salutation, not entirely by him, and *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia* (Fig. 380), a grand composition of Christ bearing His Cross—both at Madrid. The latter is singularly interesting from having obviously been suggested by Schongauer's large engraving, and the woodcut from Dürer's larger Passion. The treatment is simpler, however, the drawing free and broad, and the colour powerful. In my opinion by far the greater portion is the work of Raphael himself.

Of even greater interest are the purely devotional or, as I have called them, visionary pictures.[107] The Madonna di Foligno was an earlier work of this class, and he now painted the S. Cecilia, finished in 1516, for the Church of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna. It is now in the Pinacoteca there; it is certainly the work of the master himself throughout, excepting the musical instruments, which, as Vasari tells us, were painted by Giovanni da Udine. Then there is the Vision of Ezekiel in the Pitti Gallery—inspired no doubt by Michael Angelo, but full of the spirit of the younger master—and the famous *Madonna Sistina* in the Dresden Gallery, which was painted for the Church of S. Sisto at Piacenza, where its place is now filled by a copy. The painting is thin, facile, and rapid, on canvas. Such broad and fused brushwork combined with such noble and realistic modelling was a revelation, and while the heads are wonderfully lofty and pure the spiritual feeling is fervently devout. The solemn gaze of the Holy Child might convert an unbeliever (Fig. 381). Other pictures of the same type were only sketched; drawings exist at Oxford, Lille, Windsor, and elsewhere, for a picture of the Resurrection, never executed;[108] and in the Louvre there is a fine drawing from which the picture in the Parma Gallery, known as the Five Saints, was executed by another hand. The Coronation of the Virgin, in the Vatican, was begun by Raphael in 1516 for Monteluce, but not finished till 1525, after his death, by his scholars; and finally the famous Transfiguration, also in the Vatican, was begun by him with the full intention of painting the whole himself, the picture being a commission from Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who at the same time ordered Sebastiano del Piombo's Raising of Lazarus, both intended for the cathedral of Narbonne. But death overtook him when he had finished only the upper half; the lower portion was executed by his scholars. The hand of Giulio Romano is plainly recognisable. It is intended that the spectator should understand that the actors in the scene below do not see Christ and the prophets in the Transfiguration scene above, and to attain this end the artist has drawn the upper group on a larger scale, and from a different point of sight. Here we find art at its highest development having intentional recourse to an effect which, in its earlier

Fig. 381.

stage, was produced by ignorant *naïvete;* an ideal requirement has set aside the laws of actuality. The glorious young master who, during his short life, was the favourite of all his contemporaries and the idol of his disciples, can

only be rightly judged by the standard that his own works, and those of his best time, afford us. The frequent employment of inferior hands has done his reputation injury, both among his contemporaries and in our own day.

His eager, all-embracing energy undermined his health. He died on Good Friday, 6th April 1520, at the age of thirty-seven. It was an irreparable loss, and as we contemplate his untiring genius and striving we cannot but wonder what he might not have accomplished if he had lived longer.

II. RAPHAEL'S FOLLOWERS—THE ROMAN SCHOOL.—Raphael had collected round him in Rome a great number of pupils. He needed their services in the execution of his vast decorative works; they needed him to help them to fulfil the demands of the new era, and they were the willing devotees of his personal charm. So many of them, however, became completely absorbed into their master, as it were, that the number of those known to history by any marked individuality was but small. His favourite friends, to whom he bequeathed his property, were *Francesco Penni*, called *Il Fattore*, and *Giulio Pippi*, known as *Giulio Romano*. Their names are associated with his in almost every work of his later days in Rome. *Giovanni Francesco Penni*, 1488-1528, was an artist of no independence; he painted from Raphael's designs in the Loggie of the Farnesina and Vatican, and on other works. After Raphael's death he, with Giulio Romano, finished the Coronation of the Virgin for Monteluce, and he did some copies of his master's works; he has left very little that was original.

Giulio Pippi (*Romano*) 1492-1546,[109] was the most independent, and on the whole the most important, of Raphael's followers. Indeed, so long as he worked under his master, it might have been desired that he should have shown less independence. His nature was altogether less refined, and he interpreted Raphael's sketches in a quite different language of coarser forms and hard, brick-red flesh tones with smoky shadows. In his own works the influence of Michael Angelo predominated over that of Raphael. Still, he had the lion's share in the execution of his master's works, especially during his later years. He worked under him so early as to assist in painting the *Incendio*, and subsequently in the Loggie of the Vatican and the Farnesina; and after Raphael's death he was employed in the Constantine *Stanza*, where the battle picture is his work. He also painted several of the easel-pictures that were produced in Raphael's studio, especially when they were for foreign patrons—as the larger Madonna in the Louvre, and probably *The Pearl* at Madrid.

The earliest of his independent decorative works were the mythological frescoes in the Villa Madama, as it was subsequently called, done in 1521 for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, now a perfect wreck—and those in the villa erected by the same patron a few years later on the Janiculum. This was

afterwards called the Villa Lante, and is now a nunnery. A few fragments of these pictures exist in the Villa Borghese. During this earlier Roman period he also painted sacred subjects in which we feel the lack of Raphael's fine sense of beauty. Nay, they have so completely lost every vestige of religious sentiment that they are scarcely above the level of *genre*. Among them may be mentioned the Madonna with the cat in the Naples Museum (of which the motive is borrowed from "The Pearl" at Madrid), and others at Rome and in the Uffizi; while one in the sacristy of S. Peter's still shows a reminiscence of Raphaelite grace. In 1524 Duke Federigo Gonzaga invited the painter to

Fig. 383.

Mantua,[110] where he lived for twenty-two years, so variously and incessantly busied with architecture and painting that he almost re-created Mantua. His achievements as an architect cannot occupy us here; we must first direct our attention to his decorative works, on which he employed the scholars who soon gathered round him. The grandest series he designed for the Palazzo del Tè. The great hall there, in fact, marks an epoch in the history of animal painting; the chief pictures on the walls are portraits of the Duke's favourite horses; they are marvellously lifelike, though the master only drew the studies and left the painting to his scholars. The ceiling of the second hall is considered Giulio Romano's finest work; it represents the story

of Cupid and Psyche. Having painted the same subject from Raphael's designs in the Villa Farnesina, he now desired to show his own conception of the poem. Many of the pictures are cruder and more extravagant than in Raphael's treatment; in others he descends almost to the level of *genre;* still, though the lines are occasionally deficient in beauty, the compositions are well considered and the

Fig. 384.

colouring unusually fresh and clear for Romano. The larger subjects occupy the walls, and are sensual and coarse in the figure drawing, but rich in variety of detail and accessories (Fig. 382). The third hall, which is also decorated from designs by Romano, is of no great interest; it is in the fourth that we see his daring spirit of innovation, the walls and ceiling being covered with subjects from the Fall of the Titans. There is no division of frame or panelling; the surface is alive with gigantic forms, as though the spectator were standing in

the midst of the catastrophe; and the effect is really oppressive, because the size of the room bears no proportion to the huge stature of the figures in the foreground that are being crushed under the falling ruins (Fig. 383). It is the apotheosis of the *Baroque*, and it is significant of the baleful effect of this example that Vasari tells us that the painters of his day borrowed largely from

Fig. 385.

this composition. It was executed, between 1532 and 1534, principally by *Rinaldo Mantovano.*

It is impossible even to enumerate all the works planned or executed in Mantua by this prolific artist; it may suffice to state that the mural paintings of subjects from the Trojan War, painted between 1532 and 1538 in the ducal palace, even at the time excited but little attention. The archæology is

admirable, but the movements of the actors are affected and forced (Fig. 384), the whole result is a grievous example of the mannerism already beginning to prevail. This superficial elaboration is no less marked in some of his easel-pictures; for instance, in the Capture of Carthage, the Continence of Scipio, and the Rape of the Sabines in the National Gallery,[111] and in examples in the Louvre. Of his later sacred works the most remarkable are his frescoes in S. Andrea at Mantua, and his designs for the paintings executed by Torbido in the cathedral at Verona (*ante*, p. 430). The Adoration of the Magi in the Louvre, and the Dresden *Madonna della Catina* he painted throughout; and the latter, with the Holy Child being bathed, is a very graceful and pleasing work (Fig. 385). The collections of his drawings in the Louvre and elsewhere show his amazing industry and versatility; his characteristic feature is a combination of archæological study with trenchant realism.

Of his pupils at Rome *Raffaello della Colle*, from Borgo San Sepolchro, deserves to be mentioned, while in Mantua he was the master of *Rinaldo Mantovano*,[112] and of *Francesco Primaticcio*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at some length in a future chapter. [Nos. 643 and 644 in the National Gallery, under the name of Giulio Romano, are ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to his pupil Rinaldo Mantovano.]

Besides *Giulio Romano* and *Francesco Penni* Raphael produced some other pupils who distinguished themselves principally in decorative work. *Giovanni da Udine*, born in 1487, was, Vasari says, at first a scholar under *Giorgione* at Venice, but was afterwards trained by Raphael to execute his frescoes. Two distinct elements appear in his style; on one hand a remarkably naturalistic feeling for landscape and still life, and on the other a great facility in the arrangement of the Pompeian or grottesque style of ornament. Vasari speaks of a fellow-countryman of his, a certain *Morto da Feltre*,[113] as the actual rediscoverer of this old Roman style; but he also tells us that Giovanni da Udine, who was a modeller as well as a painter, was the first to carry it to perfection, applying the treatment of wreaths in the borders to Raphael's pictures at the Farnesina, and the antique method of ornament in the Loggie. A certain vine trellise which decorates the corridor under the Loggie in the Vatican is one of the best known examples of his taste, and he was extensively employed in the villas and palaces of Rome and other cities. He died in 1564.

Piero Buonacorsi, better known as *Pierino del Vaga*, 1500-47, was Penni's brother-in-law, and, like him, employed in the Loggie. He was for the most part a decorative painter, but he also painted figures, and Vasari mentions some of the panels in the ceilings as being his work. He not only worked under Raphael, but designed a considerable number of façades, halls, and even church frescoes in Rome; and after the sack of the Eternal City he went to Genoa, where he decorated the palace of the Doge Andrea Doria with great magnificence. His strong point lay in the general effect and fanciful details; his

figures were generally very mannered. He returned to Rome, where he designed the ceiling of the *Sala Regia* of the Vatican, finished after his death by *Daniele da Volterra*, and a hall in the Castle of S. Angelo, in which he is singularly faithful to the style of the antique grottesques. [Dr. Richter ascribes No. 225 in the Nat. Gallery to P. del Vaga, assigned in the catalogue to G. Romano.]

Hardly any independent works are known by two other scholars who assisted Raphael in painting the Loggie of the Vatican—*Vincenzo dei Tamagni*[114] of S. Gimignano, born in 1492, last heard of in 1529, and *Pellegrino da Modena*, 1483-1523. They were extensively employed in painting the outsides of palaces and houses, a form of art that was then the fashion in Rome.

The favourite artist for such decorations was, however, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, whose real name is said to have been *Caldara*. He was born in the little town of Caravaggio in Lombardy and studied in Rome under Raphael, whom he assisted in the Loggie; but he soon took to working independently. He and his great friend *Maturino*, who died young and is not known as an artist in any other connection, produced a vast number of façade decorations, for the most part in *sgraffito* or in monochrome; they were generally friezes with historical or mythological subjects, and remarkable for archæological detail and delicacy of chiaroscuro. Under the hands of these decorators Rome assumed an altered aspect. Their works have almost all perished; but we have record of a considerable number in engravings of the sixteenth century, and the fine Niobe frieze, of which the drawing is preserved in the Corsini Palace, was extant not long since on the front of the house numbered 6-8 in the Via Maschera d'Oro. In the Church of S. Silvestro at Monte Cavallo there are two "landscapes with figures," authenticated by Vasari,[115] illustrating the history of Mary Magdalene, which are interesting as early examples of this class of pictures. The sack of Rome drove Polidoro southwards, and it was in Sicily that he painted the large Crucifixion, his most important easel-picture, which is now in the Naples Museum. In this he has abandoned the antique and the traditions of the school of Raphael, and adopted a powerful realism by which he to a great extent gave the tone to the Neapolitan school. He was assassinated at Messina in 1543.

The master who did most to transmit Raphael's style in all its purity to the schools of the south was *Andrea Sabbatino*[116] of Salerno, who must have been one of his earliest pupils, since he had returned from Rome so early as 1513, and worked in Salerno and Naples till about 1545, when he died. His pictures must be studied in the churches of those towns and in the Naples Museum. He died at Naples where his finest works are: a fresco in the Church of S. Cennaro de' Poveri, and one of the best of his easel-pictures—the Adoration of the Kings, in the Museum. His forms are pure and his colouring delicate, with great simplicity and grace. Henceforth the school of Naples, during the sixteenth century, remained under the influence of Raphael, notwithstanding

some false naturalism and mannerisms. *Gian Bernardo Lama* and *Antonio d'Amato* are regarded as followers of Andrea Sabbatino; *Marco Cardisco*, called by Vasari *Marco Calabrese*, is a disciple of Polidoro's, though his style also resembles that of Sabbatino; *Pietro Negroni*, a scholar of Marco Calabrese, brings us down to the end of the sixteenth century; the works of these masters may be studied at Naples, but are all of inferior merit.

In Sicily we find but one painter of any mark, *Vincenzo Ainemolo*[117] of Palermo, and he was known by the name of Il Romano, which indicates his connection with the Roman school. No doubt the strongest artistic impression of his youth was produced by Raphael's famous work *Lo Spasimo*, as it is called, in S. Maria at Palermo, and in or about 1520 he seems to have visited Rome and to have studied among the disciples of Raphael. After his return to Naples—perhaps in 1527 with Polidoro—he may have executed the fine picture of Christ bearing the Cross, in the Convent of S. Maria Nuova, which has lately been ascribed to him; in 1530 we find him again in Palermo, and his best remaining works in that city, while they betray the marked influence of Raphael, also show a strong individuality. Our last record of this master dates from 1552.

The last artist to be mentioned in connection with Raphael is the famous engraver *Marc Antonio Raimondi*. The year of his birth is unknown; he was a native of Bologna, where he was working at the beginning of the century, partly from pictures by Francia and partly from his own invention (as the Nativity, B. 16, Passavant 8), till he made acquaintance with Dürer's engravings. These so forcibly struck him that he copied first and last about eighty of the German master's woodcuts and copperplates, and even when he became an adherent of the Roman school, clung very constantly to the Northern style of landscape background. These studies developed his taste and execution to wonderful perfection. In 1510, when in Florence, he engraved Michael Angelo's group of soldiers bathing, but soon after he removed to Rome, where he devoted himself to reproducing the designs and works of Raphael. The two artists felt that they were made to complement each other: the engraver first rose to the summit of his fame through the beauty of the compositions he now reproduced—some of them drawn expressly for him; the painter's genius, on the other hand, gained in fame and popularity throughout Europe. Marc Antonio was in fact the father of engraving as a reproductive medium for the diffusion of art. Raphael, it is true, often gave him no more than a hasty sketch, and the skill with which the engraver filled it in, giving it the true Raphaelesque vigour and charm, is quite astonishing. One of the earliest plates executed after Raphael is the Murder of the Innocents (B. 20, P. 9), for which the sketch exists in the Albertina; one of the finest is that known as the "Quos Ego" (B. 352, P. 138), Neptune riding in a Shell. After Raphael's death Marc Antonio attached himself to Giulio Romano, as in the Bacchus and Ariadne (P. 193), and also worked extensively

from the antique which he was largely instrumental in making popular. He and his followers not only engraved antique subjects as treated by contemporary painters—for instance, Raphael's pictures in the Villa Farnesina—but they borrowed directly from antique examples, as in the famous Judgment of Paris (B. 245, P. 137), which is engraved from a drawing composed by Raphael from various ancient bas-reliefs; and they sometimes reproduced antique sculpture absolutely unaltered: thus Marc Antonio engraved the Apollo Belvedere, the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, and a group from a sarcophagus, of Apollo, Minerva, and the Muses.[118] He died at Bologna not later than 1534. The most remarkable engravers of his school are *Agostino Veneziano* and *Marco Dente* of Ravenna.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCHOOLS OF SIENA, FERRARA AND BOLOGNA.

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (*Il Sodoma*)—His work in the Stanze and in the Villa Farnesina—Frescoes at Siena—His followers—*Baldassare Peruzzi*, architect and painter—His works in the Vatican—FERRARA and BOLOGNA—*Dosso Dossi*—The rarity of his works out of Italy—*Garofalo*—Life and early works—His frescoes at Ferrara—"The miniature Raphael"—*Mazzolino*—Other painters of the Bologna Ferrarese School—Innocenzo da Imola, an imitator of Raphael.

I. AT SIENA, where, during the lifetime of Cimabue and Giotto, masters worthy of such great contemporaries had lived and flourished, the fifteenth century had brought a melancholy decadence; in the sixteenth, however, its artistic life was resuscitated by a painter of Northern Italy. This was *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi*, who is better known by the name of *Sodoma*.[119] Hot-headed, reckless, and eccentric, nature had gifted him both with a handsome person and with a keen sense of beauty. He worked with ease and rapidity, but without diligence; in his best moments he is singularly happy, but only too often his figures are boneless and ill-balanced, and his composition is almost always incoherent and purposeless, though he tells his story vividly, and is a master of expression. Vasari, no doubt, under-estimated him, but the present tendency is to over-rate him; he is not a master of the first class, though we may place him among the *primis proximi*, as Pliny has it. He was born at Vercelli in 1477, and first learned of a mediocre painter of the town named *Spanzotti*. Then he studied under Leonardo da Vinci, to whose school his earliest efforts show that he belonged; they have not, however, all been identified and remain open to doubt.

In 1501 we hear of him at Siena, working at frescoes and easel-pictures. His frescoes are the rather insipid mural paintings in the Convent of S. Anna in Creta, near Pienza; the Ascension of Christ in the castle chapel at Trequanda in the Valdichiana, and above all the twenty-six frescoes, executed in 1505 and 1506 in the Benedictine Convent of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, near Buonconvento. The cycle from the life of S. Benedict had been begun by *Luca Signorelli*, and though only a few of the pictures are worthy of Sodoma at his best—for example, the Saint's Investment (Fig. 386)—they serve to illustrate his early style with its adherence to the Da Vinci type, and its limited scheme of composition. One of his early easel-pictures of the same period is the Deposition from the Cross in the Fine Arts Institute at Siena. Morelli and Frizzoni also ascribe to him a *Pietà* and a Leda in the Borghese Gallery, a

Madonna in the possession of the Duke of Westminster, a Lucretia at Turin, a noble portrait of a lady in the Städel Institute—hitherto attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo—and a drawing of a young man with a dark-coloured cap in the Albertina. In 1507 Agostino Chigi, the Crœsus of Rome, paid a visit to Siena, which was his native town, and invited Bazzi to return with him to Rome. There Julius II. commissioned him to decorate the *Stanza*

Fig. 386.

della Segnatura which, however, he ere long transferred to Raphael, who destroyed all Bazzi's work but a few *putti* on the ceiling, though he afterwards testified to their friendship by painting his portrait close to his own in the school of Athens. He painted his best pictures in Siena after 1510—the year of his marriage—the fresco of the Flagellation in the Church of S. Francesco, of which the remains are now to be seen in the gallery; and a large altar-piece now in the Turin Gallery. The small Madonna in the same Collection,

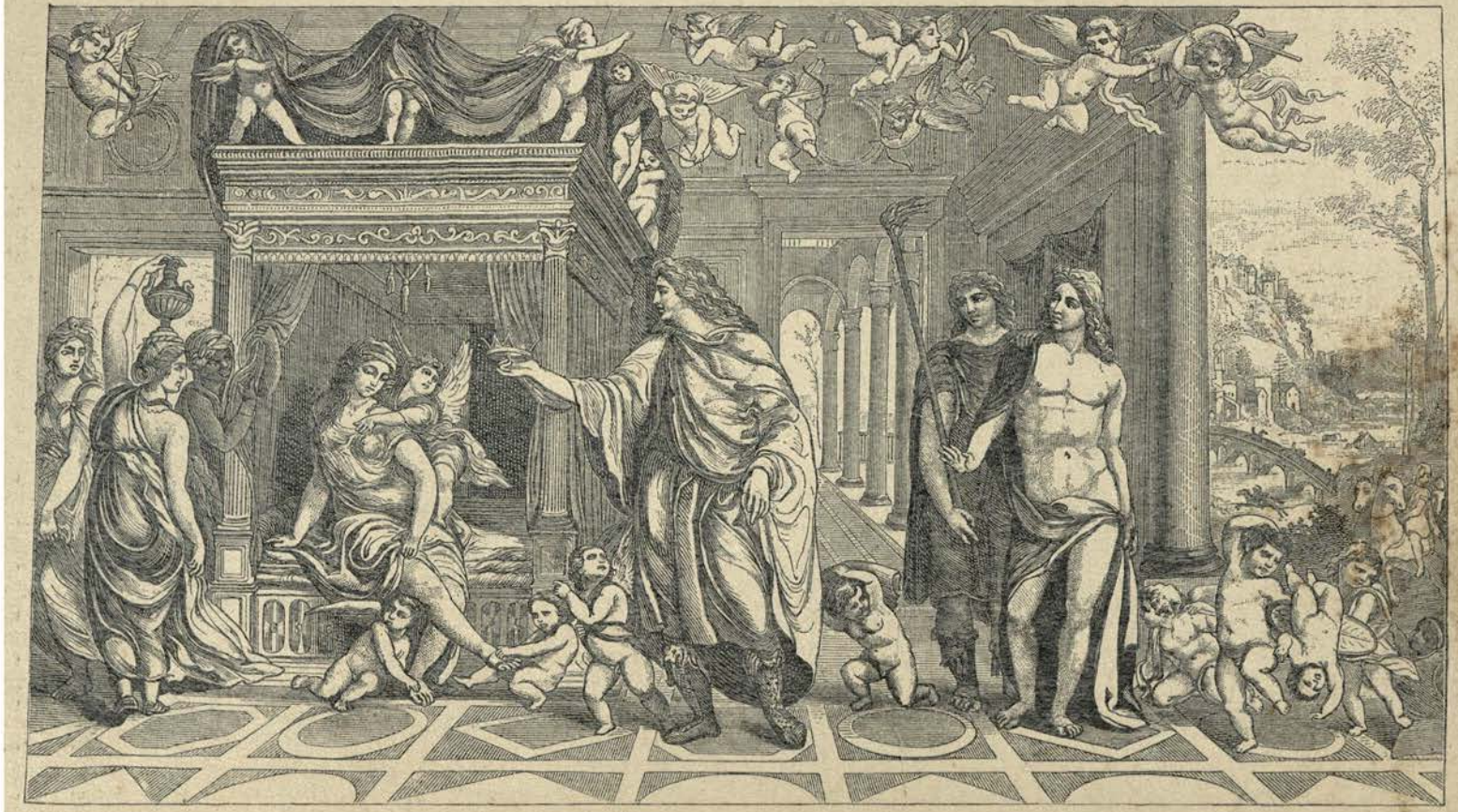


Fig. 387.

and a very similar picture in the Munich Pinacothek, with two pictures formerly ascribed by Frizzoni to *Baldassare Peruzzi*, but now given to Bazzi by Morelli; a figure of Charity in the Berlin Museum, and a Lucretia in the possession of Herr Kestner of Hanover—all belong to this period. In all we see the traces of his visit to Rome contending with the old Lombard tendencies.

Sodoma returned to Rome in 1513 or 1514,[120] and then undertook the decoration of Chigi's bedroom in the Villa Farnesina. The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, on the wall opposite the window, is the finest treatment of a subject from the antique by this master (Fig. 387). It is composed after the description of Aetion's picture given by Lucian. Alexander approaches Roxana to crown her, little loves flutter and play about them. Vulcan, bearing a torch and leaning on Hymenæus, stands in the porch. In this Sodoma has shown us the results of his Roman experience; the composition still lacks concentration, but the individual figures are full of living grace and beauty; there is no more lovely head in art than that of Roxana. Over the chimney-piece of the same room—which now is rarely shown—is a picture of the family of Darius doing homage to the victorious Alexander. This may originally have been painted by Sodoma, but it has now been badly restored. On one side of the fireplace are Vulcan in his Forge, and Cupid who has come to him for his arrows; opposite to these Alexander is represented taming Bucephalus (or subduing Pegasus). The whole result is extremely beautiful; still, as compared with Raphael's works in the lower rooms, these are but a faint shadow of perfection. Sodoma painted a Lucretia for Leo X., for which he was made a knight; the picture is lost. After 1515 he worked principally in Siena, where most of his remaining works are to be seen; but he also visited Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Florence, Piombino, Volterra, Pisa, and Lucca. In 1518 he was employed with *Pacchia* and *Beccafumi* on the frescoes in the oratory of S. Bernardino (Siena), which for unity of design and effect are among the most delightful examples of Renascence decorative work. The scenes are from the life of the Virgin, with figures of the leaders of the Franciscan Order. In his share of the work Bazzi has revelled in the representation of female beauty, but the composition is firmer and more to the purpose than usual.

In 1525 he executed the decorations of the Chapel of S. Catherine in the Church of S. Domenico. The two principal pictures, which are his highest efforts in sacred subjects, are "The Swoon of S. Catherine,"—that is to say, the saint receiving the stigmata (Fig. 388),—and "The Saint in Ecstasy," receiving the Host from the hand of an angel. Emotion has never been better rendered, and in these pictures Sodoma displays consummate mastery of mystical expression, while the architectural decoration is of the greatest elegance. His frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena are of a later date; and in the Sala della Ballestra

Fig. 388.

are three noble ideal saints—S. Vettorio, 1529, a splendid knight with delicious little angels; S. Ansano, the typical priest, baptizing a man who kneels before him, 1529; and S. Bernardino Tolomei, a dignified old man, 1534; a picture of the Resurrection, 1535; a Madonna with saints over the altar of the chapel, and others. The pictures in the Chapel of S. Jacopo in S. Spirito are partly in fresco and partly in oil. For all these works of his later time we have no sketches or studies, so that we are almost tempted to believe Vasari's statement that Sodoma painted on the wall at once without any previous preparation. That the execution is extraordinarily unequal is indisputable, but the best of them are certainly classical works in the widest sense.

Sodoma's easel-pictures are so numerous that only a few can be mentioned here. Most of them have unfortunately darkened so much as to have lost much of their original charm. In 1516 or 1517 he painted, at Siena, the lovely Holy Family with S. Calixtus, in the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. At Reggio he painted in 1518 the picture of S. Omobonus, recently discovered by Frizzoni; this and some other pictures in the possession of Signor Frizzoni and Signor Morelli betray the interesting fact that Sodoma, during his stay in Northern Italy, from 1518 to 1525, reverted to his early Lombard manner. It was in Siena in 1525 that he executed the wonderful banner now in the Uffizi; on one side is the Virgin with saints, on the other S. Sebastian, one of the finest figures in the whole range of Christian art. A not much later work is the fine altar-piece with the Adoration of the Kings in S. Agostino at Siena.[121] Bazzi seems to have passed the last years of his life in peaceful retirement at Siena with his wife, and Vasari's story that he was separated from her can be proved to be false by documentary evidence; he died in February 1549. No one will dispute his position as one of the most remarkable artists of his time; unprejudiced criticism will ratify Vasari's verdict, however, that with such exceptional gifts Sodoma might have held a higher rank if he had studied nature more diligently as an artist, and lived more strictly as a man. [A small Madonna picture with saints represents this master in the National Gallery (No. 1144). The shadows have become very dark.]

Of Sodoma's pupils little need be said, though he was surrounded by painters who, more or less, were influenced by him. *Giacomo Pacchiarotti*, born 1474, and last mentioned in 1540, was an adventurous wanderer who painted but little; his pictures show him to have been a follower of *Bernardino Fungai*, though Bazzi's facile grace has left its mark on his work. This is at any rate the case in the Ascension, in the Instituto delle belle Arte at Siena. His two pictures in the same collection, and one in the Florence Academy, are affected to grimace, and devoid of style.

A master of greater mark was *Girolamo della Pacchia*, born 1477, last

mentioned in 1535, who has been sometimes confounded with Pacchiarotti.[122] His early works, as the Coronation of the Virgin in S. Spirito at Siena, show the traces of Perugino's influence, or at any rate that of the Florentine school. The drawing is simpler and purer than in Pacchiarotti's work, the execution is thin, the colouring warm and rich. The Annunciation, 1518, in the Siena Institute, shows a distinct affinity in style with *Albertinelli*, and in the same year he was working with *Sodoma* and *Beccafumi* on the frescoes at S. Bernardino. Of these he executed the figure of S. Bernard of Siena, and two scenes from the history of the Virgin. In the Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 389), very evidently inspired by Andrea del Sarto, he vies with Bazzi in the beauty of the female forms and faces, though some of their attitudes are a little forced. His best work is seen in three frescoes of the miracles of S. Catherine, in the Oratory of S. Catherine in Fontebranda at Siena. There are Madonna pictures by him in the National

Fig. 389.

Gallery, No. 246, and the Munich Pinacothek; he stands rather as a rival than as an imitator of Sodoma.

Another painter who has evidently come under the influence of Sodoma, but also under that of Pinturicchio, is *Baldassare Peruzzi*,[123] who thus appears as half a Lombard and half an Umbrian. He was born at Siena in 1481, and became one of the greatest masters of his time. As an architect he was an imitator of Bramante and of the ancient Romans, whose works he diligently studied and sketched. Mention has already been made of the Villa Farnesina, of which he was the architect, and after the death of Raphael he was immediately appointed architect in ordinary to S. Peter's. His decorative work of every kind remains a model for all time, but his masterly knowledge of perspective, and his unfailing sense of fitness and proportion, came no less to his support in his paintings; at the same time his figures are apt to be mannered and forced, for his devotion to decorative work led him to treat the figure too as a decoration, and to sacrifice the truth of nature; while in the highest work of this class no discord should be perceptible between the purely decorative value of the lines and colours and natural grace and truth. Peruzzi, in short, must be considered rather as a decorator than as a painter in the highest sense of the art. He went to Rome in 1503; his first works there were the frescoes in the apse of S. Onofrio, in which we find him a follower of Pinturicchio; the same influence is visible in two small pictures from Roman history in the Madrid Museum, which Morelli very rightly ascribes to him (Nos. 537 and 574). In 1508 he designed the wonderfully effective mosaics of the ceiling of the subterranean Chapel of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, in which we see the first fruits of his archæological studies. The Farnesina was built in 1509-11; the remarkable decoration in the upper story, representing a perspective of pillars, with a landscape in the distance, though it is not actually the earliest attempt of the kind, is the first work of this class on so large a scale; in the hall below, where Raphael painted his Galatea, Peruzzi designed the splendid ceiling in which the false panelling deceives even a practised eye. He also worked in the room in the Vatican, now containing the Heliodorus, and to the same period of his life we may ascribe the great frescoes, subjects from Roman history, in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome, which have, however, been incorrectly attributed to other masters. He designed a number of façade decorations which served as models for those of Polidoro and Maturino; these have fallen victims to their exposed position. His pictures from the Old and New Testaments in S. Maria della Pace, painted in 1517, show that he had been studying under Raphael and Sodoma; and when, later still, he painted the Annunciation in the same chapel, his devotion to Raphael is obvious. Quite in the spirit of Raphael, too, is the fine cartoon of the Adoration of the Kings in the National Gallery. In 1522 Peruzzi went to Bologna, and on his way back he visited Siena. Till the disasters of 1527

he was chiefly employed in Rome in carrying on the works at S. Peter's. The sack of Rome drove him home to Siena, where he was fully occupied during the next few years, painting the Judgment of Paris in the Villa Belcaro, and the fine fresco in the Church of Fontegiusta, representing the Emperor Augustus with the Tiburtine sibyl (Fig. 390), dramatically conceived after the manner of Michael Angelo. This shows the latest stage of his development; the feeling for form is grand, but the action is somewhat theatrical and declamatory.

Peruzzi's easel-pictures are few. The traces of Sodoma's influence are visible in the Rape of the Sabines in the Chigi Palace, and it is probable that a Holy Family in the Pitti Palace (No. 345), is by him; the delicate forms and cool colour show an independent follower of Raphael. He returned to Rome in 1535, where death interrupted his architectural labours in 1537.

A disciple, more strictly speaking, of Bazzi in Siena was *Beccafumi*, whose real name was *Domenico di Jacopo di Pace*, and who also bore the nickname of *Mccarino* or *Meccherino*.[124] He seems to have been born about 1486, and was evidently influenced by Perugino, who was at Siena in 1508-9. In 1510 he went to Rome to study under Raphael and Michael Angelo. Sodoma's fame however attracted him back to Siena, where he remained till his death in 1551. His pictures, which are numerous, reflect the spirit of his various masters; his latest style is severe, cold, and rather studied; the most important works of his early period are the frescoes he executed in emulation of Sodoma and *Pacchia*, in 1518, in the oratorio of S. Bernardino at Siena; the Marriage and the Death of the Virgin are by him. The chief decorative work of his later time is the ceiling, with subjects from ancient Greek and Roman history, in the hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Notwithstanding the mannerism and gaudy colouring of the drapery and the conventional treatment of the nude, the confident breadth of handling and well considered composition leave no impression of decadence. [Three small panels from a predella by this rare master were exhibited at Burlington House in 1884, the property of Mr. W. Graham.]

II. FERRARA AND BOLOGNA—The Ferrarese schools of the *cinque cento* were, until lately, regarded as followers of Raphael. The glory of the Roman master, which dazzled all Europe, was no doubt reflected in them, and his influence is plainly traceable in many of their works; still, their most marked characteristics are the inheritance of the north of Italy, where the Ferrarese still lead the van. Their chief distinction is in colour; though many of the masters of Ferrara show careful and noble drawing, in contrast to the Venetians they all, with the exception of Mazzolino, adopt a grave, cool scheme of colour which does not, however, lack depth or richness and purity. At the same time their composition, though careful, is freer and less conventional than that of the Romans, and they show a marked vein of realism with a love of landscape and

Fig. 390.

accessory detail which, like the pure landscape school of Ferrara, not unfrequently recalls the painters of the Netherlands.

At the head of this school stands *Giovanni Niccolo di Lutero*, commonly called *Dosso Dossi*,[125] who was born in 1479 near Mantua. He learned the elements of his art from *Lorenzo Costa* in Bologna; and we subsequently find him settled at Ferrara as court-painter to Alfonso d'Este; but in 1512 he was working for the Gonzagas at Mantua, and in 1532 was at Trient. It was formerly asserted that he spent six years in Rome with his younger brother Battista, and studied in Venice for five; but this is not proved and is highly improbable. Still, it may be admitted that he was influenced by the Venetians. Dosso is, on the whole, essentially Ferrarese, and he worked out in his own way the transition from the strict austerity of the fifteenth century to the breadth and freedom of the sixteenth. He was the friend of Ariosto, who has sung his praises, and a vein of romance and poetry characterised his nature. His by-name of *Dosso* first appears in 1532, and it was not till towards the close of his life that he used the monogram of a *D* and a bone (*osso*). He died in 1542.

His works are numerous but often pass under other names; they are frequently recognisable by the introduction of certain favourite colours—a light straw-yellow, a bright light green, and a vivid red in the dresses of his figures. We can only mention the best known examples. The Gallery at Ferrara, to which almost all the finest works have been conveyed from the churches of the town, possesses several; above all, the grand altar-piece in six panels from S. Andrea, with the enthroned Madonna in the middle, surrounded by angels and saints and the infant Baptist on the steps of the throne; the four side pictures are figures of saints, and in the lunette is the risen Saviour; the whole work is so full of sublime and solemn feeling, is so admirably executed, and so peculiar and gorgeous in colour and luminous effect, that it ranks as one of the great productions of the greatest period of Italian art. In the same gallery there are too a charming Annunciation, from S. Spirito, and the fine picture, with its grand landscape background, of S. John in Patmos. In the hall of the castle are still to be seen some of the decorations executed by Dosso and his brother, in his later and more mannered style.

Modena is no less rich in this master's works; especially noteworthy is the cathedral altar-piece—the Virgin in glory with saints; another fine example is the Assumption of the Virgin, in S. Pietro; while the picture of a Dominican treading temptation under foot in the form of a beautiful woman shows the fantastical side of his genius. In the gallery of the same town is the famous picture of the Night of the Passion with its weird but poetical landscape; and three oval paintings representing the Pleasures of Eating, Drinking, and Music are interesting as being early examples of *genre*. To mention a few of Dosso's more important works in other towns of Italy, the S. Sebastian in the Brera, and an altar-piece in the Chigi Palace, are remarkable for breadth and rich colouring.

Fig. 391.

The Circe in the Borghese Gallery is a highly characteristic work; the enchantress performs her mystic rites in the calm light of a verdurous glade. Some of his most interesting pictures are in the Doria Palace, while the Pitti Gallery has an early picture of the Flight into Egypt, which, again, has a very pleasing landscape. Of Dosso's works out of Italy the most important are in the Dresden Gallery, and the decorative cycle there, though all designed by the master no doubt, are many of them executed by pupils. The large upright picture representing the Eternal Father blessing the Virgin in heaven, with five Fathers of the Church below, is no doubt the work of his hand (Fig. 391). There is a good and brilliantly coloured Adoration of the Kings by Dosso in the National Gallery, and in the Louvre a small Holy Family,—circular, with a charming landscape,—besides a figure of S. Jerome. Dosso is one of those masters whose independence of conception is irresistibly attractive. [There are at Hampton Court two pictures by Dosso (Nos. 80, 97), besides others which are perhaps by him, though attributed to other painters. "His works," says Dr. J. P. Richter, "are extremely rare. There are none perhaps out of Italy excepting at Hampton Court and at Dresden." Notwithstanding this his name is attached to many works in other collections. No. 82 in the Royal Institution, Liverpool, was accepted as his work at the Manchester Exhibition; there is one at Alnwick, known as "Pianto e Ira," and a few examples have been lent to the Old Masters Exhibitions.]

A less important painter was his younger brother *Batista*,[126] with whom he is said to have worked, and it has been supposed that the landscape backgrounds of Dosso's pictures were done by this brother. At the same time it is to be noted that Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso*, and Lomazzo in his *Trattato*, make no distinction between the brothers. Batista died in 1546.

Dosso's most successful rival at Ferrara was *Benvenuto Tisi da Garofalo*, commonly known, from the place of his birth, as *Garofalo*.[127] He was born in 1481, and in 1491 went to study under Domenico Panetti. After 1498 he led a wandering life; first, at Cremona, he worked with *Boccaccino*, but in the following year he went to Rome, and in 1501 removed to Bologna, where he studied with *Lorenzo Costa*. In 1504 we find him at Ferrara in close intimacy with Dosso; in 1509 he again visited Rome, where he came under the influence of *Raphael*, and in 1512 returned to Ferrara, where he continued to work till he became blind in 1550; he died in 1559. His imagination was less vivid and original than that of Dosso; he is simpler and calmer, and he never sacrificed his characteristic Ferrarese placidity to the various influences to which he was exposed. Among the most interesting of his works, especially as compared with Dosso, are various pictures of his early time in the Borghese Gallery, and the very gorgeous and attractive Nativity in the Doria Gallery, which is there ascribed to *L'Ortolano*. Most of his early works are in the galleries of Rome; in these his treatment of the figure is essentially Ferrarese,

and his colouring cool though strong ; his blues are slaty and his reds purplish, combined with a full orange yellow and a deep bright green to a peculiar harmony in a minor key. His early works are scarce in collections out of Italy ; one, an Entombment, is in the Hermitage at S. Petersburg.

After his second visit to Rome Garofalo's compositions show the feeling for flowing lines that distinguishes the Roman school ; the character of his figures is more conventional, and his colouring has a more equable glow ; his landscapes, often half hidden by a curtain or a building, are sunny and idyllic. He still

Fig. 392.

worked conscientiously and intelligently, and it was not till his latest years that his drawing and colour became unpleasantly cold. Of the frescoes executed during his second and best period those in chiaroscuro in two rooms of what is now the Archiepiscopal Seminary at Ferrara are interesting because, being executed between 1517 and 1519, they show the influence of his Roman experience on his treatment of the figure. There are others of sacred subjects in the cathedral and in the museum. His principal works were, however, great altar-pieces for the different churches of Ferrara ; a fine example, the Virgin enthroned with six saints, is in the cathedral, and there are about half a dozen in the museum. Others may be studied in the Modena Gallery, in the Venice

Academy, and in the Brera; at Berlin, at Dresden, and at S. Petersburg; in the National Gallery there is a splendid example of this kind (No. 671), an altar-piece from the Church of S. Guglielmo at Ferrara. Garofalo's speciality, however, was a class of pictures on a smaller scale from Bible history, from which he has been called "the miniature Raphael"; and no doubt in many of them Raphael's influence is very visible, as in a small Entombment in the Berlin Gallery, and the Call of Peter in the Borghese Gallery. Small pictures by Garofalo are indeed very numerous, all showing his characteristic treatment of landscape and colour. There are three in the National Gallery. In Rome they are to be seen in every collection. The Annunciation (Fig. 392) is in the Capitol. Mythological subjects by this painter are rarer; three in the Dresden Gallery are interesting—that of Neptune and Pallas, dated 1512, as showing his early style under Costa, while the Bacchus and Ariadne is said by Vasari to have been executed at an advanced age from a drawing by Raphael.[128] A Boar-hunt in the Sciarra Palace, and a Cavalcade, ascribed to Bagnacavallo, in the Colonna Palace at Rome, seem to be by him; but his *genre* pictures are very scarce.

Certain pictures much resembling Garofalo's in manner are attributed to a painter named *L'Ortolano* (the gardener), *Giov. Battista Benvenuti.* He is not mentioned by any early historian of art,[129] and as some, at any rate, of the works ascribed to him seem certainly to be by Garofalo—for instance, the fine Nativity in the Doria Palace—while some look like the work of inferior pupils, it must remain undecided here whether such a painter ever existed. [Of the example in the National Gallery (No. 669) Dr. J. P. Richter says that "it is apparently by an imitator of Dossi and Garofalo, but that the identity of the painter is still a problem in art."]

A contemporary of Garofalo, born in Ferrara in the same year, 1481, and, like him, a scholar under Costa at Bologna, was *Ludovico Mazzolino*,[130] who died about 1528-30. He was always an independent artist who made no attempt to imbibe anything from Raphael, and his pictures, which with one exception are on a small scale, have a peculiar glow of colour, while his figure-drawing is realistic and often extravagant. His only large picture, the Adoration of the Kings, in the Pinacoteca at Ferrara, does not show him at his best, though the background is one of the most beautiful landscapes to be seen in Italy. The best examples of his smaller works are in the galleries of Rome and Florence; there are, however, pictures by him in the Louvre, Paris, and at Berlin and Munich. [Nos. 169 and 641 in the National Gallery are considered good examples, and there is one in the Bridgewater Gallery.]

Vasari mentions *Girolamo da Carpi* as having been a pupil of Garofalo's, but he also must have come under the influence of Dosso. He was born at Ferrara in 1501 and died in 1568, and after working in the manner of his masters he gradually became a mannered imitator of Correggio. An example

of his early and better style is the Holy Family in the Gallery of the Capitol. In the Pitti Palace, besides a specimen of his later manner, there is an admirable portrait of Bartolino Salimbeni.

Bartolommeo Ramenghi da Bagnacavello was also born in the district of Ferrara, in 1484, and though he became a pupil of Francia's at Bologna, some

Fig. 393.

of his pictures show plain traces of his Ferrarese origin; he is commonly classed with Raphael's pupils in the Roman school, but wrongly, as Morelli thinks.[131] Still, though the great altar-piece at Dresden and the picture of Three Saints at Berlin betray the influence of Dosso, it cannot be doubted that they show something of Raphael's feeling in the treatment of the figure. An early and distinctly Ferrarese work is the Crucifixion in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Bologna, recalling the sentiment of Francia. The Circumcision in the

Fig. 394.

Louvre, in spite of the twisted pillars borrowed from Raphael's cartoon of the beautiful gate, is distinctly Ferrarese in feeling (Fig. 393), but Raphael has

certainly suggested the composition of the Madonna with saints in the Pinacoteca at Bologna. He executed various frescoes for churches in that town, and died there in 1542.

A painter whose career ran almost exactly in the same groove as that of Bagnacavello was *Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola*, about 1481-1550, by whom a few pictures are known—one in the possession of Lord Ashburton, and others in the Pesth and Berlin galleries, and in the Louvre.

Another painter who was strongly influenced by Raphael, and who was in fact less independent in his aims than any of those already mentioned, was *Innocenzo Francucci da Imola*, who lived from about 1494 to 1550, and worked principally at Bologna, where he may best be studied. A picture of the Madonna in a Vision, in the Pinacoteca there, painted in 1517, is an example of his early manner which has been supposed to betray Florentine teaching; while a Virgin and Child with saints, in the same gallery, shows his later style as a follower of Raphael (Fig. 394). He frequently was content to work up pictures from designs by Raphael. [A copy of a Holy Family ascribed to him is in the Royal Institution, Liverpool.]

CHAPTER V.

CORREGGIO AND HIS FOLLOWERS.[132]

CORREGGIO'S position as a master—His life and training—His early sacred pictures—Decorative works at Parma—The Convent of S. Paul—The domes of S. Giovanni and the cathedral—Easel-pictures—Sacred pictures—Mythological pictures—Mercury and Cupid in the National Gallery—His originality and characteristics—His pupils and followers—The *Mazzuola*—*Parmegianino*—His frescoes at Ferrara—Sacred and mythological easel-pictures.

I. ANTONIO ALLEGRI DA CORREGGIO, one of the five or six stars of the first magnitude of that brilliant epoch, also belongs to the Bologno-Ferrarese school. He vied with Leonardo for tender *sfumato*, with Titian for glow of colour, with Raphael for grace, and with Michael Angelo for vigour and variety of action. At the same time he is independent of them all, and created a style which was absolutely new, giving the youthful forms in which he delighted a wealth of beauty and charm, while he achieved effects of chiaroscuro till then undreamed of, which invest his figures with a poetical sensuality that left its mark more plainly on his successors than on his contemporaries. Though his composition is sometimes disorderly, the movements of his figures forced, and his heads conventional in type and affected in expression, this charm never fails. He is even more subjective than Michael Angelo; with him there is no distinction between Christian saints and heathen gods; they are alike human, alike modern, always gracious and poetical. Those who regard art as a great educational influence will not find what they seek in Correggio; those who ask of it only that it should be art will place him in the first rank. In technical qualities few of his contemporaries can compare with him; he was the first master—the Venetians notwithstanding—to take a scheme of colour and chiaroscuro as the *raison d'être* of a complete composition, and his brush, responding to the idea blends light and shade in delicious harmony. In his maturity Correggio stands alone, untrammelled by any school, but in his early works we can trace the process of his development.

He took his name from the little town of Correggio, where he was born in 1594. Nothing is known of his early life; he can have learned nothing more than the rudiments of his art from *Antonio Bartolotti*, at that time the chief painter of the place—which under independent rulers had taken its part in the movement of the Renascence—nor from his uncle *Lorenzo Allegri*, who was also a painter. An old tradition speaks of *Francesco Bianchi*, a Ferrarese disciple

of *Tura's*, as Correggio's master, and recent investigations confirm it; but Bianchi died when his pupil was no more than sixteen, and what the lad did next is not known. He may have gone to Mantua and studied the grand per-

Fig. 395.

spective of Mantegna—though this has recently been strenuously denied—and it seems probable that he was familiar with the works of Lotto. In 1514 he was settled in his native town, and was commissioned to execute an altar-piece for the Minorite Brethren, which was finished in the following year (Fig. 395); it

is now at Dresden. S. Francis bends the knee to the Virgin, who extends her hand in benediction; behind him is S. Anthony; on the Virgin's left stand S. Catherine and the Baptist. The composition is suggestive of Costa and Bianchi, but it is full of life and movement, and the hovering angels are wholly his own. The drawing is sound, the modelling firm and round, and the colour harmonious, though not lost in light as in his later works. This Madonna is the first authenticated painting by the master, but a recent critic has recognised other pictures as earlier works; thus, a brilliant small Madonna in the possession of Signor Frizzoni of Milan; and another in the Uffizi (No. 1002), there ascribed to Titian; another small Holy Family, much repainted, in the museum at Pavia; and a fourth, a Madonna in the Museo Municipale at Milan.[133] For some years Allegri lived at Correggio; he was still there on the 17th March 1518; and to this period we must assign Lord Ashburton's large picture of four saints; the Riposo in the Tribune of the Uffizi—a much-disputed work; and a charming little picture of the Virgin on her knees before the Infant Saviour in the tribune of the Uffizi; besides a Madonna with S. Joseph and S. Jerome at Hampton Court, which is unduly neglected.[134] It is not certain that any of his frescoes of this date are still extant. The widow of Gian Pietro Gonzaga employed painters from Correggio to decorate a room in her palace at Novellara in 1514, and a painted ceiling from thence, representing Ganymede borne on an eagle, is now in the gallery at Modena. Thirty-two frescoes from the "Casino di Sopra" passed into the possession of the painter Emil Girard, lately deceased.[135] The impression produced by these paintings makes it probable that the Maestro Antonio who is mentioned as being engaged on them was Allegri rather than Bartolotti, though they were certainly not entirely his work.

In 1518 Correggio went to Parma, where only it is possible at this day to form an adequate judgment of his genius. His first commission there was given him by Donna Giovanna, the abbess of the wealthy nunnery of S. Paul. By her orders he was to decorate a square vaulted room with mythological subjects, and the young painter of twenty-four was thus quite in his element. The principal picture, over the chimney-piece, is suitable enough—Diana riding through the clouds in a chariot drawn by fawns. The six lunettes in monochrome testify equally to the master's archæological knowledge and his technical skill, but the work on the ceiling is even finer; the sixteen groins that meet in the centre are treated as the props of a bower of vines, roses, and creepers, with an oval opening in each, through which a crowd of enchanting children are seen among the greenery, one or two in each medallion-like gap (Fig. 396), playing with weapons and instruments of the chase as followers of the goddess; all, without exception, are characterised by youth, innocence, and beauty of form, painted in exquisite flesh tones, and are drawn from the point of sight of the spectator below.

Fig. 396.

On the completion of this work in the following year Antonio returned to his native town, where he now married and settled, and where his eldest son Pomponio was born in September 1521. But within a year he had again undertaken important works at Parma, and removed thither soon after. Here his three daughters were born, and here, between 1521 and 1530, he executed in the churches a number of frescoes which roused the wonder and admiration of the whole world. He began by undertaking, in July 1520, the decoration of the choir-apse and the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista. The Coronation of the Virgin which filled the apse was partly removed in the sixteenth century, but with very bad success; the principal group, however, is in tolerable preservation in the library at Parma; the head of the Virgin especially is wonderfully lovely with its expression of celestial rapture. The pictures in the dome are still in their place, but in bad preservation and in a very bad light. The Saviour, foreshortened to the perspective from below, hovers in the centre, surrounded by the twelve apostles grouped in couples—powerful semi-nude figures, muscular but not clumsy, and full of expression both of gesture and feature (Fig. 397). Angels entirely naked support or play about them, and the whole scene, though it is meant for the Ascension, is more like a vision from the Apocalypse. The four Evangelists are enthroned in the four corners, with four Fathers of the Church, all grand figures. The scheme of dome decoration, in which the solid structure of the dome is ignored and the picture represents a glimpse into heaven, is here for the first time carried out to its logical results, though it had already been adopted in a more timid way—for instance, by Melozzo and Mantegna. It is a pity that the brilliant effects of light which originally gave glow and balance to the figures have so nearly disappeared. Other frescoes of this period at Parma are the Annunciation in S. Annunziata, of which little is now to be seen but the smiling and quite earthly face of the Virgin, who gazes at the Angel; and the Madonna *della Scala*, a colossal Virgin and Child in the picture gallery, originally above one of the city gates.

In 1522 Correggio was commissioned by the Chapter of the cathedral to decorate the dome and the choir of the church. The choir, however, was never executed; the dome he painted in 1526-30 with a picture on a very large scale of the Assumption of the Virgin, represented in strict but decidedly *baroque* perspective from the spectator's point of sight below. The dome, which is octagonal, is very high and rests on a tambour which rises from the four principal pillars. In the four divisions between these are the four patron-saints of Parma supported by angelic genii of wonderful beauty—SS. John the Baptist, Thomas, Hilarion, and Bernard. The base of the dome is painted with a balustrade, which is supposed to enclose the tomb from which the Virgin has just risen; the twelve apostles, who are usually introduced as the spectators of the Assumption, are therefore placed behind and outside it. On and about it angels are sporting—at once

the most human and the most divine that ever were depicted. Child-angels, solely absorbed in their own free and blissful existence, play among the clouds at the edge of the dome; and the whole effect at first is a confused mass and tangle of limbs—indeed, being seen from below, principally of legs. The Virgin soars upwards in a half-sitting attitude guided by the angel Gabriel

Fig. 397.

to the radiant realm of the blessed, where the Saviour bends down to receive her; among the souls in glory we see, oddly enough, Eve, the first to sin. The work has suffered greatly, and it is hardly possible to judge of what may have been the original effect; no copy or engraving can reproduce the delicious radiance which must have contributed, far more than either the grouping or the expression, to produce that ecstatic idealism which alone renders the treatment of such a subject possible. The religious purport of this work has been much

discussed, as well as the scheme of treatment of the dome-surface; but it remains a marvel of ingenuity and technique.

Besides these great frescoes Correggio painted a vast number of easel-pictures which may be divided into two classes—the religious and mythological. None of the portraits which here and there are attributed to him

Fig. 398.

can be regarded as genuine. He, like Michael Angelo, may have painted one now and then; but he, like the great Florentine, had the subjective spirit which can only express itself and not transcribe others. One of the most charming of Correggio's early works in Parma is the Marriage of S. Catherine, now in the Louvre; the three principal figures are radiant with an all-too-mundane love, but are amazingly sweet and pure, while the master's feeling for light and colour is expressed in a tender golden glow.

Replicas are frequent, but their genuineness is doubtful; even that at Naples has been disputed. There is, however, in the Naples Museum a charming and unquestionable picture—the *Zingarella*, or the Virgin with the Rabbit. This is an early work, and so are the Christ as a Gardener in the Madrid Museum, and the Madonna *della Cesta* in the National Gallery, which is bright with poetical atmosphere. Correggio's most characteristic works were painted soon after 1520. To this period belongs an often repeated Madonna, of which the original is in the possession of Prince Torlonia at Rome, and a genuine replica at Pesth. Of the Christ on the Mount of Olives in the Duke of Wellington's Gallery there is a duplicate in the National Gallery, ["an indifferent copy," says Dr. J. P. Richter.[136] [Two altar-pieces in the Parma Gallery were painted probably at the same time as the frescoes in S. Giovanni—the Martyrdom of S. Placidus and S. Flavia (Fig. 398), and the Deposition in the Tomb. Of five great altar-pieces of his best period three are in the Dresden Gallery—not in very good condition—and two in the Parma Gallery. The most famous is the Nativity (commonly known as *La Notte* or *Die Nacht*) at Dresden. In this the types, with the exception of the Virgin, are commonplace, and the composition lacks both grace and charm; the marvellous effect of the picture is produced solely by the treatment of the light which proceeds from the person of the sacred Infant and illuminates the bystanders, while the distant landscape is lighted by the dawn. This picture was executed in 1530 for a chapel in S. Prospero at Reggio. The second Dresden altar-piece is, to our modern taste, more beautiful and attractive than the Nativity; it was painted in 1525 for a chapel of the cathedral at Modena. The Virgin sits enthroned above in the midst of a glory of angels; below on earth are S. Sebastian, S. Roch, and the venerable S. Geminianus. The third Dresden picture is again a Madonna, with S. George. Of the two at Parma that known as the Madonna *della Scodella* is the earlier, having been painted in 1526 for the Church of S. Sepolcro. The Holy Family are resting by a spring, and the picture is a graceful idyll. The other is perhaps the finest religious work that the master ever painted—the Virgin with Mary Magdalene and S. Jerome. It was ordered in 1523 but not finished before 1527 or 1528. The attention of the spectator is irresistibly attracted to the face and figure of the Magdalene, who clings to the Mother and Child, while her lovely features wear a mingled expression of rapturous confidence and rather insinuating repentance. The modelling of the figures is as unsurpassable as the poetical colouring, in which every local tone has its full value, while the whole is suffused with intense sunlight (Fig. 399). This picture has indeed been called *Il giorno*, "Day," in contradistinction to the "Night" at Dresden.

Of the innumerable religious pictures painted by this master only three more can be mentioned—the small Madonna in the Madrid Gallery (No. 135); the "*Ecce Homo*" in the National Gallery;[137] and the famous reading Magdalene

Fig. 399.

in the Dresden Gallery. Morelli's crushing criticism seems to be accepted as final proof that this delightful little picture was never touched by Correggio;[138] the only question is, who then painted it?

Even more interesting are Correggio's mythological pictures. The graceful and frank sensuality of treatment which startles us in some of his religious works, here asserts itself legitimately as an inheritance from the antique. One of the earliest is the well-preserved example in the Louvre: Jupiter, in the

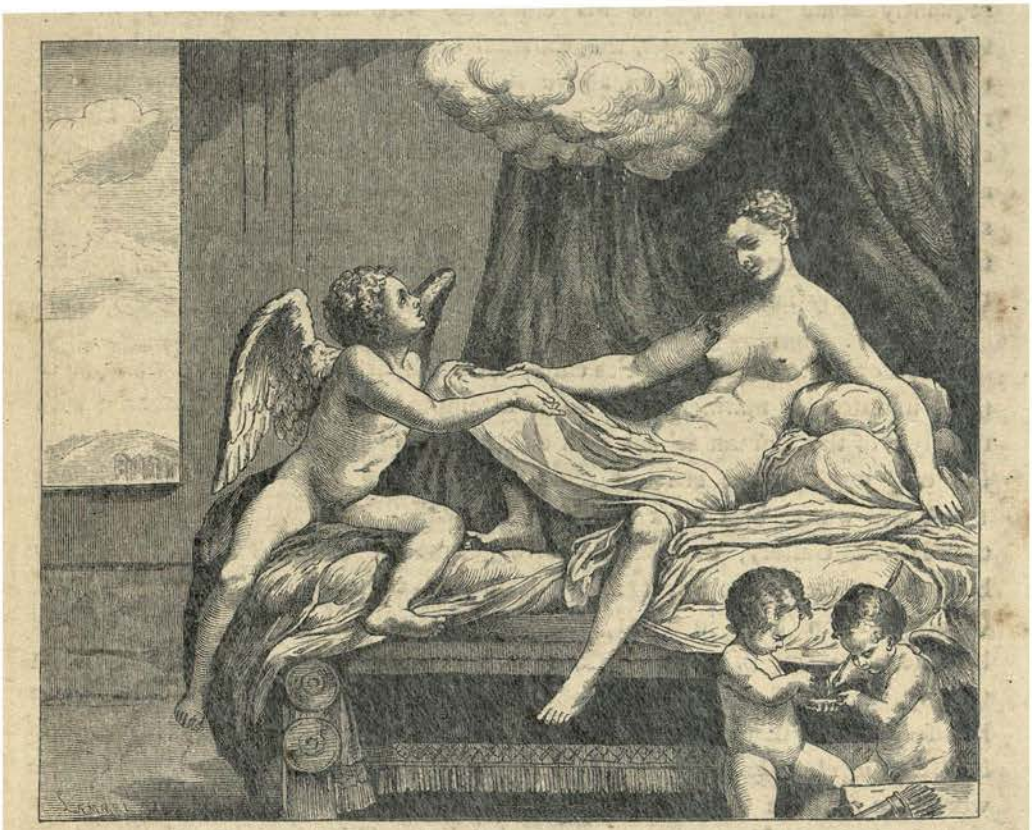


Fig. 400.

guise of a satyr, and Antiope; it is soft and lovely in the modelling, and full of the master's delicate atmosphere and chiaroscuro. The Mercury instructing Cupid, in the National Gallery, is not in such satisfactory preservation. The beautiful pair, Ganymede riding on the Eagle, and Io embraced by a Cloud, are somewhat later works; they are at Vienna, and a copy of the Io is at Berlin. The Danaë (Fig. 400) in the Borghese Gallery is a masterly work; the pendant, representing Leda, is in the Berlin Museum. Here, too, may be mentioned two allegorical subjects in the collection of drawings at the Louvre. They are known as the Triumph of Virtue and of Vice, and are certainly somewhat difficult to interpret, though showing all the master's ripest powers. An

unfinished replica of the first in the Doria Palace is interesting as revealing the painter's method of under-painting.

In 1529 Correggio lost his wife at Parma, and in the following year he returned to his native town, where he died in 1534 at the early age of forty. Unlike Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Titian, and Raphael, who worked in the service of princes and the bustle of the great world, Correggio lived the homely life of a citizen and his genius developed in retirement. It was consequently some time before his eminence was duly recognised; in the seventeenth century, however, the Carracci loudly sang his praises, and at one time many critics placed him above Raphael. He is now not uncommonly regarded as the herald of a decadence, and of course any imitation of a master so strongly individual must lead to mannerism; but such an abuse of his style and treatment ought not to be laid to the charge of the originator. It is impossible not to confess that, if only by his brilliant technique and novelty of treatment, he is one of the leading spirits in art, and the critic who appreciates this will hardly fail to yield to his charm.

II. Correggio's characteristics could not be imparted to his disciples; some of them imitated his manner, while some attempted to effect a compromise with the style of the Roman school. In either case the results were unsatisfactory. His only pupil in the strictest sense was *Francesco Rondani*, who died before 1548, and whose best work is a Madonna with SS. Augustine and Jerome, in the Parma Gallery, essentially Correggesque in taste; some frescoes by him are to be seen, much restored, in the cathedral. *Pomponio Allegri*, Correggio's son (born in 1521), seems to have studied under Rondani, and he became a painter of some mark, as is proved by his pictures in the Parma Gallery, though he has not his father's charm of colour, and is but an indifferent draughtsman. A painter who was certainly influenced by Correggio is *Michelangelo Anselmi* (born at Lucca 1491, died at Parma 1554), whose works are not rare at Parma and amply prove that the mere imitation of a style leads inevitably to empty conventionality. Other painters of this group are *Lelio Orsi* (1510 or 1511-87); *Bernardino Gatti*—"Il Sojaro"—(1495-1575), a prolific painter who has left frescoes and easel-pictures at Cremona, Parma, and Piacenza; and *Giorgio Gandini* (died 1538), whose portraits may be seen in the Parma Gallery.

Correggio had also an indirect connection with some of the members of the Mazzuola family,[139] of which mention has already been made. Pictures exist at Parma by *Girolamo Bedolo* or *Bedullo*, who assumed the name of Mazzuola when he married into that family. He was a mannerist who tried to amalgamate the schools of Rome and of Parma. A far more remarkable member of the clan was *Francesco Mazzuola*, a son of *Filippo Mazzuola* and a cousin of Girolamo's wife. He was born in 1504 (1503) at Parma and died in 1540,

but in the course of his short life rose to distinction and eminence; he is well known under the name of *Il Parmegianino*. Vasari lauds him to the skies. Whether or not he ever worked under Correggio is a disputed point; but it is unimportant, for his pictures plainly show how much he derived from that

Fig. 401.

master, and not to his own advantage. It is only in portrait-painting, in which Correggio had set him no example, that he applied his brilliant skill to the rendering of truth. There are admirable portraits by him in the Naples Museum, the Borghese Palace, the Uffizi, and the Galleries of Vienna, Darmstadt, Cassel, and Copenhagen. In everything else his mannerism is conspicuous; his lengthy forms are not nature, his colour is often cold and hard,

though he imitates Correggio's tricks of light; the expression of his ideal heads is apt to be vacuous or affected. At the same time he gave his figures an elegance which was at any rate a novelty in art, and his technical brilliancy, which strongly impressed his contemporaries, is still striking when employed on subjects to which it is appropriate. Of his frescoes, that of S. George in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Parma is the most noteworthy. His sacred pictures are numerous, his mythological works are rarer. The Madonna in the Pitti—the Madonna with the long neck—shows his marked mannerism, and the Holy Family in the Uffizi is not saved from affectation by the singular treatment of light in the landscape. The utter worldliness of his saints is conspicuous in many pictures. The most important of his works out of Italy are the Holy Family in the Louvre (Fig. 401), the Vision of S. Jerome, in the National Gallery, the Entombment, at S. Petersburg, and two saints, in the Dresden Gallery. His mythological pictures are more congenial to modern taste. Love carving his Bow, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, is a delightful piece of *genre;* the Dresden Ganymede is of inferior merit. Parmegianino had talent of the highest order, but lacked the sincerity and glow of true genius.

CHAPTER VI.

GIORGIONE AND TITIAN.

THE character of the later Venetian School—GIORGIONE, the greatest of the disciples of the Bellini—His short life—The rarity of his pictures—Only three actually authenticated: the *Castelfranco Madonna*, the *Famiglia di Giorgione*, the *Three Philosophers*—Those in English collections—PALMA VECCHIO—His three periods and styles—Altar-pieces and sacred pictures—Portraits—*Lorenzo Lotto*—A very interesting and versatile painter—Examples widely dispersed—His portraits—Minor masters—TITIAN, the representative Venetian—His early frescoes—Altar-pieces before 1511—The Dresden *Tribute Money*—*Sacred and earthly love*—Frescoes at Padua, 1511—State painter to the Venetian Republic, 1516—Great decorative works—The *Pesaro Madonna*—His Venus pictures and other mythological works—Life after 1530—Works in the *Doges' Palace*—Portraits—Later sacred pictures and mythological subjects—The *Madrid Venus*—Portraits of Charles V.—Portrait-studies of women—His great age and death—His assistants and connections—*Hans Stephan von Calcar*—Andrea Schiavone—*Paris Bordone*—His great picture in the Venice Academy—The Bonifazii—THE MASTERS OF THE VENETIAN TERRITORY—Pellegrino da San Daniele—*Giov. Antonio dā Pordenone*—His numerous fresco decorations at Treviso, Cremona, and elsewhere—His pupils—The masters of *Brescia*—Savoldo and Romanino—IL MORETTO—*Giambattista Moroni*—Famous for his portraits—Painters of *Verona* and *Cremona*.

NOTWITHSTANDING her many losses of territory in the course of the fifteenth century, Venice, at the beginning of the sixteenth, was still the most important of the Italian states next to the Dominions of the Church. The patricians of the republic were still wealthy and luxurious; the impulse towards artistic and literary productiveness that characterised the period is marked by the existence of such men as Sansovino, Titian, and Pietro Aretino the critic; and the efforts of the two printers Aldus Manutius—the elder of whom was the founder of the Aldine Academy—contributed to win for her a leading position in the world of letters. But now, as ever, painting was pre-eminently the art of Venice;[140] though it is a noteworthy fact that none of the most famous of her masters were born within her precincts. It was their training in the school of the *Bellini* that chiefly tended to preserve the local character and stamp of the Venetian painters of the sixteenth century, and to develop their splendid qualities. With a few brilliant exceptions they still directed their efforts rather to breadth and simplicity of form and grouping than to vivid dramatic treatment; but, as they gained in freedom of composition, the colouring of the Venetians also acquired depth, fulness, and brilliancy, and became a distinguishing characteristic of the school. They, like Correggio, are painters of light; but he idealised his treatment of effect to the verge of the unreal, while their golden glow is only the true reflection of the glorious atmosphere that

floods their shores. Hence, with them, local hues are not lost as with Correggio in pure chiaroscuro, and their brushwork, which is remarkable for a broad facility never before seen—and which was carried still farther by the painters of the seventeenth century—renders every peculiarity of texture, so that the objects they represent stand out in supple and natural relief with no hard outline; hence, too, the Venetians, more than the other Italian schools of the period, regard the pictorial qualities of every visible object, and lend a charm to the most commonplace landscape or incident—a development which runs parallel with the contemporary feeling for landscape pure and simple, and for *genre*, in the northern schools of the time. They were, in short, the greatest and most positive realists of the age, without sacrificing beauty of line, and at the same time they were idealists, especially in colour—idealists of that happy temper who do not clothe their subjective conceptions with a semblance of truth, but who use them to inform and glorify the truth of nature, which is their starting-point, and to fire it with life and glow.

At the head of Venetian art stands *Titian*, but before devoting a chapter to this master it will be desirable to speak of some of his fellow-disciples under Giovanni Bellini. This painter himself, in the course of a long life, passed through several phases of development; the earlier generation of his disciples belonged still to the previous century, but his younger followers bore the standard of the new era. It cannot, indeed, be proved that any one of them was in the strictest sense Bellini's pupil, but it is so highly probable that I cannot hesitate to include them in a single group.

I. The great *Giorgio Barbarelli di Castelfranco* was regarded, even by Vasari,[141] as the most important leader of the movement of the sixteenth century next to Leonardo da Vinci. Indeed, being so great a Giorgio, he acquired the name of GIORGIONE, by which he is universally known. He was born at or near Castelfranco in 1478; it would seem that he, like Leonardo, was a natural son, and he also resembled him in the more important points of a beautiful person, social graces, wit, and musical gifts, while he is, moreover, described as being a favourite with women. Beyond this very little is known about him. Ridolfi tells us that he was a scholar under Bellini, and his pictures confirm the statement. He was working in his native town before 1505 for Tuzio Costanzo, a *condottiere*, whose family chapel he decorated. This is destroyed, but the fragments of a frieze with medallions, masks, and various objects rescued from a ceiling in a house said to have been inhabited by Giorgione, are shown in the town; there is, however, no sort of evidence that he painted them. In fact there is in our opinion but one genuine work there by the master—the altar-piece, namely, of the Costanzo Chapel, an early work.

Giorgione returned to Venice in 1505, or soon after, in full possession of his powers, and at first devoted himself to façade decoration, which was then

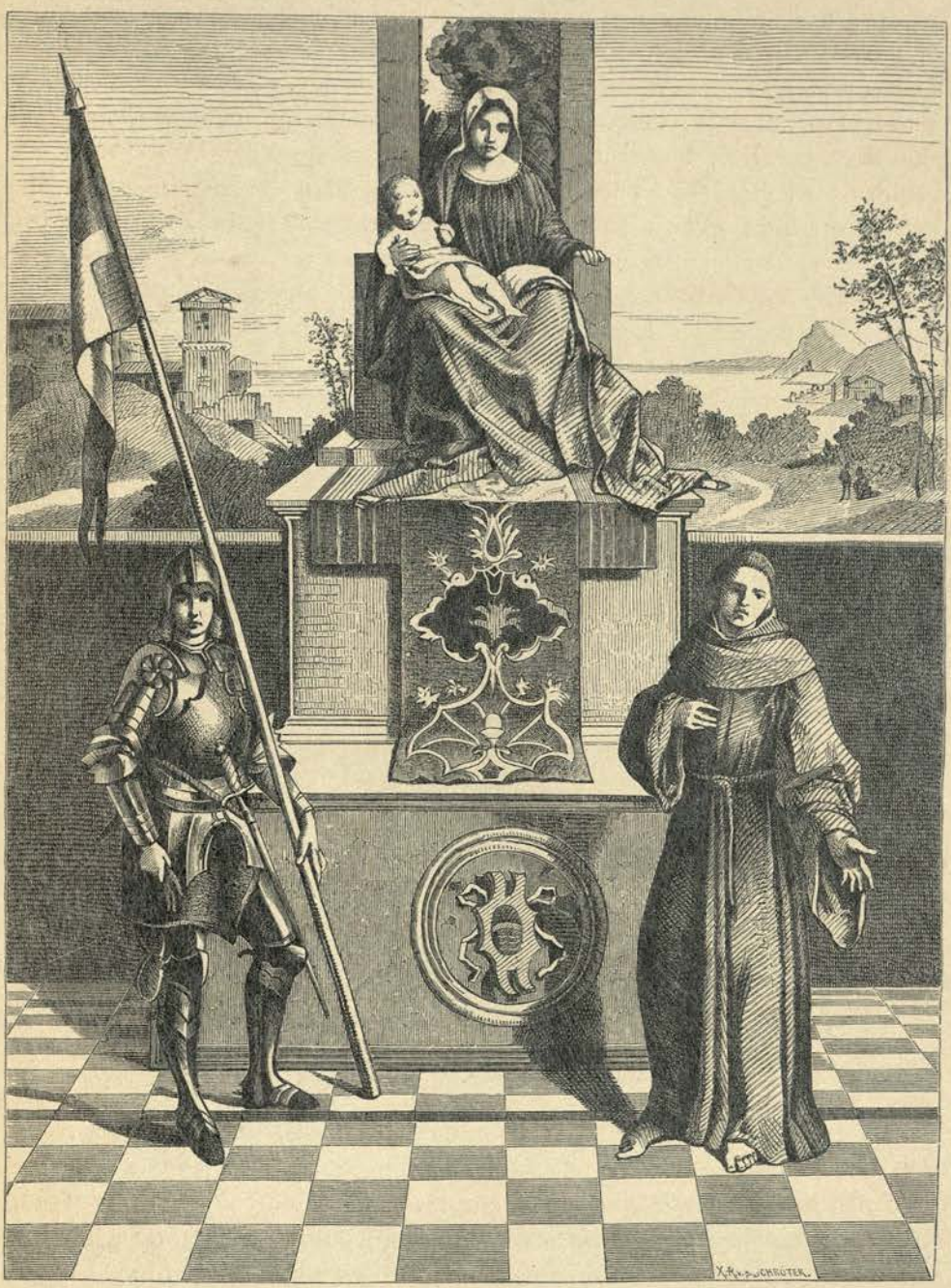


Fig. 402.

the fashion there. We have records of about half a dozen private residences that he painted, but the damp, salt atmosphere has long since ruined them all. In 1508,[142] for instance, he finished the front of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, of

which a few figures are preserved in Zanetti's engravings. The lower story had equestrian figures in a colonnade; on the floor above were figures in niches, and, above all, heads, nude figures, and trophies. It is also on record that he subsequently painted a large easel-picture for the audience chamber of the Doges' Palace, but that too has perished. He died in 1511, at the zenith of his glory, and when he was overwhelmed with commissions, at the early age of thirty-four. That he can, in so short a span, have executed but

Fig. 403.

few pictures besides his great façades is all the more probable since we are told that he led a life of dissipation, but his fame was at a very early date a temptation to forgery and misnomers. Vasari mentions but a small number of his works, and of these hardly one can be identified; the picture in the Church of S. Rocco of Christ bearing His Cross is by Titian, and not by Giorgione, as Vasari supposed at first, and he has in fact corrected himself by ascribing it to Titian in his life of that master. Carlo Ridolfi, in his *Maraviglie delle Arte*, written in 1646, ascribes several pictures to Giorgione which are certainly not by him, and those attributed to him in the galleries of Europe—a hundred

and fifty, more or less—must be largely reduced in number, for only a very small proportion can be accepted by modern criticism. His importance as a master of the very first rank makes the strictest caution necessary, and only those which are best accredited need be mentioned here. These may be placed in three groups—the first comprising those which I myself am prepared to vouch for from my own convictions; the second, those which are to be accepted on the authority of Signor Giovanni Morelli; the third, those which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle regard as genuine.

Three pictures may be first spoken of as authenticated by documentary evidence:—(1) The Madonna picture at Castelfranco, painted in 1504, a wonderfully calm and lovely work, which once seen can never be forgotten. Above a wall spreads a sunny landscape with an unusually high horizon-line, while in front of the wall, from a paved floor, rises the throne on which the Virgin sits. At her feet on her right stands the chivalrous young S. Liberale, and on her left S. Francis (Fig. 402). There is no connection in the composition, but all the figures are finely and delicately modelled,—especially the head of the Virgin (Fig. 403), which is of the purest and most pathetic beauty. The original study for the figure of S. Liberale is in the National Gallery. (2) The picture known as *La Famiglia di Giorgione* in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice. This is, strictly speaking, a landscape (Fig. 404) with idyllic figures, and as compared with the solemn breadth and the intimate sympathy with nature that are revealed here, all that Patinir, in the north, could produce—at the same period, or a little later—is hard and incomplete. It is at once one of the earliest and most exquisite of landscape *genre* pictures of the sixteenth century. It is by such pictures as this that the metaphor of *poetry* in painting must have been suggested. (3) "The oil-painting on canvas, with three philosophers in an open landscape, two of whom are standing, while the third is sitting and observing the sun with a square and compasses, with the wonderfully painted rocks"[143] (Fig. 405). This picture is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna under the title of the Three Eastern Sages, but it is also known as the Three Surveyors, or the Three Astrologers. Though the powerful figures in the foreground are what principally rivet the attention, still the picture is essentially a landscape; the ruddy glow of sunset is wonderfully truthful, and the work is of the master's ripest time.

If none but these three examples of the painter had survived they would suffice to give an idea of his works—of the Madonna pictures, of which Vasari tells us he painted several in his youth, and of the sort of subjects he afterwards preferred; as it is, we have them to rectify our judgment in ascribing to him a certain number of other works. Similar in treatment to the Castelfranco altar-piece is a Madonna picture at Madrid; not the Virgin with S. Brigitta ascribed to him in the catalogue (No. 236), which is now recognised as an early work by Titian, but another hanging close by under the name of Pordenone;

the Virgin with SS. Anthony and Roch (No. 341), which is undoubtedly by Giorgione, and a fine example.[144] Other two early works are the two richly-

Fig. 404.

coloured small pictures in the Uffizi—one Moses with the Burning Bush, and the other the Judgment of Solomon. Later examples of the same idyllic character are the well-known but sadly over-painted "*Concert Champêtre*" in the Louvre, and the Shepherds, at Pesth, which is very probably a fragment

of a picture of the Birth of Paris mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo*. None of the many pictures spoken of by Vasari remain. Of the portraits to which his name is attached in various collections hardly any are even worthy of discussion. I consider the fine Knight of Malta in the Uffizi to be genuine; but hesitate to decide as to the picture of Two Men at Berlin and the portrait of a Young Man in the Gallery at Pesth in the state in which they now are. That of a Man in a White Dress at Rovigo, which so good a judge as Burckhardt "can scarcely doubt," I have not seen.

Fig. 405.

The idea we form of the man himself who painted such pictures is not certainly that of a dissolute idler, but of a deeply poetical and senseful rather than sensual nature, with a hand that has given us a chaste severity of form in spite of the softness.

Our second group is founded on the opinion of Signor Morelli (Lermolieff):—(1) The picture of Christ bearing His Cross, in the possession of Count Loschi at Vicenza, a work still bearing the traces of Bellini's teaching, and which Burckhardt and Crowe and Cavalcaselle also regard as probably genuine. (2) The delightful little picture of Apollo and Daphne in the Archbishops' Seminary, Venice. (3) The famous half-lengths representing the Three Ages

of Man in the Pitti Palace, which is there ascribed to Lotto, though its Giorgione-like style is conspicuous. (4) The Sleeping Venus in the Dresden Gallery (now No. 262), there called "a copy from Titian, probably by Sasso Ferrato"; Morelli, however, warmly, and it would seem rightly, asserts its claim to be regarded as the Venus by Giorgione mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo* as being in the possession of Jeronimo Marcelli at Venice in 1525. Some of the other works ascribed to Giorgione in the Dresden Gallery we shall presently mention as being really excellent examples by other masters.

The works accepted as genuine by Crowe and Cavalcaselle include the Concert in the Pitti Palace; three half-length figures employed in "making music," a *genre* picture of the greatest charm of feeling, unfortunately much repainted, but certainly, be the painter whom he may, a masterpiece of Venetian art.[145] These authors also believe in the authenticity of a few of the pictures ascribed to Giorgione in England—the Nativity belonging to Mrs. Beaumont [ex. of Old Masters, 1876]; the Judgment of Solomon at Kingston Lacy [Old Masters, 1870]; and Sir W. Miles' Adoration of the Kings, [ascribed by Waagen to Giovanni Bellini, and purchased still under that designation for the National Gallery at the sale of the Leigh Court Collection in 1884. Several others, including portraits, have been exhibited with Giorgione's name more or less confidently attached to them—as Lord Dudley's "Golden Age," and an Italian Villa belonging to Mr. Cowper Temple—in 1871.] This must suffice; there is still much to be done in the study of this master's works, but we may believe that the memory of the great liberator of Venetian art has, at any rate, been somewhat cleared of false attributions. [The Hampton Court Gallery boasts of about half a dozen pictures ascribed to Giorgione. One, No. 158, formerly had a signature, but this has been cleaned off; "it was, however, no doubt a forgery." See Law's *Catalogue*.]

II. *Giacomo Palma* the elder, commonly known as PALMA VECCHIO,[146] also seems to have studied under Bellini. He was a native of Bergamo, but went to Venice at an early age; from his will we may infer that he died unmarried in 1528, and, as Vasari says he was then but forty-eight, he must have been born in 1480. Little else is known of his history. Above a hundred oil-paintings remain by him and amply reveal his nature. His figures are less firmly knit than Giorgione's, his colour has less glow, though on the whole it is gaudier, but tenderly harmonised by a bright golden light. He is a thorough Venetian; he even avoids the romantic subjects which many of his contemporaries loved; his works are pictures of situation with masterly dignity in the forms and delightful arrangements of colour, while his tender and careful technique gives an artistic individuality to his figures that seems quite independent of the spiritual or narrative purport of the work.

Fig. 406.

Fig. 407.

Three periods are distinguishable in Palma's work: the first, when his forms and colours are still solid and even hard, recalling Bellini and often Giorgione; next, when he has acquired his full individuality of breadth and power (some of the finest pictures the world can show are his works at this time); thirdly, his *blonde* manner, when his figures became somewhat boneless, and his colouring assumes a golden haze that reminds us, though remotely, of Correggio. His range of subjects is limited: on the one hand, altar-pieces and sacred works—for the most part large canvases with rich landscape backgrounds; on the other, portraits or portrait-subjects. His mythological or historical pictures are few. Of his numerous altar-pieces only three need be mentioned. An early work in the church at Zerman near Treviso, and a grand picture in the Venice Academy, of S. Peter enthroned, still bear traces of Bellini's influence, though the latter is one of his ripest works (Fig. 406); another grand picture is the altar-piece of S. Maria Formosa, Venice, in which the figure of S. Barbara is conspicuous for its beauty and gorgeous colouring, and is one of the most perfectly lovely creations of art (Fig. 407).

Among his sacred compositions which were not executed for church purposes but for private individuals two may be regarded as identical with those mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo*, who saw them in 1512 in the house of one Frate Zio at Venice[147]—Christ and the woman taken in Adultery, and Adam and Eve (Fig. 408), which is now in the Brunswick Gallery, and until lately was ascribed to Giorgione.[148] In this class must be included several Holy Families or "Sante Conversazioni," to which he gave a character of his own. They are numerous; one of exquisite finish is in the Dresden Gallery, and a splendid example is at Blenheim; there is one in his late style at Dresden (No. 267) and one at Munich (No. 588).

In the last group we find that many portraits spoken of by early writers have disappeared; but a portrait of a man in fox-fur (Pinacothek) and another in the Berlin Gallery of a man with a short beard and long brown hair, both under the name of *Giorgione*, are probably by *Palma*. His portraits of women, more or less idealised, are frequent; in these he has recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations the opulent and the meretricious charms, and the splendid toilets of the contemporary beauties of Venice. He painted them not unfrequently as Venus (Dresden Gallery), as Lucretia (Borghese Palace), as Judith (a late work in the Uffizi). Two such portraits in the gorgeous costume of the time—one in the Barberini Palace, and one in the Sciarra Gallery at Rome—were formerly attributed to Titian. Six of these resplendent ladies grace the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, the finest perhaps being that known as *Violante* (Fig. 409) in a blue and yellow dress with a pansy in her white tucker. The Lute-player at Alnwick Castle is brilliantly and firmly painted. A late work, and a fine example of his last style, is the picture of the Three Graces—a misnomer—in the Berlin Gallery. This is mentioned as "Three

women to the waist, painted from nature," by Morelli's *Anonimo*, who saw it in the possession of Taddeo Contarini in Venice. [Two examples at Hampton Court are accepted as genuine by Crowe and Cavalcaselle—a Holy Family (No. 115), and another of the same subject (No. 79).]

Fig. 408.

Lorenzo Lotto[149] is a skilful artist who travelled much, and whose importance is only beginning to be recognised. He was born at Treviso about 1480, and seems to have learned with Palma in Bellini's studio. He was at Treviso in 1505, and can be traced to Rome; in 1513 he was at Bergamo, in Venice in

1514, in Bergamo again from 1515-1524, and settled in Venice from 1526 till 1550. After 1550 he lived at Loreto, where he dedicated his services and

Fig. 409.

all he possessed to the Holy Virgin, and was maintained by the establishment of the *Santa Casa*. We hear no more of him after 1555.

His variations of style answer to his unsettled life. In his earliest works he is a scholar of Bellini's; in Bergamo he adopted the coquettish grace and

suffused effect of light to which Correggio subsequently gave the dignity of true style. In Venice he fell under the spell of Titian, and painted some works of great breadth and splendour. His pictures are, however, apt to lack unity of purpose, and towards the end of his career they are very feeble. Still, his liveliness of imagination, and happy if experimental colouring make him an interesting master, though his range was limited. With the single exception of the allegorical picture known as the Triumph of Chastity, in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome, he painted only sacred subjects.

The S. Jerome in the Louvre is dated 1500 and signed; and this, like all his early works, bears the unmistakable stamp of Bellini; the Madonna of the Bridgewater Gallery is another example. The Entombment, dated 1512, in S. Floriano at Jesi near Ancona, on the other hand, has, in a cooler key, the colour and feeling of the Roman-Umbrian school. His two great altar-pieces at Bergamo, in which Lotto reminds us strongly of Correggio, were painted between 1516 and 1524, and at this time he also made experiments in fresco. Some scenes from the life of S. Barbara, and a colossal figure of Christ, at Trascorre near Bergamo are dated 1524. There are others at Bergamo of the same period. The fresco of the Apotheosis of S. Vincent, in S. Domenico at Recanati, is a later work.

The pictures of his second Venetian period are very numerous; among the finest are those in the Churches of the Carmine and SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice; the Virgin with S. Jerome, 1526, in S. Floriano at Jesi; the magnificent Holy Families at Bergamo, 1533, and in the Uffizi, 1534. The grand altar-piece in S. Giacomo dall' Orio at Venice, 1546, still shows the inspiration of Titian, while the Entombment in the Brera is already very mannered. Of his later works, dispersed through the towns of the March of Ancona, some are still very fine and some almost senile. His most important works out of Italy are at Berlin, in the Leuchtenberg Palace at S. Petersburg, and the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; at Madrid a S. Jerome, ascribed to Titian (No. 478), must be restored to Lotto. Some of Lotto's portraits are signed; for instance, the finely-painted picture of Agostino and Niccolo della Torre, 1515, in the National Gallery (No. 699); the newly-married couple crowned by Love, in the Madrid Gallery, 1523; the portrait of a monk in the Casa Sernagiotto, Venice, 1526, already showing signs of Venetian influence; the portrait of a man in a fur cap, 1527, at Hampton Court (No. 114), which, until the discovery of the signature, was ascribed to Correggio; two in the Brera—one of a lady in rich costume (Fig. 410); and two in the Berlin Gallery—one said to be that of Jacopo Sansovino.

Many other pictures, though not signed, may by comparison with these be safely attributed to him; among others a very curious picture at Alnwick, there ascribed to *Schiavone*, representing a naked boy crowning a dead man with laurel.[150] [Besides the picture mentioned above, there are in the National

Gallery a family group (No. 1047) bequeathed to the nation by Miss Solly, and a portrait (No. 1105) which, though only "ascribed" in the catalogue, Dr. Richter has no doubts about. At Hampton Court there is a signed portrait of Andrea Odoni (No. 148), and another (No. 144) which, being inferior, has been assigned doubtfully to *Previtali*.]

Another master who learned the elements of his art under Bellini—though

Fig. 410.

he afterwards yielded to the influence of Palma Vecchio and even of Paris Bordone [151]—is *Rocco Marconi*, born at Treviso about 1505. His great Pietà in the Accademia at Venice is a powerful work in which the breadth of treatment both in the landscape and figures is quite in the spirit of the new century (Fig. 411). Later and even freer works are to be seen in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and in the Palazzo Reale; but this master is as yet inadequately studied.

An older man than any of these, and, as Burckhardt says, a still more

Fig. 411.

genuine pupil of the Bellini, was *Pier Maria Pennacchi*,[152] 1464-1528, also of Treviso, whose earliest works are still ascetic and colourless, as we see in his Annunciation in S. Francesco della Vigna at Venice. The Assumption of the Virgin in the cathedral at Treviso is in his later and warmer style. His son *Girolamo*, 1497-1544, commonly known as G. da Treviso, may also be men-

tioned here. He was superior to his father, under whom he studied, and pictures by him suggest the style of Giorgione and of Pordenone. A large Madonna picture in the church at Faenza is, however, quite Venetian, 1533, while his frescoes in monochrome in S. Petronio at Bologna, are Florentine, and the Virgin in the National Gallery (No. 623) reminds us of Innocenzo da Imola. [See Richter, *It. Art in the Nat. Gal.* There is an example of this master at Hampton Court (No. 224).]

Francesco Rizo da Santa Croce signs himself as a scholar of Bellini's on an altar-piece, dated 1507, in the Church of S. Peter Martyr at Murano; it is nevertheless the work of an independent hand. There are pictures by him at Berlin and S. Petersburg. A younger painter—perhaps his relative and pupil—was *Girolamo da Santa Croce*,[153] who so faithfully followed the Bellini that his pictures are often met with under his master's name; the earliest signed picture by him is that of S. Thomas Aquinas, in the Church of S. Silvestro at Venice, 1520. In his latest, the Last Supper, in S. Martino, dated 1548, he has tried to keep pace with the times, but in spite of greater freedom of treatment the picture is not superior to his first. His pictures at Berlin (4), Dresden (2), and in the National Gallery (2) have little charm.

It must not be forgotten in this connection that Sebastiano del Piombo grew up on the same soil as Giorgione and Palma, though he afterwards went to Rome and followed in the wake of Michael Angelo.

III. TITIAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.—The heart and focus of Venetian art, in which all its glories were centred, was *Tiziano Vecelli da Cadore*.[154] The question as to whether *Giorgione* were not the more original genius, or *Palma* the bolder innovator, sinks into insignificance when we consider the vast number of important works produced by Titian in the course of a life lasting nearly a century. His name epitomises to us all the characteristics of the Venetian school—its sensual beauty, its supreme solidity, balance, and gorgeous glow of colour. That Titian was a colourist, and left much to be desired in the matter of drawing, is an opinion long since put forward by critics[155] who failed to perceive that the natural eye does not in fact see objects with a distinct hard outline, but in relief one against the other, separate only by their light and colour. Titian's principles of harmony necessitated a fused execution, and he cannot be accused of defective knowledge, though he does not aim at representing such strong modelling as Leonardo or Michael Angelo, or even as Correggio and Raphael. Titian's qualities cannot be better described than by Burckhardt in the *Cicerone* :—"That which is divine in Titian consists in this: that he sees in men and things that essential harmony which ought to exist in them, or which does exist, only dimmed and hidden; the ideal, which is concealed, marred, or fettered by the real, he shows us free, happy, and complete. This is, of course, at all times the function of the artist, but none

other has fulfilled it so simply and unpretentiously, with such an air of the inevitable." It is this characteristic which has won him the unanimous admiration of critics and artists who, on other points, have differed widely; while it preserved him—as his antipodes, Michael Angelo, was preserved—from ever yielding permanently to any outward influence; the variations in his style were the outcome of his personal development.

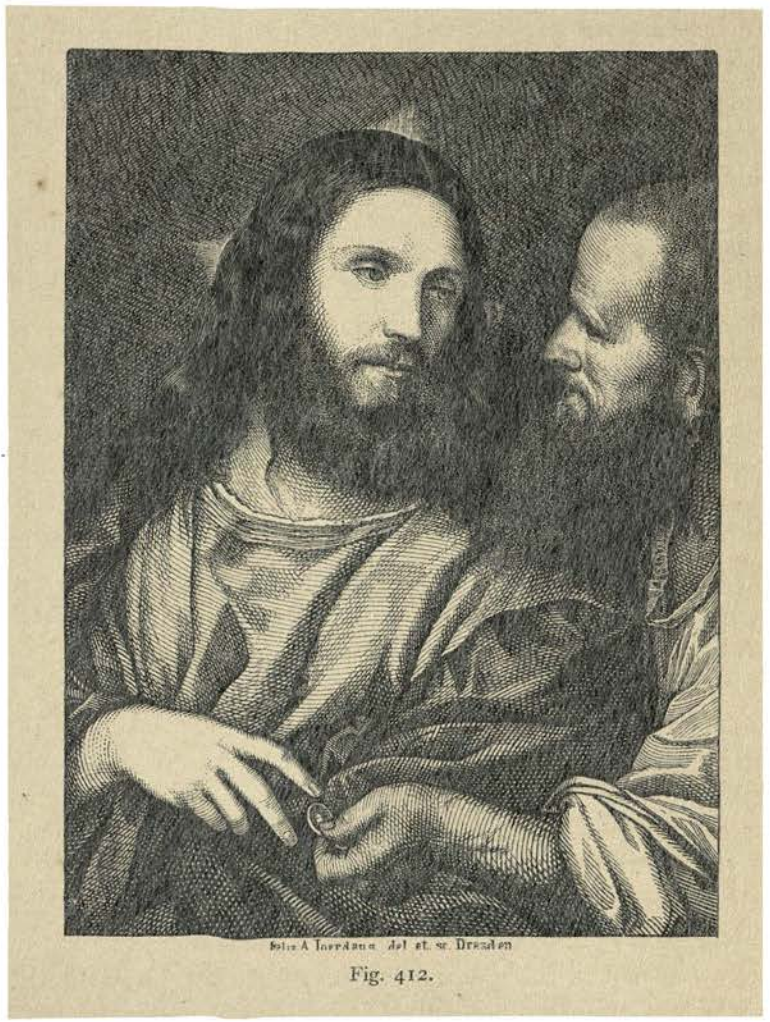


Fig. 412.

He was born in 1477[156] at Pieve, a little mountain town in the midst of the Dolomites. His father, who was a man of good family, sent him when ten years old to live with some relations at Venice, where he was apprenticed first to an obscure mosaic-worker named Zuccato, and then to the Bellini. After this we hear no more of him till at the age of thirty we find him helping Giorgione to decorate the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Various theories are rife as to his education meanwhile. I believe that he worked side by side with

his contemporaries, Giorgione and Palma; that he was influenced by Giorgione is indisputable, but it is not therefore necessary to suppose that Giorgione was the elder; Titian seems to have been slow but sure in his progress. Opinions differ as to the dates of his early pictures, the only fixed point being the year 1507 for this façade. Giorgione seems to have had the commission and to have invited Titian's co-operation on the south side, facing the Merceria. His frescoes were almost destroyed by the time Zanetti[157] engraved their remains in 1760, and now nothing is visible but a few faint traces of the figure of Justice, which Vasari suggests may have been intended for a personification of Germania.

This work was the foundation of Titian's fame. In 1511, the year of Giorgione's death, when Titian had reached the age at which Raphael died, he was invited to Padua to paint a great cycle in fresco, and from that year we may date the second period of his work. No one has yet succeeded in distinguishing the pictures he painted between these years from those of a still earlier time, so they must be classed together as youthful works of his first period. Two important altar-pieces are those in S. Rocco; there is a fine work in S. Maria della Salute—S. Mark enthroned, with four other saints.[158] When compared with this great composition the freest works of Bellini look stiff and formal, and the glories of Giorgione's altar-piece at Castelfranco pale before its glow of light and colour. Most of his paintings of this period are, however, easel-pictures for private devotion or decoration. A delightful example is the Madonna (No. 489) in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, still under the influence of Bellini, while another (No. 490) in the same collection shows more independence of treatment. The third Madonna picture in this gallery (No. 491) is no less powerfully and vividly harmonised, and the same may be said of the Virgin in the Louvre, and the Madonna with S. Brigitta, still ascribed to Giorgione, in the Madrid Gallery (No. 236), the signed Madonna in the Uffizi, and the lovely Virgin at Burleigh House. But the gem perhaps of Titian's early painting is the Tribute Money in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 412). This wonderful work is expressive in every detail; the action of the hands supplies the place of words. This picture, which reminds us of Dürer and of Leonardo, and yet is all Titian, is in modelling and intensity of feeling one of the master's rarest efforts; it was painted about 1508.

His finest allegorical picture is also an early work;[159] it is that known as Earthly and Heavenly Love, in the Borghese Palace (Fig. 413). No precise explanation of the subject is perhaps possible, but a contrast is evidently intended between the fully-dressed woman on one side of the fountain and the beautiful nude figure on the other. And, after all, what does it matter?—the picture, as a picture, is so captivating that we ask no more. It is perhaps the most perfect revelation of purely pictorial loveliness that the world has seen. Another picture of the same class is that of a beautiful woman, known as Vanity, in the Pinacothek (No. 470), which we agree with the author of the

Fig. 413.

catalogue and with Signor Morelli in regarding as a work by Titian. In the Antwerp Museum there is an interesting early picture of Pope Alexander VI. presenting the donor, Jacopo di Pesaro, to S. Peter; this, however, to judge from the execution, must have been painted later than 1503, the date assigned to it. An early work again is the portrait of the Doge Niccolò Marcello in the Vatican.

It was in 1508 that Titian drew for woodcuts a procession of the Triumph of Faith, intended to compete with Mantegna's Triumph of Cæsar; these designs show an earnest striving after historical grandeur.

It cannot be said that the frescoes he painted in Padua, 1511-12, show any marked advance in independence. He employed the Paduan painter *Domenico Campagnola* to execute them, assisted by other painters of the town and by pupils he had brought from Venice. The two cycles, which are still to be seen in the Scuola del Carmine and the Scuola del Santo, show Titian supreme, not so much

as an historical painter but as depicting the sacred scenes—from the lives of the Virgin and S. Anthony—with striking realism, decorative splendour, and facile breadth of treatment. On his return to Venice in 1513 he tried to obtain the official appointment of painter to the State, to the detriment of Bellini, now an old man; however, he was forced to wait till Bellini's death in 1516, when he was promoted to the dignity, and he never had a rival excepting for about twelve years in the person of Palma. Till 1530, when his connection with the emperor Charles V. began, he was constantly occupied in the city of the doges, and for the princes of Ferrara and Mantua. The whole history of his relations with these courts is still imperfectly known; all that is certain is that he was invited to Ferrara in 1516 and was employed by the Gonzaga family in 1523 and 1527, but his fixed residence was always Venice.

To begin with his decorative works during this period. It must first be noted that he very rarely painted the walls themselves; one fresco that he executed with his own hand, of the Judgment of Solomon, in a hall at Vicenza, has unfortunately perished. He did, in fact, paint the figure of S. Christopher at the foot of the stairs leading up to the council-room in the Doges' Palace in 1523, a Madonna in a lunette on the Giant's Staircase, and the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Nicholas, which was burned in 1577; but he was not strong in this particular technique, and preferred the method, already introduced by the Venetian masters of the fifteenth century, of painting in oil on canvas, which also proved more durable in the salt sea air. *Giovanni Bellini* had begun a picture of the Submission of Frederick Barbarossa, in the great hall of the palace, and Titian completed it in 1522. Of his own work there we shall speak presently.

At this time, when he had not yet begun to hurry his work, but carefully under-painted every figure with black shadows, white high-lights, and carnation middle-tints, he produced several large altar-pieces in which he worked out by degrees a new scheme of composition based on his theories of colour. These are still to be seen in the churches of Northern Italy—in the cathedral at Treviso, in SS. Nazaro e Celso at Brescia and at Ancona, as well as in the churches of Venice. The finest are the great *Assunta*, 1518, now in the Venice Academy; the six splendid saints, 1523, painted for S. Niccolò, now in the Vatican Gallery; the famous Pesaro Madonna, 1526, which still graces the Frari Chapel, for which it was painted (Fig. 414). In this the composition is in a certain sense symmetrical, but not of the traditional type, since the masses are piled up, so to speak, on one side of the picture; but an admirable feeling for beauty of line combines with a freedom of conception which is a law to itself. In the Death of S. Peter Martyr, painted in 1530 and destroyed by fire in 1867, but which is well known by engravings, and by old copies—one of which now fills the place of the original—Titian consciously represents the modern tendency; we see a distinct effort after the Michael-Angelesque

Fig. 414.

and with it a mannerism which happily did not become a permanent feature of the master's style. Two small pictures of this period, painted not for churches but for private owners, are in the National Gallery—a Holy Family (No. 4), and the *Noli me Tangere* (No. 270)—both remarkable for devotional sentiment, poetic treatment, and delightful landscapes. With these may be mentioned the Entombment (Fig. 415), the idyllic *Riposo*, and the pleasing little Madonna with the Rabbit, all in the Louvre. A beautiful Madonna at Dresden (No. 249) has recently been restored to this master.[160]

His mythological pictures were for the most part painted for Alfonso

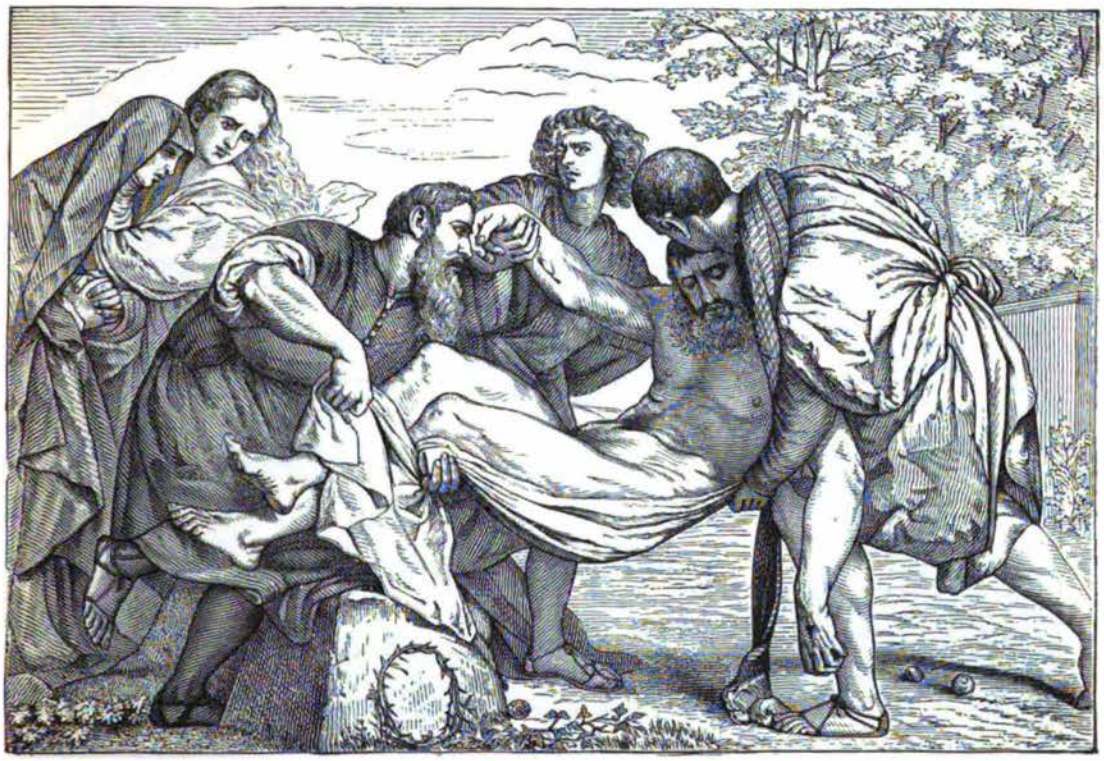


Fig. 415.

d'Este; two are at Madrid, one of which, the Festival of Venus—a countless crowd of little loves playing at the feet of a statue of Venus—is an exact reproduction of the erotic pictures described by Philostratus. A third, Bacchus and Ariadne, is in the National Gallery (No. 35), and is one of the most brilliant inspirations ever thrown on canvas. Another work of the same class is the exquisite though much injured Venus of the Bridgewater Gallery, which Titian may have perhaps intended as a reminiscence of the famous picture by Apelles (see vol. i. p. 60). In the same collection is the original of a very lovely idyllic and symbolical picture, known as the Three Ages of Man; there are duplicates in the Doria and the Borghese Galleries. The conception and

treatment are quite in the spirit of Giorgione, and the allegory is perfectly transparent.

The portraits executed by Titian at this period are full of character, with the texture and hands finely finished. In his official capacity he painted the Doges of the Republic, and their portraits, which are to be seen in the palace, were often repeated for their private collections. Thus Titian painted Antonio Grimani three or four times; the example in the Casa Morosini is remarkably fine in tone. Andrea Gritti again sat to him several times, but the picture in the Giustiniani Palace is the only existing genuine example. An

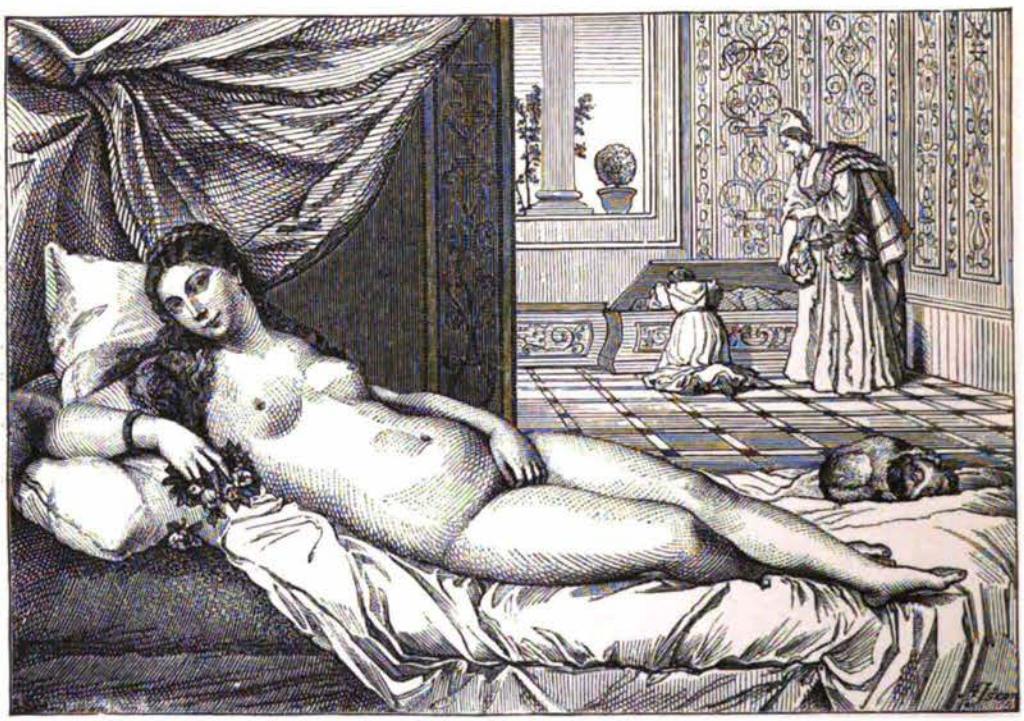


Fig. 416.

original portrait of Giorgio Cornaro is at Castle Howard. There is a fine portrait of Alfonso d'Este at Madrid; a picture of Ariosto, which he is known to have painted, is probably identical with that at Cobham, the property of Lord Darnley; others are lost. For the Gonzaga family he did the portrait of the Countess Isabella, at Vienna (No. 505 in the Imperial Gallery), which was probably not painted till about 1534 from a sketch taken some years before. Eleanora Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino, he painted again and again; she appears, for instance, as *La Bella di Tiziano,* the famous picture in the Pitti Palace; and the Urbino Venus in the Uffizi (Fig. 416) wears her features. Replicas of this Venus—probably repetitions altered from the first—exist at Darmstadt, at Cambridge, in Lord Dudley's collection, at Apsley House, and

elsewhere[161] [and there is a "good old Venetian copy" at Hampton Court (No. 164).] Other portrait-studies of famous beauties are the picture of Alfonso of Ferrara and Laura Diante, long known as Titian's Mistress, in the Louvre, and the Flora in the Uffizi.

After 1530, when Titian was already fifty-three years of age, the circumstances of his life and the conditions of his art altered greatly. His wife died, his sister Orsa came to superintend his house and family, and he soon after moved to a residence which he fitted with no small magnificence, and where he became the centre of an illustrious circle of literary and artistic friends whose influence was recognised throughout Italy. He kept up his relations with the courts of Ferrara and Mantua, and in 1545 he accompanied Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, to Rome. The most important feature of his later life was, however, his connection with Charles V. and his son Philip II., king of Spain. He first met the emperor at Bologna in 1530, and Charles V., after sitting to him for his portrait in the winter of 1532-33, raised him to the dignity of Count of the Empire. The painter subsequently was not unfrequently one of his suite. He was now unable to execute the commissions that poured in upon him, and often left the painting to his pupils and assistants; nay, he bestowed less labour on those he himself painted, setting the example of working by rapid methods so as to produce the greatest possible effect when the work was viewed from a little distance, with the least expenditure of time and labour. It was not, however, till the end or third period of his life that he adopted the uniform brownish but still golden tone that characterises some of his pictures. The works which date from soon after 1530 are as rich and fresh in colour as his earlier works.

He never now painted in fresco; when, in 1567, at the age of nearly ninety, he was commissioned to decorate the church of his native town of Pieve di Cadore, he sent his assistants to execute the work from his designs; but he painted a number of decorative works for walls and ceilings on canvas. In 1531 he finished the most famous picture of its time, which unfortunately was burned in 1577—the Doge Andrea Gritti presented to the Virgin by S. Mark. In 1537 he painted a battle-piece, long since projected, in the great Council Hall, and in 1555 he began the last of his grand decorative works in the Doges' Palace—*La Fede* (Fig. 417), a votive offering from Antonio Grimani, which, as it was not fixed in its place till after Titian's death, escaped the fire of 1577. His other decorative works in Venice are the grand ceiling now in S. Maria della Salute, and the centre panel of the ceiling of the library of S. Mark's.

The numerous easel-pictures and portraits that he painted during the latter half of his long life can only be briefly noticed. One of the most characteristic is the altar-piece in S. Marciliano, at Venice, and a rather later work is the famous picture of the Martyrdom of S. Laurence in the Church of the Jesuits there; there is a slightly altered replica at the Escorial. Between 1530 and

Fig. 417.

1540 he painted the vast composition now in the Venice Academy of the Virgin in the Temple, a work as splendid in decorative effect as it is delightful in detail; another immense picture of the same class is the Christ delivered

to the People, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; but most of his great sacred pictures of this period are at Madrid and in the Escorial.

At the same time he applied himself more frequently than in his youth to mythological subjects. Venus and Adonis was a favourite and often-repeated picture; the original sketch for several replicas is at Alnwick; there is an example in the National Gallery. A famous Venus is in the Borghese collection; there is an exquisite Danae at Naples; and two subjects from the story of Diana, painted in his eighty-second year, are in the Bridgewater Gallery. Finally we must mention the Venus, as it is named, in the Louvre, though it represents Antiope sleeping. He also painted some grandly-composed, semi-allegorical, semi-historical pictures, of which a large work in the Madrid Gallery is a typical example—the Virgin at the head of the heavenly host is interceding for sinners, foremost of whom kneels the Emperor Charles V., 1554.

Of almost countless portraits the most remarkable in their several and different kinds are:—(1) the Madrid Venus, as it is called, a beautiful woman, perfectly nude, to whom a knight is playing the organ; replicas, slightly varied, are at Dresden and in the Fitzwilliam Museum. (2) The great picture at Alnwick Castle of nine members of the Cornaro family grouped round an altar, painted in 1560, shows Titian's later style at its best [exhibited in 1873]. (3) Several portraits of the Emperor Charles V.—first, standing in his imperial robes, and certainly not flattered, at Madrid; second, also at Madrid, a large equestrian picture (Fig. 418), painted at Augsburg in 1548; and third, another of the same date at Munich, in a black dress, with a grave and stern expression. A portrait of Francis I. of France is in the Louvre, from a study by some other hand; one of Paul III. he did from life, at Rome, in 1545; it is at Naples, and in every particular is one of his finest masterpieces.

His portrait of Catherine Cornaro, painted in 1524, was famous and often copied: whether the example in the Uffizi is the original cannot be discussed here. [One was exhibited in 1883 by Mr. G. F. Wilbraham, a very regal figure.] But of all the lovely female portraits of these latter years the very loveliest is that of his daughter Lavinia; he painted her several times with slight variations in the attitude and accessories: in Lord Cowper's example she holds a jewel casket, while in that in the Madrid Gallery—which, indeed, is not by Titian—she figures as Herodias. She is also recognised by Morelli[162] as the lady with a fan in the Dresden Gallery (No. 256), where he also ascribes two other female portraits to Titian—Nos. 253 and 255. Titian frequently painted his own portrait, and we see him as a handsome man, with noble regular features and a keen glance. A vigorous body enshrined a mighty genius; when he died at the age of ninety-nine, it was not of old age or of creeping disease, but suddenly, of the plague, on the 27th August 1576. He was borne to the chapel of the Frari and buried there near his finest altar-picture—the Pesaro Madonna.

Fig. 418.

[Many examples of this master exist in English collections; their genuineness and merits are discussed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Life and Times of Titian.* The most famous belong to Her Majesty,—one from Windsor and one from Hampton Court were exhibited in 1877,—to the Earl of Dudley, to Earl Cowper (who lent his portrait-group of three infant Princesses of Austria in 1881), and to the Earl of Darnley.]

The greater number of those painters who worked in Titian's studio were

his assistants rather than his pupils, for he taught but little—such men as *Girolamo del Tiziano*, who, we are told, worked for him during thirty years, and a painter known as *Il Piacevole*, with several others by whom no independent works are known. *Domenico Campagnola*, who in 1511 was at Padua with Titian, has a more distinct individuality. The dates of his birth and death are not known, but he was in Padua till 1568, and is repeatedly mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo*, particularly as a landscape-painter. His pen-and-ink drawings pass to this day under Titian's name in many collections.[163]

There was at Cadore a whole family of artists named *Vecelli*, related to Titian.[164] *Francesco* was his younger brother, not, as was formerly thought, his elder. A Madonna with saints by him, 1524, in S. Vito at Cadore, is far from Titian's vigour; his most important works are in the cloister and sacristy of S. Salvatore at Venice. He is last heard of in Cadore in 1559. *Orazio*, Titian's favourite son, worked for and under his father. The wings of an altar-piece at Calalzo which were his work are painted over. He, like his father, died of the plague in 1576; *Cesare* and *Marco Vecelli*, cousins of Titian's, belong to a later generation.

Of a few foreign assistants employed by Titian the first in importance was *Hans Stephan von Calcar*,[165] who must not be confounded with Jan Joest o Calcar, previously mentioned. Early writers tell us that his pictures, and especially his portraits, were often ascribed to Titian. He is known as having drawn the woodcuts for an anatomical work published at Padua in 1537 by the famous Vesalius, physician to the Emperor Charles V.; a capital portrait of a Young Man, in the Louvre, is ascribed to him on the authority of an old inventory, and, by analogy with this, one in the Berlin Museum is supposed to be by him. His name is attached to works in other collections, but they need critical investigation. He is said to have become an imitator of Raphael and to have died at Naples in 1546.

Andrea Schiavone, who is identical with *Andrea Medula* or *Medolla*, known as an engraver, was born in Dalmatia in 1522 according to Ridolfi, but some years later according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[166] and he too seems to have been one of Titian's assistants. Poverty led him to employ himself in painting chests and other furniture, a class of work which many good artists did not disdain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Morelli believes the small bright-toned Parnassus in the Pinacothek to be by him, and that it may have decorated a spinet.[167] He painted easel-pictures of a variety of subjects; there are examples in the Academy at Venice and the Pitti Palace at Florence, where his best portraits are to be seen; and if the two large landscapes in the Berlin Gallery are rightly attributed to him he is one of the earliest landscape painters, in the strict sense of the word. [There are various examples of this master at Hampton Court.] He was also a skilful engraver, etching first and finishing with the graver. He died at Venice in 1582.

Giacomo Bassano may have worked under Titian; he, with the other members of the Bassano family, and the great *Robusti* (*Tintoretto*), who certainly was a disciple of Titian's, were the representative Venetian masters of the sixteenth century. Of all the painters who properly find a place here Vasari speaks of one only in any detail—*Paris Bordone*, who was born at Treviso in 1500. He came young to Venice, and after studying in Titian's atelier worked at Treviso, Vicenza, and Venice. In 1538, according to Vasari —or 1559, according to Federici—he was invited to France by Francis II.,[168] and after painting at Paris for the court, and then at Augsburg for the Fugger family, returned to Italy, where he settled finally at Venice, and died there in 1571. His treatment is often so like that of Titian that his pictures sometimes bear the greater master's name; for instance, the Baptism of Christ in the Capitol and a portrait in the Pinacothek. Generally, however, he is more independent; he aims at a stricter realism, and his sacred pictures especially lack fervour of sentiment. He was more in his element with secular subjects, and the finest picture of its kind that emanated from the Venetian school is his great composition of the Assembly of the Council of the Republic, with the Fisherman presenting the Doge with the Ring of S. Mark (Fig. 419). This, which is one of the masterpieces in the Venice Academy, is characteristic of the best qualities of the school; a gorgeous symphony of tone and colour, almost unique for harmony and brilliancy; it is by far Bordone's finest work, and a triumph of painting.[169] His mythological pictures are widely distributed; the Daphnis and Chloe (No. 637), with life-size figures, in the National Gallery is a genuine and representative example. Bordone is at his best in portraits, which, though they have not the vital spark of Titian, are full of sincerity and dignity. One of his finest is in the National Gallery (No. 674), a lady of the Brignole family.

Here, though only followers of Titian, we may speak of the *Bonifazi* family of Verona, who lived and worked in Venice. A large number of pictures may be seen in the galleries of Europe under the designation of *Bonifazio*, all marked by a very pleasing idyllic feeling. Holy Families, warmly bright in colour or romantically treated; and scenes from the legends of the saints, with ornate landscape backgrounds. The observer cannot, however, fail to detect that more than one painter is classed under the name; and Morelli, following in the steps of Bernasconi,[170] has lately done much towards distinguishing them. There were, it would seem, three *Bonifazi*, two of whom were probably brothers and born in Verona. Both are known as *Bonifazio Veronese*, whence it is necessary to speak of *the elder* who died in 1540, and *the younger* who died in 1553. The third, much younger, was perhaps the son of one of these; he was born in Venice, was still living in 1579, and is called *Bonifazio Veneziano*.

The elder of the brothers was, as Ridolfi has pointed out, certainly a disciple of Palma Vecchio, and Morelli detects his hand in Palma's picture of Jacob and

Fig. 419.

Rachel in the Dresden Gallery, which was formerly ascribed to Giorgione. He was the best painter of the three ; his technique is sound, his drawing pure and graceful, his colour clear and bright. A good example of his early style is a Holy Family in the Ambrosiana, attributed to Giorgione. Signor Andreossi at Milan has such another ascribed to Palma, and there is one in the Colonna

Palace at Rome with the name of Titian. Later pictures by him are a Holy Family, ascribed to Palma, in the Pitti; the Finding of Moses, rightly named, in the Dresden Gallery; and a Holy Family, again given to Palma, at Stuttgart. One of his best, and a very beautiful work, is the picture of Dives and Lazarus in the Venice Academy (Fig. 420). *Bonifazio Veronese the younger* worked, no doubt, in close connection with his elder brother; it is extremely difficult to distinguish their pictures, and even Morelli's acute observations must be accepted with some reservation. He sees their joint efforts in several pictures of the Finding of Moses; for instance, in that in the Brera, ascribed to Giorgione; and in three pictures (Nos. 50, 55, and 57) in the Accademia at Venice. To the *younger Bonifazio* Veronese may be attributed various works in the Italian galleries, including the majestic Christ enthroned with Saints, in the Venice Academy, besides the Adoration of the Shepherds, at Dresden (No. 241—Giorgione), the Holy Family (No. 271—Palma), and a Holy Family in the Stuttgart Gallery (No. 329—Palma). The pictures of the younger Bonifazio Veronese are to be distinguished from those of his brother by certain peculiarities—pointed fingers, a long narrow ear, and generally weaker modelling.

Bonifazio Veneziano was at first an imitator of the elder Bonifazi of Verona, till 1570, when he became a servile imitator of Titian; to his early period belong four pictures of saints in the Venice Academy, 1562; of his Titianesque style we have an example signed, in the Venice Academy and two in the Dresden Gallery.

IV. SOME OTHER MASTERS OF THE VENETIAN MAINLAND AND THE NEIGHBOURING TOWNS.—As we have seen, most of the painters who rose to fame and wealth in Venice were natives of the surrounding territory; it was their education in Venice and the irresistible influence of the atmosphere and surroundings that made them Venetian painters. It is, of course, difficult to draw any clearly marked line between them and the painters, more strictly speaking, of the mainland. Still, such a classification is justified when we find that a considerable number of painters worked exclusively in inland places, and that their style has a distinctive character. Thus the natives of Friuli,[171] a shrewd mountain race, had responded in a way of their own to the new impulse of the fifteenth century; but the works of their earliest painters, chiefly at Udine, are so dry and mechanical in style that history has small concern with them. The first painter who raised the art of Friuli to a higher level was *Martino da Udine*, known also as *Pellegrino*[172] *di San Daniele* because he lived and worked alternately in his native town and in the neighbouring village of San Daniele. He was, in fact, a skilled but by no means original artist. He was born, it would seem, before 1470, and, having learned of his father, his early works are in the crude traditional style, as may be seen in the altar-piece at Osopo, 1494. But by 1503, when he painted the great altar-piece for the cathedral at Aquileia, he

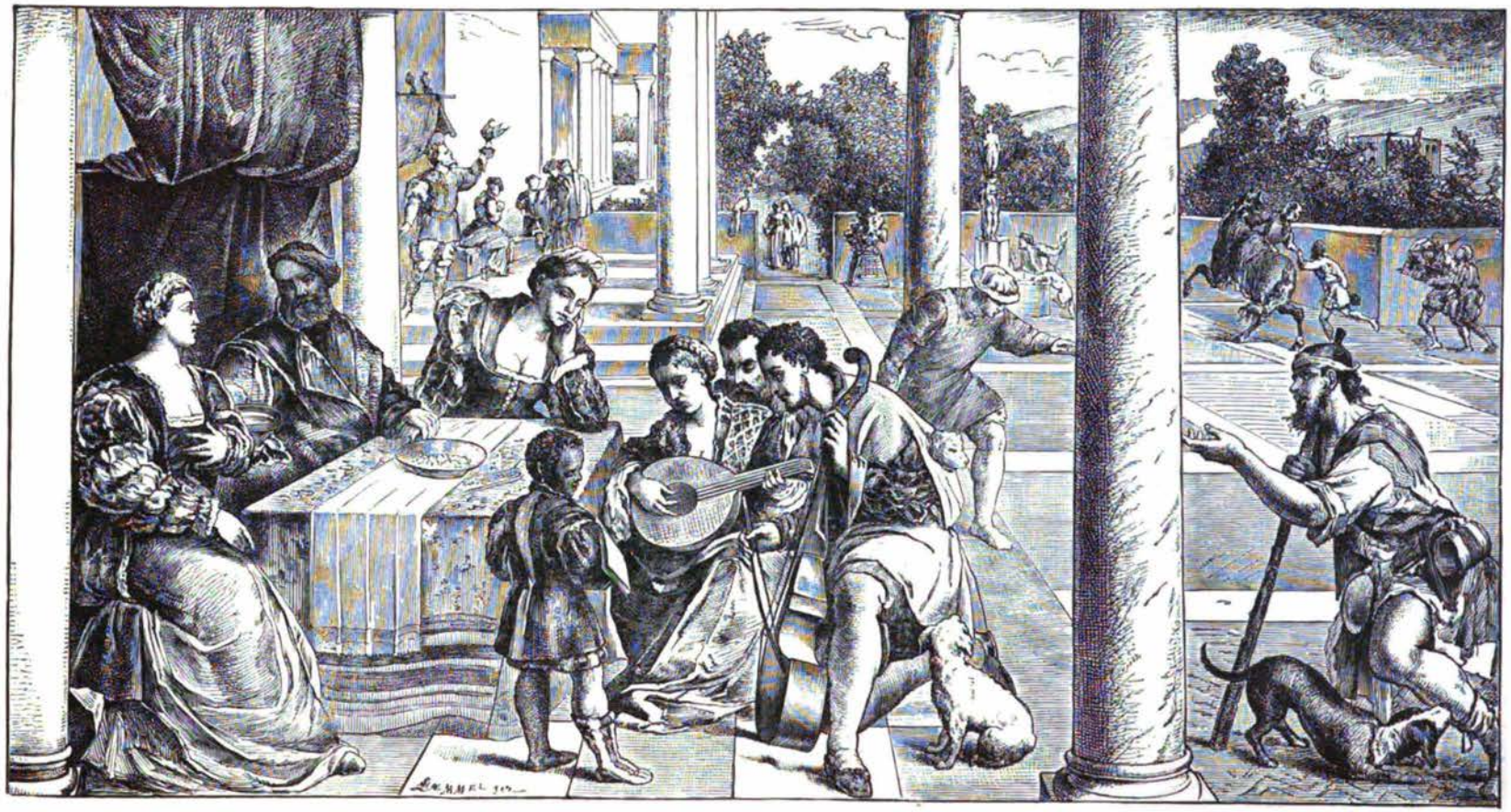


Fig. 420.

had learned a broader and freer treatment. He travelled a good deal, for we find him at Ferrara between 1504 and 1512, and it was here and in Venice, where he is first heard of in 1526—though he had probably been there much earlier—that he made the transition to the more modern style under the influence of *Titian, Palma, Giorgione, Pordenone, and Romanino*, whose various manners have been detected by connoisseurs in his later works. To me the fact seems to be that he formed a mixed style, devoid of character, but pleasing by a certain freshness of conception and skilful facility of technique. His most important works are the Annunciation in the Venice Academy, 1519, and a fine altar-piece painted in 1529—the Virgin enthroned with S. Donato and four sweet female saints, in S. Maria de' Battuti at Cividale. Most of the decorative works in S. Antonio at San Daniele are his; the best are in the choir. Though this master has by some writers been over-praised it is not fair, on the other hand, to undervalue his efforts. He died at Udine in 1547. One of his pupils was *Francesco Floreani*, by whom there is a Madonna picture at Vienna dated 1565.

A more powerful and original painter than Pellegrino was *Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone*, who took this name, by which he is best known, from his native town; but he sometimes signs himself *De Corticellis*, because his father, who was an architect, was a native of Corticelli. We learn from early documents that his family name was *Sacchi;* Vasari calls him *G. A. Licinio*, confusing him apparently with a relative of that name, and in 1535, when the King of Hungary raised him to noble rank, he assumed the name of *Regillo*. Pordenone was born in 1483;[173] he was educated at Udine, and in 1504 was painting as an independent master in Friuli. He lived for the most part at Pordenone, but was entrusted with important commissions in other places. Thus, in 1528, he was employed at Venice, where the Council, wroth with Titian for his many delays, ordered Pordenone to paint a large picture for the great hall, and in 1535 he settled there; but in 1538 he went to Ferrara by invitation of the duke, and there died at an inn, of a sudden illness, in January 1539. Pordenone could conceive grandly and vividly, but his treatment was heavy and ungracious. He is the most dramatic of all the masters of the Venetian mainland, and the only decorative painter of this school. He also executed a great number of altar-pieces; his independent easel-pictures are rare. His works can only be rightly studied in the cities where he lived and worked. His earliest paintings are crude and tentative, and it is not till his return from Venice about 1513, evidently influenced by Giorgione, that his powers are at their best; even then, as compared with the great Venetian masters, he cannot hold a place in the first rank. His progress may be traced in the pictures that decorate the little Church of S. Salvatore at Colalto; the Adoration of the Kings and other paintings of the north wall of the nave are incomparably inferior to the Raising of Lazarus in the choir. The works of his best time are

to be seen, though much injured, in the Malchiostro Chapel of the cathedral at Treviso, finished in 1520. On the vaulted ceiling we see God the Father supported by angels, and on the walls a highly dramatic scene from the legend of S. Liberale, and a grand and stirring composition of the Adoration of the Kings,—all conceived with great boldness and originality, and glorious with golden light. In 1520 Pordenone was invited to Cremona to take a part in the decoration of the cathedral (see *ante*, p. 438). His paintings there are grandly projected, but their dramatic truth is lost in exaggeration. They made a great impression at the time, and left their mark on his successors. Between 1528 and 1538, when he went to Ferrara, he worked, always on a grand scale, at Spilimbergo, at Casarsa, at Piacenza, at Genoa—in the Doria Palace—at Travesio, and in Venice, where, however, most of his work has perished. Death interfered to prevent his executing the commission given to provoke Titian. His progress is no less marked in his altar-pieces, of which several remain in the churches for which they were painted; two important examples are in the Venice Academy—a Madonna picture and S. Lorenzo Giustiniani (Fig. 421). An interesting picture in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso, representing the body of Christ supported above the grave by angels, and long ascribed to Giorgione, is given to Pordenone by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, a view in which I fully concur;[174] but I cannot agree with those critics in regarding the Herodias in the Doria Gallery, Rome, as his work. However, that many pictures are wrongly ascribed to him in various collections there can be no doubt.

Among his scholars the first we need mention is *Bernardino Licinio da Pordenone*, his distant relative, by whom there are dated pictures of from 1524 to 1542. He is weaker, but at the same time more temperate than his master, and his portraits are distinguishable by the ruddiness of the carnations. His portrait groups are capital; for instance, the large pictures at Alnwick and at Hampton Court (No. 104), [where several others are ascribed to him.] He has also left numerous religious pictures; signed examples are the altar-piece—the enthroned Madonna with Saints—in the Frari Chapel at Venice, and a fine *Santa Conversazione* in the museum at Grenoble. A relative of Bernardino, no doubt, was *Giulio Licinio*, who is known to have been working at Augsburg in 1561, and was still alive at Vienna in 1589. He was probably a pupil of the elder Pordenone. There is an altar-piece by him in the cathedral at Gratz.

Pordenone's favourite disciple and assistant was *Pomponio Amalteo*, 1505-84, whose pictures must be sought in the small towns of his native province; for instance, in the Cathedral and Town Hall of Udine.

Giovanni Maria Zaffoni, commonly called *Calderari*, is recognisable as one of the group by the ruddy tone which characterises the pupils of Pordenone. He died about 1570.

In BERGAMO, besides the painters we have already had occasion to mention, we may name *Giovanni Busi Cariani*, worked from 1508 to 1541, a master of the

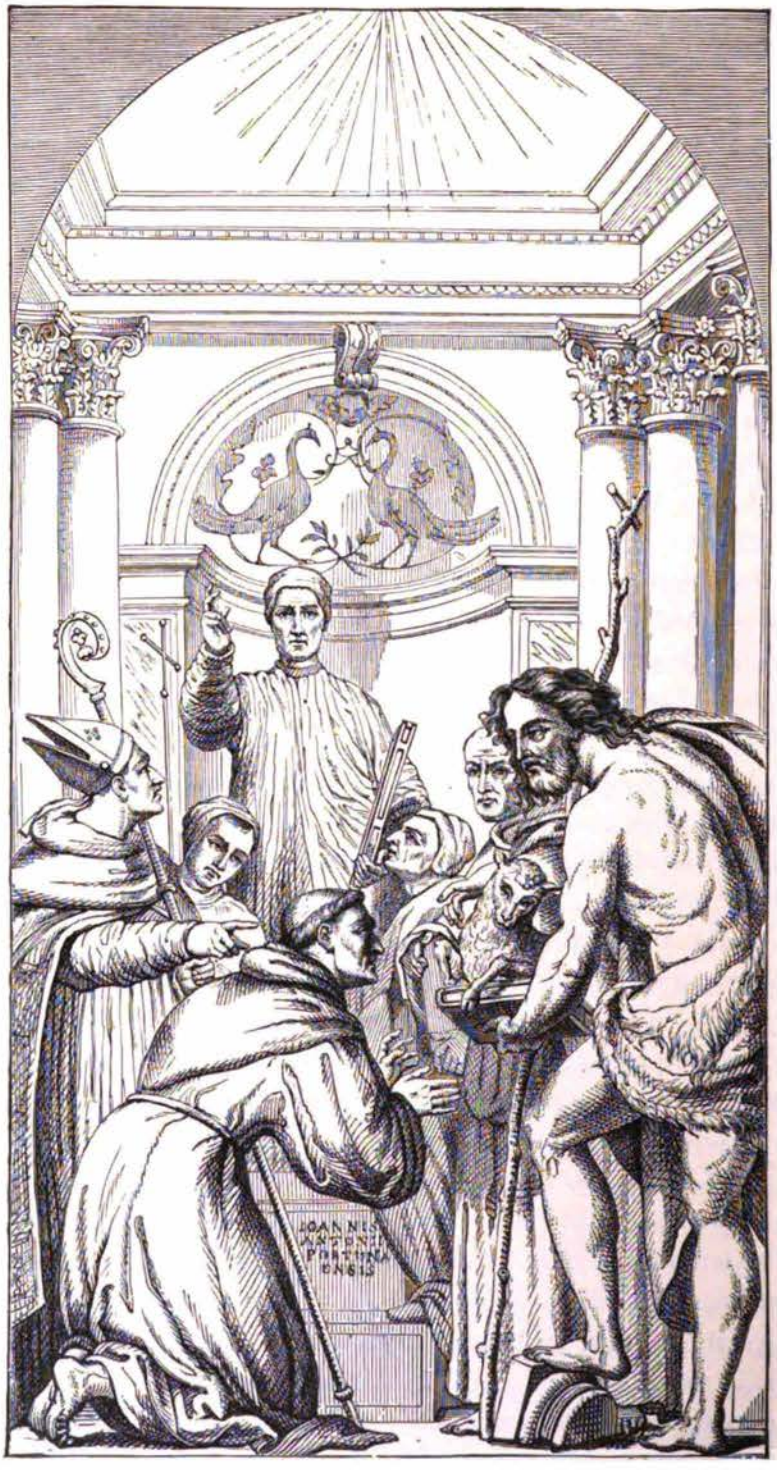


Fig. 421.

second rank, rehabilitated by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who believe that he adopted in turn the manner of various great masters, and consequently ascribe to him pictures of widely differing character in various collections. In this assumption we cannot follow them, and will begin by enumerating his authenticated works. The earliest, 1514, and the latest, 1541, of which we find any mention are lost, but the following are signed:—a bright and attractive portrait-group of four ladies and three men, 1519, in the Casa Roncalli; a Madonna picture, 1520, in the Casa Baglioni; and a portrait of Benedetto Caravaggio in the Public Gallery, all at Bergamo. Judging from these, some other pictures in the same town, and a Madonna with saints in the Brera, are by him. But we fail to recognise his hand in any works in the galleries of Germany, unless, indeed, Morelli is right in ascribing to him the portrait (No. 582) in the Pinacothek called Giorgione,[175] and another portrait at Berlin (No. 188). Morelli believes him to have learned under Palma; he must certainly have studied in Venice.

BRESCIA,[176] which had already distinguished itself in the fifteenth century, could still boast of her art during the first half of the sixteenth. *Fioravante Ferramola* (*ante*, p. 434), who died in 1528, though still essentially of the *quattro-cento*, had shown indications of the coming transition. None of the many frescoes that he is known to have painted at Brescia and in the neighbourhood have survived, with the exception of the Annunciation in the Carmine; but at Lovere some very characteristic frescoes, dated 1514, are still to be seen in the Church of S. Maria, where, in 1518, he also painted the organ-doors in tempera.

Three remarkable painters flourished at Brescia in the early part of the century, of whom *Gian Girolamo Savoldo* seems to have been the senior, as he is spoken of by P. Aretino in one of his letters[177] in 1548 as a very old man. He was of a good family of Brescia, and studied there first under Ferramola, but he afterwards went to Venice. In 1508 he was admitted to the Painters' Guild of Florence, which seems singular, for his residence there must have been brief; he was living at Venice in 1521, and again in 1548, when Aretino wrote of him as a good fresco-painter. Only his easel-pictures have, however, come down to us. His figures lack individuality and dignity of expression, but his compositions are well constructed, while in colouring he remains a true Brescian in spite of Venetian influence—cold and gray in his shadows, though lavish, and by no means inharmonious, in his colours. He is fond of luminous landscape backgrounds, often with a sunset glow, which tends to give them an essentially modern tone. His pictures are not very commonly met with; the finest is in the Brera—the Virgin appearing in a Vision to Four Saints; it is signed. Two pictures of the Transfiguration are in the Uffizi and the Ambrosiana, but his most characteristic effects are seen in his pictures of the Nativity; there is one at Hampton Court (No. 139). The Berlin Museum and the

National Gallery (No. 1031) have duplicate studies of a young girl—a Magdalene—but only the Berlin example is signed. Another signed picture is the portrait in the Louvre of a knight with mirrors on all sides, so that he is seen in various positions.

The next great master of the Brescian school is *Girolamo Romanino*, born about 1485 at Brescia, and not, as has hitherto been supposed, at Romano, though his family came from thence. His first master was Ferramola, or perhaps Civerchio; between 1509 and 1531 he visited Padua and Venice, adopting a characteristic golden tone from Giorgione; in 1514 he was again at Brescia. In 1519-20 he painted four large frescoes in the cathedral of Cremona, and afterwards settled at Brescia, where he remained with short intervals of absence (in 1540 he was working at Trient) till he died in 1566. Romanino is great in composition and colour, but his execution is singularly unequal, and he is careless in finish and detail. Some good early frescoes by him are to be seen at Bieno in the Val Camonica, but they are a good deal injured. His scenes from the Passion in the cathedral of Cremona are still worth study, and those in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia show him as a fine historical painter—especially in the Raising of Lazarus and the Feast at the Pharisee's House (in oil on canvas) which are works of the very first class. His characteristic qualities are no less conspicuous in his altar-pieces. One of the earliest, which, in spite of its bad drawing, betrays the influence of Giorgione, is in the Berlin Museum. In the gallery at Padua we see the picture he painted in 1513 for the Church of S. Giustina there—a perfect flood of golden light. In the same collection hangs a later work, painted about 1521, which in its pearly gray tones reveals his later tendencies.[178] Still, the Nativity in the National Gallery (No. 297), as well as some others of 1525, is warmer in tone. His thoroughly Brescian silveriness of light and shade is conspicuous in two pictures in S. Giuseppe at Brescia, and the first use of these peculiar silvery grays is distinctly traceable to Romanino.

Alessandro Bonvicino, who for some unknown reason gained the name of *Il Moretto da Brescia*,[179] and who was by far the finest painter of the three, also adopted and refined this silvery key of colouring. He was born at Brescia, in 1498, and perhaps learned at first of Ferramola, but certainly of Romanino. He may never have studied in Venice, for his style is essentially the highest development of the Brescian school, and he seems to have worked almost exclusively in his native town. With the exception of a few admirable portraits he painted only altar-pieces and sacred subjects, but these, for elegance of arrangement, noble solidity of drawing, and a delightfully brilliant though sober harmony of colour, are among the finest works of their kind. Some of his earliest pictures do not, it is true, display his full powers, but at his best Moretto strikes a chord of colour peculiar to himself, perfectly consonant to modern sentiment and seconded by the very finest technical qualities. His

earliest pictures do not display his full powers, but in 1521, when he was but three-and-twenty, his works in S. Giovanni Evangelista, where he was working with Romanino, show him as at least the equal of his colleague, who was thirteen years his senior. His best pictures here are on canvas—Elias in the Desert, the Children of Israel gathering Manna, and the Last Supper. His best period is from 1521 till 1541; after this his tone is heavier, the flesh hotter, and the general effect dead and gray. Though some of his pictures have been obtained from Brescia for various collections, and a few have been removed to the town gallery there, Moretto can only be well seen in the churches of Brescia. His native town possesses in all about fifty large works by him, of which perhaps twenty are repainted, or were, in the first instance, mere studio works. His most important works are in S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Clemente, S. Maria delle Grazie, and SS. Nazaro e Celso. In the Brera, in the Venice Academy, and elsewhere in Italy he is well represented, and examples of his work exist in several foreign galleries. The S. Justina with a Unicorn, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, is an exquisite work, and two pictures of saints of his best time are in the Louvre. The Virgin enthroned, with the Fathers of the Church (Fig. 422), painted about 1541, is in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, and the Virgin appearing in a Vision to Four Saints, in the National Gallery (No. 625), is a good example of the master; the Madonna with a Rosebush, in the Leuchtenberg Pālace at S. Petersburg, is one of his finest; the Berlin Adoration of the Kings is inferior. His portraits, which are strikingly simple and truthful in the heads, are characterised by a certain ideal grace in some of the details,—for instance, in the slender form of the fingers,—but they are boldly and broadly painted, calm and literal in tone. A good portrait of a young man in the Fenaroli Collection at Brescia is dated 1526; the picture of an Italian nobleman in the National Gallery (No. 1025) bears the same date; [another (No. 299), the portrait of Count Sciarra Cesaresco, has none]. In the Brignole Palace, Genoa, there is a portrait of 1533. The last dated picture by Moretto is a sacred work of 1554, a *Pietà* belonging to Signor Frizzoni; the master died in 1555.

Most of the Brescians of second-rate importance were pupils of Romanino's.[180] *Vincenzo Foppa the younger*, if such a painter ever existed, certainly came under his influence, but this seems to be a name arbitrarily used by collectors.

The most distinguished of Moretto's scholars was *Giovanni Battista Moroni*, who was born at Bondio about 1525, though he cannot have entered Moretto's studio before 1540, when the master had already adopted his ruddy flesh tones. Three of his religious pictures are in the Brera, and in these he is always inferior to Moretto; but in his portraits, which are now highly esteemed, he went even farther than his master, for he is less mannered in action and colour, and aims at the simplest and sincerest truth to nature, without, however, giving any very lofty or elevated expression to his sitter. His best portraits are still

in Italy; two in the Uffizi, and others in the galleries at Venice, Milan, Brescia, and Bergamo. Five extremely fine examples have found their way to the National Gallery, of which the Tailor (No. 697) is the most famous (Fig. 423),

Fig. 422.

though the Wounded Knight (No. 1022) and the Lady (No. 1023) are not inferior; another fine specimen is the Jesuit, in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland. The earliest date on any of his portraits is 1553, on that of a Young Man, in the Berlin Gallery, where there are three. Examples are to be seen in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, at S. Petersburg, and at Madrid.

Moroni died in 1578 at Gorlago, where he was at work on a large picture of the Last Judgment.

In connection with the Brescian masters mention may be made of the *Piazza* family of Lodi. *Albertino* and *Martino Piazza*, who were followers of

Fig. 423.

the old Milanese school, have left second-rate works at Lodi and at Castiglione d'Adda. Albertino died before 1529. *Calisto*, his son, who died after 1561, was a follower of Romanino, with a distinct infusion of Giorgione. His pictures are not rare in the churches of the Milanese ; a few are to be found in the Brera and the gallery at Brescia, and one, dated 1526, is in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.

At VERONA again, during the early years of the century, painting kept pace with that of the other towns of the Venetian territory. Caroto, Girolamo dei Libri, Moranda—Cavazzola—and Francesco Torbido have already been discussed as being originally more closely allied in style with the masters of the fifteenth century than with their greater contemporaries. The last two, however, were men of their time; *Torbido* was open to various external influences, while *Cavazzola*, though he died so early as 1522, painted in the best style of the Veronese school. Thus—the *Bonifazi* having also been included with the Venetian painters—only a few Veronese remain to be mentioned, the younger contemporaries of Cavazzola, who followed the new development without having to struggle free of the traditions that had beset their seniors.

Domenico Riccio, called *Brusasorci*,[181] was, it is true, born in the previous century, but he lived till 1557, and is a son of the *cinque-cento*. He is said to have learned from Caroto. His figures are slender but well formed, and his heads expressive; his colour full of the bright delicacy of the Veronese. He is not at his best in the altar-pieces which are to be seen at Verona, but was more successful in secular work; his façade to the Casa Murari was famous; little of it is now to be traced. In the Palazzo Ridolfi his "*Gran Cavalcata*," the procession of Pope Clement VII. and Charles V., is in such good preservation that we can recognise the master as a worthy predecessor of Paolo Veronese, though at a later date this greater painter perhaps reacted on Riccio, whose son *Felice* was Veronese's imitator.

Much younger than Brusasorci was *Antonio Badile*, a member of a family of painters whose ancestor has already been briefly mentioned (*ante*, p. 424). They were, indeed, for the most part, of inferior merit, and Antonio, 1517-60, was the first of any distinction. His historical importance lies chiefly in the fact that he was the master of the great *Paolo Cagliari—Veronese*—whose works belong to a later period. Badile's pictures are in Italy.

CREMONA is the only centre of art at this classical period that now need find mention here. It cannot claim, any more than Lodi, to belong to the Venetian territory, though its artistic stamp at this period was essentially Venetian. We have seen the Cremonese masters of the transition—*Altobello Melone* and *Gian Francesco Bembo*—working with *Romanino* and *Pordenone* in the cathedral. *Galeazzo Campi*, who died in 1536, may be regarded as the parent of a new generation of painters in Cremona; his sons, *Giulio* and *Antonio Campi*, started with Venetian training, but subsequently became devotees of Giulio Romano, and consequently mere mannerists. An altar-piece by Giulio Campi in S. Abbondio is quite Venetian in stamp; it is dated 1527, and he did not die till 1570, but even so late as 1540 we still trace Venetian feeling in the altar-piece in S. Sigismondo. After this, though he never entirely loses his individuality, he has fallen under the spell of the Roman

school. A portrait of his father in the Uffizi, 1556, gives an idea of his style in this branch of art. *Antonio Campi*, who was still living in 1585, was altogether of the later school, as we see in the Holy Family of 1567 in S. Pietro at Cremona; *Bernardino* and his pupil *Sofonisba Anguisciola*, with her six sisters, are of a later generation.

CHAPTER VII.

JEAN COUSIN, AND THE ITALIANS AT FONTAINEBLEAU.[182]

Flemish influence on early French art—Absence of any important works—*Jean Cousin*—His alleged versatility—Italian painters introduced by Francis I.—Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto—Il Rosso, known as *Le Maitre Roux*—His works at Fontainebleau—*Primaticcio*—Niccolò l'Abate—The mannerism of the school.

How much or how little of the real genius of the French nation was expressed by her early painters it is hard to tell, for the storms of revolution dealt more destructively with ancient art in France than in almost any other land. *Jean Foucquet*, her greatest painter in the fifteenth century, was certainly closely connected with the masters of Flanders; and the *Clouets*, her great portrait-painters in the sixteenth century, were actually of Flemish extraction. But there was another genuinely French artist in the early part of the century who is commonly regarded by French historians as the most eminent representative of national art—*Jean Cousin*, who was not only a painter on canvas and on glass, in oil and in miniature, but also an architect, sculptor, engraver, and author,[183] was so strongly influenced by his Italian contemporaries that he finds a fitting place here. His work as a glass painter, characterised by elegance and delicacy of colour, may be seen in the cathedral at Sens, dated 1530; in the chapel of the Castle of Vincennes; in S. Gervais at Paris, and elsewhere; though some so named is of doubtful genuineness. The miniatures in Henry II.'s (of France) Prayer-Book in the Bibliothèque Nationale are ascribed to him. He is known as an engraver by an interesting plate of the Entombment signed with his name. This is an original and thoroughly French composition, although the theatrical action, which in some of the figures is absolutely unmeaning, shows familiarity with the Italians of the middle of the century. Our knowledge of his easel-pictures is slender and doubtful; a Deposition from the Cross, in the Mainz Museum, which was placed there in the time of the first Napoleon, bears his name, but with what right it is impossible to say. A famous picture called "Eva-Pandora" is in private hands at Sens, and not open to inspection. Five portraits, exhibited in 1873 in the Exposition Rétrospective, suggested Clouet's hand rather than Cousin's. In fact, the Last Judgment in the Louvre is the only picture which can be regarded as authenticated even by tradition. Above, Christ is enthroned in Paradise; in the lower portions we see a distinct and conscious resemblance to Michael

Fig. 424.

Angelo's great work, even to the bark of the ferryman (Fig. 424). But, notwithstanding many features that suggest Italian influence, there is much that is genuinely French and independent in the grouping, which is elegant to mannerism. Cousin is supposed, on no particular evidence, to have died in 1589. In fact there is much that seems mythical in his whole history beyond the existence of his works in glass-painting, sculpture, engraving, and as a writer; the French kings only employed him as a sculptor,[184] and in painting never regarded him as the equal of the Italians whom Francis I. invited to his court.

This monarch was an enthusiastic patron of the arts. When in 1516 he brought Leonardo da Vinci into France, and in 1518 invited Andrea del Sarto to follow him, he secured the services of the two greatest painters then at his disposal. But the issue was unhappy; Leonardo died in France in 1519 without having done any great work there, and Andrea del Sarto, though he painted some charming pictures in France, was in a hurry to get back to Italy and never revisited the French court. After this, for about ten years, the king was too much occupied with war and politics to devote his attention to art, and it was not till 1530 that he again found himself at leisure. But the Italian masters now at his command were not of the calibre of Da Vinci and Del Sarto; indeed, but for their importance as founders of the school of Fontainebleau, they could only be spoken of as the first of the Italian mannerists. Thus, in 1530, Francis I. invited from Florence *Giov. Batt. di Jacopo—Il Rosso*, or *Le Maitre Roux*—whose career in Italy has already been spoken of (*ante*, p. 524). He had distinguished himself as a decorator in Florence in 1512, and afterwards in Rome, where he had been employed on the Cesi Chapel in S. Maria della Pace. It was a decorator that the king required for the palace at Fontainebleau, which he rebuilt and enlarged. Rosso was entrusted with the whole scheme of interior decoration, and he not only painted it but designed the rich ornamentation in relief which is still to be seen there.[185] Most of the frescoes he executed have been destroyed, but the twelve which remain in the gallery of Francis I., with the exception of Primaticcio's Danae, are by him. Though, after his death, they were repainted by Primaticcio, and restored successively by Van Loo, Couderc, and Alaux, they remain superior in breadth of style to the mannerisms of his followers on the same ground. Of his oil-paintings at this time we have an example in the dramatic *Pietà* in the Louvre, in which again he appears as a mannered imitator of Michael Angelo, but not without much native power. Under the king's patronage Rosso lived like a prince. He enjoyed the revenues of a canonry of the Sainte Chapelle, and was all-powerful in everything connected with art. In 1541 he poisoned himself; the fact has never been denied, though the reasons assigned are various.

When in 1531 Francis I. had appointed Rosso superintendent of all his artistic undertakings he wrote to desire the Duke of Mantua to send him some

young artist who could both paint and model, and Federigo Gonzago despatched *Francesco Primaticcio*, born at Bologna[186] in 1504, who had for some years been working under Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Tè. On reaching Fontainebleau he was at first put under the orders of Rosso, but none of his works before 1540 have survived. In this year he was ordered to Rome to make plaster casts of the most famous antique statues, and in the following year, at Rosso's death, he was recalled to the court, where he soon gained no

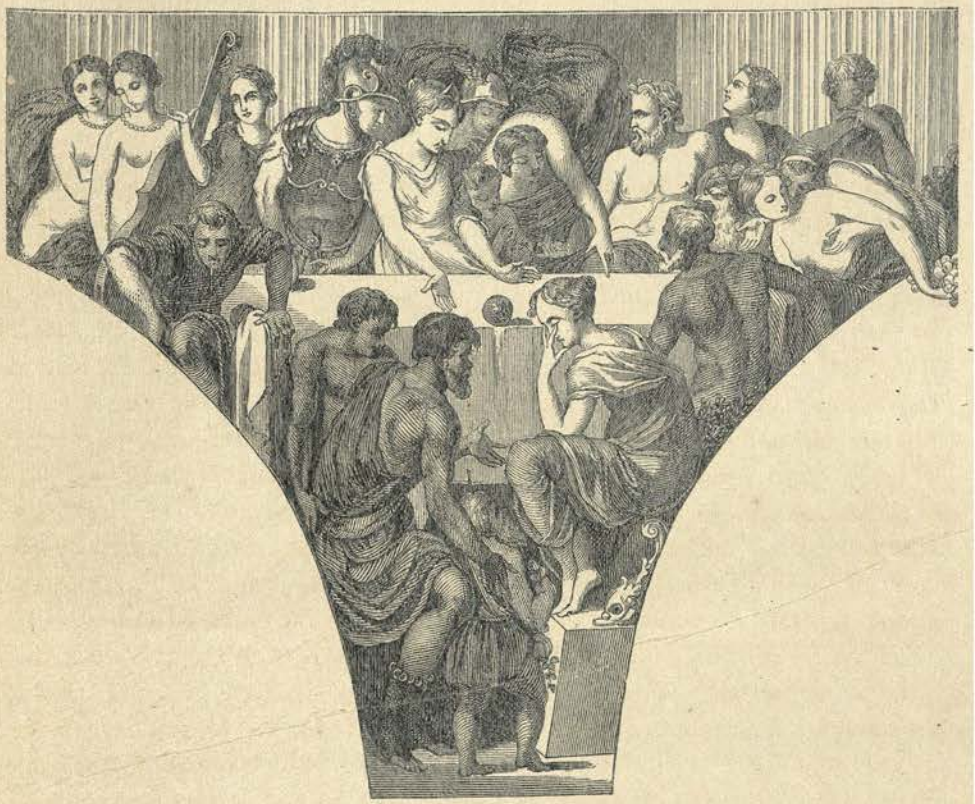


Fig. 425.

less influence than his predecessor, and held his own as chief of the Fontainebleau school till the king's death in 1570. He lived, Vasari tells us, not as a painter but as a lord.

He first finished the Gallery of Francis I. and then proceeded to decorate several of the other rooms. He seems to have employed his pupils to execute the frescoes, but the Gallery of Henry II. is thought to be his own work. It is a large concert and ball-room, and the pictures that decorate it are exclusively mythological (Fig. 425)—Parnassus and Olympus, Bacchus, Vulcan, Apollo, and Diana. These too were restored by Alaux, losing perhaps some of

their original character, but the monstrous mannerism of Primaticcio's coquettish grace, and the forced relief given to groups of nude figures by various flesh-tones, from the fairest blonde to olive and purple swarthiness, are still conspicuous. The Porte Dorée, again, the scenes from the story of Mars and Venus in the tapestried room, the pictures illustrating the life of Alexander on the royal staircase, and the long series of subjects from the *Odyssey*, are from designs by Primaticcio. His easel-pictures are few. Not one, indeed, is duly authenticated; but his drawings may be seen in the galleries of the Louvre and the Albertina.

Numerous Italian painters followed Primaticcio to Paris, of whom the most important was *Niccolò dell' Abate*,[187] who was known as an independent

Fig. 426.

artist before he went to Paris in 1552 by the command of Henry II. He was the son of *Giovanni di Abate* of Modena, where he was born in 1512. His earlier works betray the influence of Correggio and Giulio Romano. He painted some large historical frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico of Modena in 1545, which are still extant though much damaged, and in 1547 he painted the half-Roman half-Correggesque Martyrdom of S. Peter now in the Dresden Gallery. In the Modena Gallery and at Bologna there are other remains of his decorative work. After 1552, when he settled at Fontainebleau, he seems, in spite of his previous reputation, to have worked only as subordinate to Primaticcio, though what his share may have been in their common undertakings it is impossible to determine. An easel-picture of his French time is the Rape of Proserpine at Stafford House, formerly in the Orleans Collection. It is not certain whether the Diana (Fig. 426) is actually by Primaticcio or

Niccolò; it is, at any rate, perfectly characteristic of the school in its cold elegance and affectation of distinction and refinement. Niccolò died in 1571, bequeathing these traditions to his sons *Giulio*, *Cristoforo*, and *Camillo*, who had accompanied him into France. The French kings had, however, insisted on young French artists being also trained to carry on the work, but only one, *Martin Fréminet*, rose to individual importance. The influence of the taste of the Fontainebleau school was, in fact, more marked on sculpture than on painting, and it was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that a higher and more independent standard prevailed in French art.

APPENDIX V.

1. Early authorities: P. Jovius, *Vita Leonardi Vinci*, printed in Tiraboschi, *Storia della litteratura ital.*, Florence, 1812, vii. p. 1718; Anonimo di Milanesi, *Breve Vita di L. da Vinci*, written in 1500 and published by G. Milanesi in *Arch. stor. ital.*, xvi. (1872) pp. 222-226; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 17; Lomazzo (see note 129 of Appendix iv.). In modern literature C. Amoretti, *Memorie storiche sulla vita, etc., di L. da Vinci*, 2d ed., Milan, 1804; J. W. Brown, *Life of L. da V.*, London, 1828; H. von Gallenberg, *L. da Vinci*, Leipsic, 1834; Arsène Houssaye, *Hist. de L. da Vinci*, 2d ed., Paris, 1876; C. Brun in *Kunst und Künstler*, iii.; Lübke, *Gesch. der It. Malerei*, ii. p. 33. New facts and views have been published by Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 223; G. L. Calvi, *Notizie*, iii.; Gust. Uzielli, *Ricerche intorno a L. da V.*, Florence, 1872; G. Milanesi, *Archivio*, p. 227. [Dr. J. P. Richter, "L. da Vinci" in *Biographies of Great Artists Series*, London. *The Literary Works of L. da Vinci*, London, 1883, deciphered and annotated by Dr. J. P. Richter and printed with a parallel English version.] See too J. B. Venturi, *Essai sur les ouvrages physico-mathématiques de L. da V.*, Paris, 1797; G. Mongeri, G. Govi e C. Boito, *Saggio delle opere di L. da V.*, Milan, 1872; H. Grothe, *Leonardo da Vinci als Ingenieur und Philosoph*, Berlin, 1874; Marx, *Ueber M. A. Torre und L. da V.*, Göttingen, 1848; Luca Paciolo di Borgo S. Sepolcro, *De divina proportione*, Venice, 1509. For prints and reproductions: J. Chamberlaine, *Imitation of original drawings by L. da V.*, London, 1796. The publications of the *Grosvenor Gallery* and the *Fine Arts Society;* Ad. Braun, various photographs. W. Hollar, *Characatures by L. da Vinci*, 1786; J. Sandrart (Ratisbon, 1645) and Caylus (Paris, 1730) also engraved his caricatures.

2. G. Uzielli in *Buonarroti*, 1875, has proved that the sonnet commonly attributed to L. da Vinci is not by him, but about half a century earlier.

3. [For an account of the designs for this monument see Richter, *Literary Works, etc.*, ii. pp. 1-25.]

4. An edition of the *Trattato* from the Vatican MS., with a German translation by H. Ludwig, appeared in Eitelberger's *Quellenschriften*. His notes are for the most part written on loose sheets or in various note-books; the writing has to be read backwards, and is small and cramped. [Richter's ed. (*Lit. Works of L. da V.*) is completed by additional passages from MSS. at Windsor, Ashburnham Place, Paris, and elsewhere; see the Preface, vol. i. p. xvii.]

5. G. Milanesi in *Arch. stor. it.*, xvi., 1872, p. 221; he endeavours to show that Leonardo's cartoon, entrusted to Filippino Lippi in 1478, was worked up by him in the picture (No. 1268 in the Uffizi) in 1485.

6. Lübke in Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, iii., 1870, p. 70, had argued very cleverly in favour of this being Leonardo's work, but C. and C. (*History*, iii. p. 522) and Morelli (*Italian Masters in German Galleries*, p. 345) are very positive that it is by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, as well as the portrait No. 207 in the Pitti; *Italian Masters*, p. 346.

7. This attribution, incorrect as it is, has survived the belief that Leonardo was the painter of the Madonna in the Borghese Palace. It could only have been in quite his earliest youth that Leonardo worked so like his fellow-pupil, L. di Credi; and the angel in Verrocchio's Baptism shows that even then their painting and drawing were very dissimilar. Besides, Leonardo was not in Rome till later.

8. A very complete analysis of his drawings by Lübke in the chapter on "Leonardo," *Gesch. der It. Malerei*, ii. pp. 40 ff, 77 ff, etc. [For a review of drawings by L. da V., exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1879, see S. Colvin in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, 1879, p. 311; Morelli, *It. Masters*, pp. 87, 95, 206-210; J. Comyns Carr; and L. Fagan (see note 1 of App. iv.). The *Grosvenor Gallery reproductions* include a great number from drawings by L. da V.; see also J. P. Richter, *Literary Works of L. da V.*, i. p. 334.]

9. J. P. Richter, "L. da V. im Orient" in Lützow's *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 131. [*Literary Works of L. da V.*, ii. p. 381. "L. da V. in the East," in the *Academy*, 12th March 1881—a letter as to J. P. Richter's researches.]

10. Plates exist signed ACADEMIA LEONARDO VINCI, Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, v. p. 180 ff, and the question as to whether Leonardo himself ever executed engravings remains undecided. See an article by Girolamo d'Adda in the *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1868, with the reproduction of an engraved profile in the British Museum.

11. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 413 (note 3). Since reading these remarks the author has again studied the signed picture by Ambrosius de Predis in the Ambras Collection, but the Milan portrait lives in his memory as so much finer that he cannot subscribe to Signor Morelli's verdict.

12. It must, however, be admitted that even *La Belle Féronnière* is not undisputed by some connoisseurs. [In the *Academy*, Feb. 12, 1870, C. and C. express an opinion that this picture may represent Isabella d'Este.]

13. Morelli, Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 33; Morelli (*Italian Masters*, p. 423) says that the Litta Madonna is the work of Bernardino Conti.

14. Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 158.

15. Waagen, *Art Treasures*, iii. 168; *Kleine Schriften*, p. 160.

16. G. Bossi, *Del cenacolo di L. da V.*, Milan, 1810.

17. [This copy—and the cartoon for the picture mentioned at p. 471—are in a room at the top of the Royal Academy Building, Burlington House, next to that in which the diploma pictures are hung.]

18. H. Riegel, *Ueber die Darstellung des Abendmahles, etc.*, Leipsic, 1869, pp. 48-59. [See *The Literary Works of L. da V.*, i. pp. 333 and 346.]

19. Probably oil or a varnish. For further details as to Leonardo's experiments, see *Arch. stor. it.*, xvi. p. 226, and H. Grimm in Hildebrandt's *Italia*, i. (1847), p. 140. [For some of his recipes and methods see J. P. Richter, *Literary Works*, i. p. 315 ff.]

20. Milanesi's Anonimo, in *Arch. stor. it.*, states that Leonardo painted F. del Giocondo himself, but this is possibly an error, as the writer does not mention the portrait of Mona Lisa.

21. Waagen, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 173, positively denies that the picture is by Leonardo, though he believes in the genuineness of the cartoon. See Lübke, *op. cit.*, p. 71; and C. Brun, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

22. Lomazzo, *Trattato*, 1584, p. 164, "Leda naked, with the swan in her lap shamefaced and looking down." *Idea*, 1590, p. 116. "By Leonardo is the smiling Pomona covered on one side with three veils (transparent drapery), which is a most difficult thing in this art."

23. P. Jovius, "paucissima opera absolvit"; Lomazzo, *Idea*, 1590, p. 6, "ben che sino poche" (though they are few); Milanesi, Anonimo, "et però sono tanto rare le opere sue."

24. Fumagallo, *La scuolo di L. da V. in Lombardia*, Milan, 1811; A. F. Rio, *Léonard da V. et son école*, Paris, 1855; Calvi, *Notizie;* Morelli, *Italian Masters, etc.*, p. 413; Signor Giovanni Morelli (Lermolieff is his *nom de plume*) has also favoured me with much information by letter.

25. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 425. [J. P. Richter (*Italian Art in the National Gallery*) pronounces No. 728 (*Boltraffio*) one of his finest works anywhere.] Recent critics have recognised Boltraffio's hand in the fresco Madonna in the Convent of S. Onofrio, Rome. I so far, at any rate, entirely agree with them that I see no trace of Leonardo in it.

26. G. Frizzoni, *Arch. stor. it.*, v. p. 47.

27. No. 431 of the new catalogue, 1882; No. 432, which was formerly ascribed to Amberger (!), looks like the work of Solari. [Some studies for Duke Scotti's picture are in the possession of Mr. J. P. Heseltine; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 225.] Cesare da Sesto did not sign his pictures, and the label painted on the circular picture in the Vatican is a forgery. Morelli, *Zeitschrift*, ix. p. 249, says that the picture is certainly not by him.

28. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 101: "Fece compagnia con Cesare da Sesto"; Lomazzo, *Trattato*, (1584), p. 188.

29. He signs himself Andreas de Solario and Andreas Mediolanensis; C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 51; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 63-69.

30. The Daughter of Herodias in the Vienna Gallery, and Christ bearing the Cross in the Borghese Palace.

31. C. Brun, *Kunst und Künstler*, iii.; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 62, 435 ff. It is a mistake to antedate the last mention of Luini 1529 or 1530. The document was published by C. Brun in the *Neujahrsblatt* of the Zürich Society of Arts for 1880, note 48.

32. I saw this fresco in 1881, and have no doubt of its authenticity; it is too early for any resemblance to Leonardo to appear in it.

33. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 438. The matter deserves further investigation.

34. Gius. Colombo, *Vita ed opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, Turin, 1881. His mother was of the Vinci family, and his early works are signed Gaudentius Vincius. Morelli (*Italian Masters*, p. 434), thinks that he was influenced by Luini and Bramantino. During his residence in Varallo, 1508 and 1509, he was called Gaudentius de Varali. [Pianazzi e Bordiga, *Le Opere di G. Ferrari*, Milan, 1835-46.]

35. The drawings for the Varallo Crucifixion are in the Uffizi under the name of Giorgione. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 439 (note 3).

36. For these painters see Colombo, *op. cit.*, chaps. ix., xv., xviii.

37. Early writers on Michael Angelo are P. Jovius, *Michaelis Angeli Vita*, reprinted by A. Springer in his great work; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. pp. 135-404; A. Condivi, *Vita di M. A. Buonarotti*, Rome, 1553. Later historians and critics: Quatremère de Quincy, *Hist. de la vie et des ouvrages de Michel Ang.*, Paris, 1835 [translated by Hazlitt]. John S. Harford, *Life of Michael Angelo*, London, 1858; H. Grimm, *Leben Michelangelo's*, Hanover, 5th ed., 1879 [translation by F. E. Bunnett, *Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1865]. Much new material in Milanesi, *Le lettere di Michelangelo, coi ricordi ed i contratti artistici*, 1875, embodied in Aur. Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo*, Florence, 1875; A. Springer, *Raffael und Michael Angelo*, Leipsic, 1878. [Charles Clément, *Michel Ange et L. da Vinci avec catalogues raisonnés*, Par. 1861; from this "Michelangelo" in *Biog. of Great Artists;* J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, iii. chap. viii.; J. S. Harford, *Illustrations of the Genius of M. Angelo*, fol., plates, London, 1857.]

38. Henke, *Die Menschen des Michelangelo*, Rostock, 1871. [Sir Josh. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Dis. xv.; E. J. Poynter, *Ten Lectures on Art*, London, 1879, pp. 70, 230, 237-251.]

39. Ces. Guasti, *Le rime di Michelangelo*, Florence, 1863. [Trans. by J. A. Symonds, *Twenty-three sonnets from Michael Angelo*, 1878; some are given in Harford, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 107, 171.]

40. G. Milanesi, *Le lettere di M. A.*, p. 522.

41. A painting of this battle-piece in monochrome is at Holkham Hall. The whole subject has been fully discussed by Thausing in *Lützow's Leitschr.*, xiii., pp. 107 and 129; and J. P. Richter in *Kunstchr.*, xiii., p. 477.

42. These dates are given on Springer's authority.

43. [The whole scheme of the decoration of the Sistine Chapel is fully discussed in Harford, *Life of M. A.*, i. p. 273. Alinari's photographs or Braun's (Autotype Company's pub.) are the best for study. Colnaghi, London, published a large chromo-lithograph of the ceiling by J. S. Harford.]

44. J. C. Robinson, *The Drawings of Michael Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford*, 1870. [The Grosvenor Gallery publications include facsimiles of drawings by M. A.; J. Fisher, *Facsimiles of the Drawings by Michael Angelo in the University Galleries, Oxford*, London, 1852; L. Fagan, *The Art of M. A. as illustrated by the collections in the B. M.*, London, 1883. All the volumes mentioned in App. iv., note 1, relating to the B. M. collections, may be consulted.]

45. Vasari says in eight years; but as it was begun in the early autumn of 1534 at soonest, by Christmas 1541 would be little more than seven years.

46. The genuineness of this work has been the subject of much dispute. Against it are ranged Lübke, and Springer, and recently J. C. Robinson (*Times*, 1st and 9th Sept. 1881). E. J. Poynter, R.A., and Dr. J. P. Richter are in favour of it (*Times*, 6th and 13th Sept., and *Academy*, 10th Sept. 1881), agreeing with G. Frizzoni (*Arch. stor. it.*, 1879), P. von Cornelius and J. Burckhardt. [With reference to M. A.'s copy from Schongauer, see Heath Wilson in the *Academy*, May 21, 1881.]

47. Reiset in the *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, ser. ii., xv. p. 246, announced that he had discovered this picture in the private rooms of the National Gallery in London, and the statement has been very freely repeated. I am, however, informed by Dr. J. P. Richter that this picture, which is not exhibited—and which is much injured, though recently restored—suggests the hand of Bronzino rather than that of Michael Angelo, and in his opinion this is equally the case with the cartoon in the Council-Room of the Royal Academy.

48. Beatrizet (Bartsch, xv.) and Cavalleri, in the sixteenth century, engraved designs by Michael Angelo, many of which still exist in various collections. [Many of those in England have been exhibited at the Old Masters' Exhibitions at Burlington House and the Grosvenor Gallery. Mr. Malcolm sent a number to the Grosvenor Gallery, and some of his were facsimiled for Mr. Comyns Carr's volume (see App. iv., note 1). Fifty drawings by Michael Angelo were exhibited at the Royal Academy (Old Masters) in 1879,

including some of the finest from Oxford (see J. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*), from Windsor, and from Chatsworth; among them the *Bacchanalia di Putti*, drawn for Tommaso de' Cavalieri. An oil picture (No. 69) in the Liverpool Gallery is from the design made for Vittoria Colonna.]

49. Louis Gonse, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, seven articles, 1876-78.

50. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. pp. 565-568; C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. chap. vi. p. 310.

51. C. and C., *North Italy*, i. p. 311 (note 2), pronounce against its genuineness.

52. R. Förster, *Farnesinastudien*, Rostock, 1880, p. 44.

53. The Polyphemus is, in Signor Morelli's opinion (Lermolieff in *Kunstchronik*, xiii. p. 555), the work of a later century. This, however, can only refer to the repainting, for Vasari mentions it as a work by Sebastiano, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 567. The colossal head in the ninth lunette of the same hall, ascribed sometimes to Michael Angelo and sometimes to Seb. del Piombo, is thought by the same critic to be the work of Peruzzi.

54. "Sotto ordine e disegno in alcune parti di Michelangelo," ed. Milanesi, v. p. 570; Ad. Rosenberg's edition of E. Guhl's *Künstlerbriefen*, Berlin, 1879, i. p. 225.

55. Giov. Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, etc.*, 1733, pp. 19-23.

56. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. 1881. See too Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia*, 3d ed., Bassano, 1809, i. p. 149.

57. C. and C., *History of Painting*, iii. pp. 427-587.

58. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. pp. 175-215; Vinc. Marchesi, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, etc., Domenicani*, 4th ed., Bol., 1878-79, ii. sec. 1-8; Lücke in Keane, *Early Teutonic, Italian, etc.*, p. 402; E. Frantz, *Fra B. della Porta*, Ratisbon, 1879. The discovery of the date of his birth is due to Milanesi: commentary to the life of B. della Porta in his edition of Vasari, iv. p. 205, where he seeks to prove that Florence was his birthplace. Marchese, *op. cit.*, ii., Appendix, gives documents relating to his work in Florence. [Comyns Carr, *Art in Prov. France*, speaks of a "delightful Holy Family" at Dijon.]

59. A study of Fra Bartolommeo's drawings would take up too much space for our present purpose. They are numerous in various collections: the Uffizi, the Munich Pinacothek (see Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 98), the Louvre, the Venice Academy, the Albertina, the Berlin Museum, in the collection of the Grand Duchess of Weimar, and in private collections in England.

60. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 188; Marchese, *op. cit.* ii. chap xii.

61. For Fra Paolino and M. Albertinelli see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. pp. 212, 217; C. and C. in Meyer's *Künstlerlexicon*, i. p. 218; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 74.

62. All modern biographies have accepted the date given by Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 468, as correct, 1469; but the Florentine Baptismal Register must be regarded as authoritative. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 339.

63. Morelli, *Italian Painters*, pp. 344-348.

64. C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, iii. p. 516; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 132.

65. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. pp. 5-72; Biadi, *Notizie inedite della vita di Andrea del Sarto*, Florence, 1830; A. Reumont, *A. del Sarto*, Leipsic, 1835; P. Mantz, "André del Sarte" in *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, 1876, Nos. 234, 235; Janitschek, in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 422. The idea that his family name was Vanucchi has been proved erroneous; his monogram , which was supposed to be A. V., has been deciphered as A. A., Andreas Angeli. Milanesi's discovery of the register of his baptism at Florence (Vasari, v. p. 62) settles the question of the date of his birth.

66. Milanesi (Vasari, v. pp. 9, 67) says it was not painted till 1514; C. and C., *Painting in Italy*, iii. p. 545, do not agree in this opinion, and Milanesi does not support it by any documentary evidence as in the case of other works. All the dates given in the text are taken from Milanesi.

67. Albertinelli, however, was probably not his first teacher. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 190 (note 1).

68. See Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 349 (note 1).

69. Vasari says that Carucci was born in 1493, but Milanesi's proofs are conclusive, *Vite*, vi. p. 288 (note 1); he was buried on 2d January 1556=1557, N.S.

70. [See *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux Peintres*, Anon., Paris, 1772, vi. p. 154.] Italian authorities do not seem to prove that his family name was Rossi, although he was known in French as Roux de Roux.

71. Puligo was not born in 1575; see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, commentary in vol. v. p. 471.

72. Vasari (ed. Milanesi, vi. p. 455) says that he was a friend of Andrea del Sarto, who helped and favoured him.

73. P. Jovius, *Raphaelis Urbinatis Vita;* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. pp. 311-416. Modern literature on the subject of Raphael is abundant: L. Pungileoni, *Elogico storico*, Urbino, 1829; C. F. Rumohr, *It. Forschungen*, Berlin, 1831, iii. pp. 1-154; J. D. Passavant, *Raphael of Urbino* (in German, Italian, and French). [An *English translation*, anonymous, with some accessory matter omitted and several good photographs from choice engravings, London, 1860; to this references are corrected. N. D'Anvers, *Raphael*, from J. D. Passavant, *Great Artists Series.*] G. Campori, *Notizie inedite di Raf. di Urbino*, Modena, 1863; C. Ruland, *The works of Raphael as represented at Windsor Castle*, London, 1876; A. Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, Leipsic, 1878 (new edition in preparation); E. Müntz, *Raphael, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1881; [*a translation*, edited by W. Armstrong, London, 1881, is profusely illustrated; Baron A. von Wolzogen's *Life of Raphael* is translated by F. E. Bunnett, London, 1866. See too C. Clément, *M. Angelo, L. da Vinci et Raffaelle, avec catalogues raisonnés*, Paris, 1861. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Life and Times of Raphael*, London, vol. i. 1880, ii. 1885. [For reproductions: Braun's photographs (Autotype Company, London) and Alinari's photographs are well known; *Rafael-werk, Sammtliche Tafelbilder*, photo. by Rommel, classified lists and text by Lübke, Dresden, 1882 [See too A. Leroy, *Collection des Dessins des Grande Maîtres*, Par., 1857-60.] Grimm, in the introduction to his *Lebens Raphaels von Urbino* (unfinished), Berlin, 1872, gives an interesting sketch of the history of opinion regarding Raphael.

74. The present writer agrees with Passavant, Eng. ed., p. 19, that the inscription on Raphael's tombstone, written by Bembo, must outweigh Vasari's statement as to the date of his birth. The tombstone says 6th April; Vasari says Good Friday, which in 1483 fell on 28th March; to this, however, even Springer and Müntz (Eng. ed., p. 9) still adhere.

75. It was formerly assumed that Timoteo was Raphael's pupil instead of his teacher. See Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 291 ff, and *ante*, p. 420. As to his relations to Perugino see Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

76. See *ante*, p. 364, for Woltmann's opinion on the subject. Schmarzow (*Raphael und Pinturicchio in Siena*, Stuttgart, 1880) argues in favour of Vasari's statement; Morelli differs, see *Italian Masters*, p. 330 (and notes). [The subject has been fully discussed in German art periodicals; see the German original of this work, p. 625 (note 4).] An important point is the comparison and study of the drawings in the "Venetian sketch-book" in the Venice Academy, and the four sketches for the frescoes in the Siena Library—at Florence, Perugia, Chatsworth, and Milan. I agree with Morelli that they bear the stamp of Pinturicchio's hand. R. Kahl, *Das Venezianische Skizzenbuch*, Leipsic, 1882, on the whole takes the same view, though, relying on certain drawings at Oxford and Florence, he gives Raphael a small share in the work. Thausing is also on our side.

77. Bottari, *Lettere pittoriche*, was the first to publish a letter from Giovanna delle Rovere, 1st October 1504, recommending Raphael to the Gonfaloniere Soderini at Florence; but its authenticity is disputed. See Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 320, and E. Müntz, Eng. ed., p. 122. It is not certain that Raphael visited Bologna in 1506 and made the acquaintance of Francia. See E. Müntz, Eng. ed., p. 222, and compare Springer's remarks in the *Repertorium*, iv. p. 390.

78. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 318 ff. The Solly Madonna is said by Lermolieff (Morelli), *Repertorium*, v. p. 154, to be from a drawing by Pinturicchio now in the Louvre. This critic's contributions to the *Repertorium* throw doubts on the genuineness of many drawings attributed to Raphael in various collections. The sketch at Berlin for the Connestabile Madonna he ascribes to Perugino; that in the Albertina, for the Berlin Madonna, to Pinturicchio (*Italian Masters*, p. 327). These ascriptions are, however, still open to dispute. A complete list of Raphael's drawings would exceed our limits; the finest collections are at Oxford, Windsor, the British Museum, Lille (the Wicar Collection), and the Albertina. [See J. C. Robinson, *A Critical Account of the Drawings in the University Galleries, Oxford;* Ruland's *Windsor Catalogue;* J. H. Pollen, *The Drawings of Raphael at Chatsworth*, autotypes, London, 1872; A. Leroy, *Choix de Dessins de Raphael rep. en facsimile*, Paris, 1858, and C. Clément, *op. cit.*

RAPHAEL'S MADONNA PICTURES have also been the subject of special study and monographs. In Kugler's *Handbook of Painting in Italy*, trans. by Lady Eastlake, 1851, Mr. G. Scharf (Director of the Nat. Portrait Gall.) had the happy idea of showing all Raphael's Madonnas on the same scale—excepting only the Terranuova and Alfani pictures. These elegant little outlines (two plates, vol. ii. p. 451) afford the best means of estimating at a glance the fertility and grace of the master's imagination. F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphael*, Paris, 1869 and 1882.]

79. Lermolieff (Morelli) believes the small S. Michael in the Louvre to be the earliest painting remaining by Raphael.

80. [See Morelli, *op. cit.* p. 310.] Pulszky, *Beiträge zu Raphael's Studium der Antike*, Leipsic, 1877, p. 31.

81. In Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler*, the two pictures by Perugino and by Raphael are engraved side by side.

82. E. Müntz, *Raphael*, Eng. ed., p. 220.

83. H. Grimm, *Fünfzehn essays: die Mad. di Terranuova.* Morelli (*Italian Masters*, pp. 334-337) ascribes the Berlin drawing of this picture to Perugino [and points out Raphael's altered sketch at Lille, giving a woodcut of each]. He has no doubt of the genuineness of the second smaller Madonna picture 147 in the Berlin Gallery); *Italian Masters*, p. 340.

84. Passavant, Eng. ed., p. 218, No. 50; Lübke, *Rafaelwerk*, No. 19.

85. French critics have always disputed the authenticity of the S. Petersburg Madonna; see in its defence Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung der Eremitage*, p. 43.

86. Part of this predella is believed to exist in the little picture belonging to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, but a replica in the hands of Prof. E. aus'm Weerth at Kessenich, near Bonn, has perhaps a better claim to be considered the original, as it bears the stamp of the Orleans Gallery, to which the whole altar-piece once belonged. It is very doubtful whether Raphael painted any part of this predella; indeed, Dr. J. P. Richter assures me that Baroness Burdett-Coutts's picture is certainly not by him. [For the Dulwich panels see Richter and Sparkes, *Catalogue of the Dulwich Collection.*]

87. [A drawing for the Entombment from the Oxford Collection was exhibited in 1879.] There are others in the Louvre and the Uffizi; see Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 154, and Ruland, *Windsor Cat.*, p. 21.

88. Passavant gives the Latin documents (translated in the Eng. ed., p. 147). The first is said to be dated 1st August 1515. But as the years are recorded as "*anno secundo*" and "*anno tertio*," it is evident that they are not of the same year. It had been apparently proved by H. Grimm in Zahn's *Jahrbuch.*, 1871, p. 67, that the report sent in to the pope on the state of ancient buildings in Rome cannot have been drawn up by Raphael, but E. Müntz has brought strong counter-evidence, Eng. ed., p. 581 ff. The report itself may be found in Passavant, Eng. ed., p. 193.

89. H. Brunn in Grimm's *Künstler*, 1867, ii. p. 169.

90. H. Hettner, *It. Studien*, Brunswick, 1879, p. 195. Grimm, *Leben Raphaels*, pp. 198 and 358. [W. Watkiss Lloyd, "Raphael's School of Athens" in *Fine Arts Quart. Rev.*, ii. p. 42, London, 1865.]

91. Not Perugino; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 430 (note 2).

92. J. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 228, argues that Raphael himself composed only the Call of Noah; Springer ascribes to him the Burning Bush as well. I see no reason to doubt his hand in the designing of all four; they are evidently drawn under the influence of Michael Angelo.

93. A composition from the Apocalypse, apparently intended for this wall—a copy only—is in the Louvre and engraved in Müntz, *Raph.*, Eng. ed., p. 360.

94. E. Müntz in the *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, August 1879, discusses the decorative works of this period of Raphael's life.

95. Passavant, pp. 11, 107, and Lübke accept the Pitti picture; Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, 4th ed., p. 659, agrees with me in preferring that in the Uffizi. Springer, Lübke, and Müntz, *Raphael*, Eng. ed., p. 386, are undecided.

96. H. Grimm believes this to be a portrait of Raphael himself, a view which I cannot share.

97. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 84. His criticism on the restoration of this work seems to me too severe.

98. Dr. J. P. Richter informs me that there is a "more genuine" replica in Mr. J. C. Robinson's possession.

99. These two pictures were executed later than the Battle of Ostia and the Incendio del Borgo.

100. See a letter from Seb. del Piombo in Gotti's *Vita di Michelangelo*, i. p. 138.

101. See in Müntz, *Raphael*, Eng. ed., p. 433, a letter from a contemporary, dated 27th December 1519.

102. Vasari expressly names *Morto da Feltre* as the inventor of "Grottesques," which seem to have been first introduced by Pinturicchio in the decoration of the Borgia apartments in the Vatican, 1493. The word first occurs in this painter's contract for the decoration of the Cathedral Library at Siena, 29th June 1502. Vasari credits Giovanni da Udine with most of the decorative "Grottesques" in the Loggie.

103. [See four articles in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* for 1865, pp. 66, 67; W. Watkiss Lloyd, *The Sixtine Chapel and the Cartoons of Raphael;*] G. F. Waagen, *Die Kartons von Raphael*, in his *Kleine Schr.*, Stuttgart, 1875; Müntz, *Raphael*, p. 462.

104. G. F. Waagen, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 226; R. Förster in *Farnesinastudien*, 1880, gives ample reasons for not calling the *Galatea* a Venus.

105. Andreas Müller, *Ein Kupferstich Raphaels*, Düsseldorf, 1860.

106. See A. Springer, *op. cit.*, p. 254. Contradicted by E. Müntz in his list of Raphael's works, Eng. ed., p. xxii. [J. Comyns Carr, *Art in Provincial France*, p. 90, mentions at Montpellier an exceedingly fine copy of Raphael's lost portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici.]

107. Hettner, *Italienische Studien*, pp. 234-246.

108. Ruland, *Windsor Cat.*, p. 40; Robinson, *Oxford Cat.*, p. 275 ff.

109. Conte Carlo d'Arco, *Istoria della vita e delle opere di Giulio Romano*, 2d ed., 1842, with forty plates.

110. D'Arco, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 155.

111. [Dr. Richter (*It. Art in the Nat. Gal.*) discredits all the examples of G. Romano; E. Law *Historical Cat. of the pictures at Hampton Ct.* speaks of the twelve specimens there as genuine, but of various merit. Waagen attributes them to scholars.]

112. For Giulio Romano's pupils and followers see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vi. pp. 213, 489, 562. He tells us that Giovanni da Udine's family name was Nani. Possibly he may be identified with IOANNES NANNIS VTINENSIS, who has signed his name with the date 1517 on a Madonna picture in the possession of Signor Frizzoni at Bergamo. This, as I am informed by Signor G. Frizzoni, is quite Venetian in character, but that the garlands of fruit are like those of G. da Udine. Milanesi, Vasari, vi. p. 562 (note), mentions a picture of still life signed by this master.

113. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 201 ff; C. and C., *North It. Sch.*, ii. p. 219, gives reasons for identifying this painter with Pietro Luzzi, but it is open to doubt.

114. For Vin. Tamagni, see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 501 ff. [Two drawings by Polidoro da Caravaggio from the fine collection at Chatsworth were exhibited in 1879 at Burlington House.]

115. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 147.

116. Dominici, *Vite dei pittori, etc., Napoletani*, ed. 1840-46, ii. p. 74 ff. Vasari does not mention Sabbatino.

117. C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 117; H. Janitschek has studied this painter, *Repertorium*, iii. p. 144. W. H. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst . . . in Unteritalien*, iii. p. 197.

118. [E. Baldus, *L'œuvre di Marc Antoine reproduite par héliogravure*, Paris.* *Prints and Drawings in the Brit. Mus.*, 1883; vol. iii. contains various examples of Italian engravers. A collection of Marc Antonio's plates was exhibited at the Burlington F. A. C. in 1868. The reader is referred to the catalogue printed for the members. Gruyer, *Raphael et l'Antiquité;* E. Müntz, *Raphael*, Eng. ed., p. 565.] Henry Thode, *Die Antiken in den Stichen Marc Antons*, Leipsic, 1881.

119. For Siena, see the list of works given in App. iv., note 36. Vasari, ed. Mil., p. 379, unduly depreciates Sodoma both as a man and as a painter. Recent writers are: Luigi Bruzza, *Notizie intorno alla patria, etc., di G. A. Bazzi*, in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, i., Turin, 1862; A. Jansen, *Leben und Werke des Malers G. A. Bazzi*, Stuttgart, 1870 [reviewed in the *Academy*, 15th July 1871]. G. Frizzoni in *Nuova Antologia*, August 1871; in *Giorn d'Erud. Art.*, Perugia, i. 1872, p. 208; and in Lützow's *Zeitschrift*, ix., 1874, p. 33; Rob. Vischer in *Kunst und Künstler*, trans. in Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 466; Milanesi in his edition of Vasari, vi. p. 401; Meyer, *Allg. Künstlerlexicon*, iii. p. 178. See too Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, p. 428.

120. G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte Senese*, iii. p. 49. I agree with him, and with Frizzoni and Jansen, in accepting this date. Foerster, *Farnesinastudien*, takes a different view.

121. A list of Bazzi's (Sodoma's) works in Meyer's *Künstlerlex.;* his will in Milanesi, *Documenti*, iii. p. 181.

122. A full account of Sodoma's pupils in Vasari, ed. Mil., vi. pp. 408, 415, 428; C. and C., vol. iii. p. 377 ff.

123. For Peruzzi, Vasari, ed. Mil., p. 589; C. and C., iii. p. 384; R. Redtenbacher in *Kunst und Künstler.*

124. Milanesi, *Documenti, passim*; Vasari, ed. Mil., v. p. 633 ff.

125. See App. iv., note 107; L. W. Cittadella, *I due Dossi*, Ferrara, 1870; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 110, 240; Camillo Laderchi, *La pittura Ferrarese*, 1856, p. 65; [Law, *Hist. Cat. of Hampton Court*, Nos. 97, 183; Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 119, note 1; and J. P. Richter, *It. Art in the Nat. Gal.*, p. 62].

126. Baruffaldi, *Vite de pittori, etc., Ferraresi*, 1844, i. p. 249.

127. Morelli is the best authority on Garofalo, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 241.

128. See Vasari, ed. Mil., vi. p. 467.

129. Consult Lermolieff (Morelli) in Lützow's *Zeitschrift*, x. p. 266; and compare Laderchi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

130. Morelli regards Mazzolino as a pupil rather of Dom. Panetti, *Italian Masters*, pp. 56, 110, 240.

131. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

132. Vasari's chapter on Correggio is worthless. In modern literature Raphael Mengs led the way with an article in his collected writings, Parma, 1780, ii. p. 135 [there are English editions]; Pungileone, *Memorie istoriche di Antonio Allegri*, works on a more critical basis, Parma, 1817, 1818, and 1821. The latest Italian publications are for the most part uncritical (for instance, M. Castellani, *Antonio Allegri*, 1880). An exception must be made in favour of Q. Bigi, *Notizie di Antonio Allegri, etc.*, Modena, 1873; in English W. Coxe, *Sketches of the Life of Correggio and Parmegianino* (pub. anonymously), London, 1823. [M. C. Heaton, *Correggio*, in the *Great Artists Series.*] Meyer's article in his *Allg. Künstlerlex.* is excellent; the latest study of the master is by Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 166; Dr. J. P. Richter's essay in *Kunst und Künstler* [has not been included in Keane's selection.]

133. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

134. G. Frizzoni, *Archivio storico* (New Ser.), 1880, v. p. 52; [see Law's *Catalogue*, p. 88.]

135. H. O. Miethke, in the catalogue of the sale (Vienna, 1882), states that the authenticity of this example was attested by indisputable documents (?).

136. G. Frizzoni, *Arch. stor.* (New Ser.), 1880, p. 55, is of a contrary opinion. [Dr. Richter regards the Apsley House replica as the original.]

137. Frizzoni, *loc. cit.* [and Dr. Richter, *It. Art. in the Nat. Gall.*, p. 63], regard the "Ecce Homo" as genuine.

138. Morelli, *Italian Masters*, p. 129; Meyer, in the *Allg. Künstlerlex.*, discusses Correggio's drawings.

139. Milanesi, in Vasari, v. p. 239, gives Mazzuola's pedigree; Iren. Affò, *Vita del graziosissimo pittore Fr. Mazzola*, Parma, 1784; Coxe, *Lives of Correggio and Parmegiano*, London, 1823; Pungileone, *Mem. istoriche*, i. p. 258.

140. For the literature of Venetian Art, see App. iv., note 85.

141. Vasari, ed. Mil., iv. p. 91. Milanesi's commentary is already out of date. Critical light was first thrown on the work of this master by C. and C., *North Italy*, vol. ii. chap. iii. Since then the most important contributions are Morelli's notes in *Italian Masters*, pp. 151-168, 371. Vasari in his first edition gave 1477 as the date of Giorgione's birth, but corrected this to 1478 in the second. There seems no sufficient ground for fixing it in 1476, or even 1475 as some later critics have done.

142. Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 137; see A. M. Zanetti, *Varie Pitture a Fresco de' principali maestri Veneziani*, 1760.

143. Morelli's Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 80. He describes the picture of the Three Philosophers very exactly, but he says that Giorgione began it only, and that it was finished by Sebastiano Veneziano.

144. I saw this so-called Pordenone in 1879, just after having visited Castelfranco, and was then convinced that it was by Giorgione (see *Kunst und Naturskizzen*, ii. p. 137). Now to my great satisfaction I find Morelli saying the same, *Italian Masters*, p. 160; in 1879 the picture was numbered 341 instead of 418. C. and C. dispute the genuineness of the "Concert" in the Louvre, *North Italy*, ii. p. 147, but in my opinion without cause. See Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

145. For the wonderful "Pastoral" at Buda-Pesth, see Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Of the fine picture of the Knight of Malta, Uffizi, he says, "In presence of this beautiful picture, to think (like Mündler) of such a painter as Piero della Vecchia is nothing short of heresy." Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, doubts the portrait at Rovigo. Morelli, Burckhardt, and C. and C. all accept Count Loschi's picture of Christ bearing the Cross. Morelli also thinks the Apollo and Daphne at Venice an authentic work, but I failed to convince myself of the fact when I saw it in 1879. With regard to the Dresden Venus, ascribed in the catalogue (No. 262) to Sassoferrato, see Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Morelli's Anonimo says, "It was by the hand of Zorzo (Giorgio) da Castelfranco, but the landscape and the Cupid were finished by Titian. The Cupid was no doubt originally to be seen in the Dresden picture, but has been effaced by the restorer. Eisenmann (*Kunstchronik*, xvi. p. 650) expresses his concurrence in Morelli's views; in fact, a comparison of this Venus with the Castelfranco picture seems to favour the conclusion, but I hesitate to pro-

nounce definitively till I have had further opportunities of examining them. Morelli, on the other hand, emphatically denies that the Pitti Palace "Concert" is by Giorgione, and regards it as a youthful work by Titian, p. 157; C. and C. had already doubted the Louvre "Concert." For the Adoration of the Kings, at Compton Lacy, ascribed by Waagen to Giovanni Bellini, see *Art Treasures*, iii. p. 185.

146. For Palma see C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. chap. viii.; Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 24, etc.; Rosenberg in *Kunst und Künstler* (parts 66, 67, 68), dates his birth ten years earlier, but there is no sufficient reason, particularly as the date MD on the Duc d'Aumale's "*Santa Conversazione*" is a forgery, and the picture, which has been repainted, is now, at any rate, a later work. Morelli holds the same opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

147. Morelli's Anonimo, *Notizie*, p. 70; Morelli, *Italian Masters*, pp. 17, 182.

148. Rumohr, Waagen, C. and C. (*North Italy*, ii. p. 475), and Morelli are all agreed that the Adam and Eve is by Palma Vecchio.

149. Fr. M. Tassi, *Vite de' pittori, etc., Bergameschi*, 1798, i. p. 116 ff; A. Ricci, *Mem. stor. della Marca di Ancona*, Macerata, 1834, ii. p. 92 ff; C. and C., *North Italy*, vol. ii. chap. ix.; Morelli, *Italian Masters, passim;* G. Frizzoni in *Giorn. d'Erud. Art.*, 1875, p. 67 ff; H. von Tschudi, "*L. Lotto in den Marken*," in the *Repertorium*, ii. p. 280. [J. P. Richter, *op. cit.*, and E. Law, *Hampton Court Catalogue*, Nos. 114, 148.] With regard to Lotto's birthplace, see Milanesi in his edition of Vasari, v. p. 249.

150. Morelli also ascribes a small picture of a Faun in the Pinacothek to Lotto, perhaps rightly; it formerly bore the name of Correggio. As to the date on the S. Jerome in the Louvre, see Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 31, and C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 502. Morelli accepts the date, 1506, on the Asolo picture, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

151. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 and 195.

152. Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane*, Ven., 1863, i. p. 215 ff; C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 230. [Law, *op. cit.*, p. 71: Morelli, *op. cit.*, 368.]

153. For Fr. and Gir. da S. Croce, C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 538 ff.

154. Besides Vasari and Ridolfi, the following may be consulted: *Breve compendio della vita del famoso Tiziano Vecellio da Cadore*, Ven., 1620; St. Ticozzi, *Vite de' pittori Vecelli di Cadore*, Milan, 1817; Fr. Beltrame, *Tiz. Vecellio e il suo Monumento*, 1853; Josiah Gilbert, *Cadore, or Titian's Country*, London, 1869. The most important work on the subject is Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian, his Life and Times*, London, 2d ed., 1881. [R. Ford Heath in *Great Artists Ser.*]

155. See a letter from Ludovico Dolce, a contemporary of Titian's, to Gaspero Ballini, which was published with a translation—into German—of his dialogue on painting entitled *L'Aretino*, in vol. ii. of Eitelberger's *Quellenschriften*. Much information may be derived from his dialogue as to Titian and the views of art held by his immediate friends. [*The Aretin: a Dialogue on Painting, from the Italian*, by W. Browne, Lond. 1770.]

156. Titian's statement in a letter quoted in C. and C., *Titian*, ii. p. 538, confirms those of early biographers as to the date of his birth.

157. A. Zanetti, *Pitture a fresco, etc.*, Ven., 1760.

158. With regard to Titian's youthful studies see Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, note 1, 171 ff; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*. These authorities disagree as to Titian's having studied under Bellini. Again, Morelli, p. 42, regards the altar-piece in S. Maria della Salute as one of his earliest works, while C. and C. date it as late as 1512. I myself think it must have been painted soon after 1598, when Fra Bartolommeo was in Venice; it shows a certain resemblance to his style.

159. C. and C. think that "Sacred and Earthly Love" was painted about the year 1500; *Titian*, p. 57. Morelli's more probable hypothesis is that it was painted about 1509. The same critic pronounces the Salome in the Doria Palace at Rome to be, like the "Concert" in the Pitti Palace, a youthful work of Titian's (see above, note 145). This Salome has long been a puzzle for the critics, and has been given in turn to Giorgione, Pordenone, and Lotto.

160. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 172, footnote.

161. C. and C. pronounce the Darmstadt picture to be an original Titian—an extraordinary verdict, which only proves how the most experienced critics may be misled.

162. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 176 ff.

163. See Nap. Pietrucci, *Biografia degli artisti Padovani*, 1858; Morelli's Anonimo, *Notizie, etc., passim;* Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 216, 222.

164. Stef. Ticozzi, *Vite de' pittori Vecelli;* C. and C., *Titian*, i. p. 96, and ii. p. 476.

165. Vasari in the lives of Titian and of Marc Antonio. J. A. Wolff, *Die Nikolai Pfarrkirche zu Calcar*, p. 20.

166. *Maraviglie dell' Arte*, Padua, 1835, i. p. 318 ff; C. and C., *Titian*, i. p. 438, note.

167. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

168. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. p. 461; Ridolfi, i. p. 297; Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane*, ii. p. 41.

169. The present writer is not yet a convert to the newly promulgated opinion that the Storm at Sea in the Venice Accademia, formerly ascribed to Giorgione, is by Paris Bordone. The picture "with the five orders of architecture" which Vasari tells us he painted in Augsburg is perhaps that known as the Gladiators. See Engerth's catalogue of the Vienna Gallery.

170. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-194; C. Bernasconi, *Studj.*, App. to vol. i. p. 387 ff.

171. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. p. 103; Conte Fabio di Maniago, *Storia delle Belle Arti Friulane*, 2d ed., Udine, 1823; C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. chap. iv., where they have availed themselves of the researches of Dr. Vincenzo Joppi.

172. The nickname Pellegrino probably meant "the stranger" rather than literally the *rare* or *exceptional artist;* the family may have been of Slavonian extraction. Morelli, p. 18, is strongly—and it would seem very rightly—opposed to the hypothesis put forward by Harzen and Passavant that certain copper-plates of great elegance that are known to collectors, with the initials P. P., are the work of San Daniele, see *ante* App. iv., note 142, p. 454. Lübke identified him as the painter of the altar-piece at Aquileia, *Gesch. der It. Malerei*, ii. p. 590.

173. C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. chap. v.; Campori, *Le Pordenone à Ferrara*, in *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, November 1867.

174. Morelli, who undervalues this expressive and glowing work, ascribes it to Domenico Caprioli, a native of Treviso and a contemporary of Pordenone's.

175. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 193, 409.

176. C. and C., *North Italy*, ii. p. 298; St. Fenaroli, *Dizionario degli Artisti Bresciani*, 1877.

177. Aretino's letter is printed by Fenaroli, *op. cit.*, "onde è peccato il pur troppo maturo dei suoi anni in la vita."

178. Fenaroli, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 403. C. and C. have pronounced the signature on one of the pictures at Padua to be spurious, *North Italy*, ii. p. 376, note 1.

179. For Moretto see Fenaroli, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 57, and App. A. p. 265; Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

180. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 403, note, gives a list of Romanino's scholars. For Foppa see *ante*, p. 432; Fenaroli, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

181. Bernasconi, *Studj.*, p. 302 (for Brusasorci), and pp. 224, 243, 308 (for Antonio Badile). For Giulio Campi, see G. Grasselli, *Abecedario dei pittori Cremonesi*, Milan, 1827, p. 77 ff.

182. The principal authority for this branch of Art-history is Le Comte de Laborde, *La Renaissance à la cour de France:* I. *La Peinture*, Paris, 1850 (an edition of only 134 copies); II. *Additions au tome premier*, 1855; Ch. Blanc, *Hist. des Peintres, École française*, i., Paris, 1862; Georges Berger, *L'École française de peinture*, Paris, 1879. [Mrs. Mark Pattison, *The Renaissance in France*, gives a good chronological table and a chapter on the engravers contemporary with Cousin, vol. ii. pp. 69, 145.] A. F. Didot, *Etude sur Jean Cousin*, Par. 1872; and *Recueil des œuvres choisies de J. Cousin*, Par. 1873.

183. *Livre de Perspective*, 1560; *Livre de pourtraicture*, 1571. [*L'Art*, Oct. and Nov., 1882; Ludovic de Lalaune, *Livre de Fortune de Jean Cousin.*]

184. Laborde, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 423, 533.

185. Laborde corrected the date 1532, wrongly given in his first volume, to 1530 in his second. For *Rosso*, see Paul Mantz, *Hist. des peintres, École Florentine*, Paris, 1876, p. 4; Le Père Dan, *Le trésor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1642; J. Vatout, *Le Palais de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1852.

186. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. p. 405; Laborde, *op. cit.*, *passim;* Gaye, *Carteggio*, iii. p. 542, for Primaticcio's will, in which he states that he was born at Bologna.

187. The best account of N. dell' Abbate is given by Mündler and Laborde in Meyer's *Allg. Künstlerlexicon*, i. p. 4.

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